ASSEMBLEE DE L'UNION FRANCAISE   May 13, 1954

I am very happy to learn that my friend Paul Robeson will at last be able to sing throughout the world, thanks to the return of his passport. I send you my heartiest wishes.

To Paul Robeson and to Eslanda my faithful friendship.

EUGENIE F. EBOUE-TELL

###

Paris, May 24, 1954

Gentlemen:

You will kindly find attached the text of the letter we addressed to the Secretary of State on the subject of Paul Robeson's passport. We are in the process of collecting signatures at the National Library of Paris, and I think that we will exceed the goal of 50, which is already secured.

All decent people will join with you in the just cause you have undertaken. Cultural exchange must not be intered with by political, racial or other considerations. It is tragic that the United States, country of liberty, sets such an example and we deplore it all the more because the Government of France itself is allied in all things with the Department of State, as is evident in the recent abominable banning of the Soviet ballet in Paris.

Accept, I beg of you, my warmest regards. ✓

Cannot make out name!

Mme HONORE, 27 Bd St Michel, PARIS 5

Please fill in.

###

Paris May 21, 1954

Mr Foster Dulles
Excellency:

The undersigned, members of the staff of the National Library of Paris, having diverse political, philosophical and religious beliefs, having learned that the great American artist, Paul Robeson, has been refused his passport and permission to travel abroad, I wish to intercede and urge your reconsideration of this question, divorcing it from all political considerations. They are aware of the tremendous renown of Paul Robeson and believe that the ban placed upon this artist singing in foreign lands can only harm the cause of the United States. They hope that the State Department will appreciate this point of view of sincere friends of the great American people and will allow other peoples to hear once more this master of vocal music who honors America.

You have, Excellency, the assurance of our most distinguished consideration.

(followed by 50 signatures)

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

COPY

104, Kew Green
Kew,
Richmond Surrey

17th May, 1954

Message to the PROVISIONAL COMMITTEE TO RESTORE
PAUL ROBESON'S PASSPORT:

Since returning from the United States eighteen months ago, people in all walks of life have expressed to me their utmost concern and shock regarding the seizure of Mr. Robeson's passport. They have enquired if there was anything they could do to assist him.

I found the same concern in Holland and in France.

To list but a few of the groups who have mentioned their concern: the Miner's Institute of Tredegar, Wales; members of a number of Scottish and English film societies; members of Dutch film societies, journalists and artists, and in France — members of the cine-clubs.

These people, and many others, will do their utmost to support the campaign to get Paul Robeson's passport restored.

Especially concerned are the many Negro workers, students and nurses from Africa and the West Indies who are now working in England.

We all desire to see Paul Robeson again in OTHELLO and to hear him sing. We will pull together to do our best on his behalf.

When the Department of State denies a passport to Paul Robeson, they do the United States the greatest damage; Paul Robeson's name is a "household word" abroad, which means simply that he was loved and honoured where so ever he went.

Marie Seton, author

Personal letter from
me - has already gone
to Marie Seton

MONTEVIDEO, URUGUAY

May 21, 1954

Dear Friends:

Knowledge of the world campaign to restore the passport of the great singer, Paul Robeson, brings to the initiators my most profound support.

It is impossible that at this hour when all of the people of the world want to establish and strengthen cultural and fraternal relations, that such a great artist, universally loved and admired, should be prevented from leaving his country because of policies hostile to culture, to individual rights and to the friendship of peoples.

I am fully convinced that the Uruguan public will feel happy and honored to be able to hear Paul Robeson and to tender him its love and support.

Assuring you of the success of such a just campaign, and with my promise to interest my colleagues, the writers and the Uruguayan intellectuals of my acquaintance, I salute your cordially.

ALFREDO GRAVINA

C
O
P
Y

WESTERN UNION:

A7300 ER 35 PD INTL
N LONDON VIA RCA 25 1915
LT GREEN SUITE 6, 139 WEST 125TH STREET NEW YORK 27

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE IRISH DEMOCRAT JOIN YOU IN REQUESTING RESTORATION OF AMERICAN PASSPORT TO PAUL ROBESON TO ENABLE HIM TO SING IN BRITAIN AND IRELAND

DESMOND GREAVES
343PM MAY 25 1954

Thanks so much = All my best Hope see you all soon P.R.

WESTERN UNION:

A4600 ER 24 PD INTL
N LONDON VIA MACKAY RADIO 1645 MAY 25 1954
LT GREEN SUITE
6 139 W 125th ST NY 27 USA

GREETINGS PAUL ROBESON HOPE SINCERELY TO SEE AND HEAR YOU AGAIN SOON

7 LONDON OFFICE WORKERS

123PM

Thanks so much. Deeply appreciate your message. All best Paul Robeson

---

WESTERN UNION

A1100 ER INTL PD - N LONDON VIA MACKAY RADIO 91/89 1154 MAY 22 1954
LT ROBESON PASSPORT COMMITTEE, SUITE 6, 139 WEST 125ST NEWYORK 27

IN NAME OF MAGNA CARTA BY WHICH ALREADY IN THIRTEENTH CENTURY ENGLISHMEN WON RIGHT OF UNIMPEDED TRAVEL FROM AND TO THEIR HOMELAND AND WHOSE TRADITION IS SHARED BY AND LINKS OUR TWO COUNTRIES I WISH JOY AND SUCCESS TO CAMPAIGN TO RESTORE THAT RIGHT TO PAUL STOP MAY HIS NOBLE VOICE AND PRESENCE SOON BRING US AND OTHER FOLKS MUCH NEEDED REMINDER FUNDAMENTAL VIRTUES AND CHARACTER OF AMERICAN PEOPLE WHOSE BEST AND GREATEST AMBASSADOR HE WILL EVER BE.

IVOR MONTAGU

941AM

X

See appended letter

POST CARD

TO WISH PAUL ROBESON MANY HAPPY RETURNS OF HIS BIRTHDAY.

HARRY POLLITT

C
O
P
Y

WESTERN UNION

G15CC 17 FD INTL - N LONDON 43 26 1233 VIA MACKAY RADIO
LT MAUD GREEN RENAISSANCE CASINO
138 ST 7THAVE NEW YORK (138th St. and 7th Ave.)

WE ENGLISH WRITERS SEND GOOD WISHES AND HOPE TO WELCOME ROBESON IN LONDON SOON. DORIS LESSING, MAURICE WHITEHEAD, DEREK KARTON, MAX COHEN, MONTAGUE SLATER, JACK BEECHING, TONY ADAMS, JACK LINDSAY,MILES TOMALIN

JOHN ST. JOHN - 912A MAY 26 1954

no address not done

WESTERN UNION

NNG 120 LONG 67 DL 1 EXTRA - FD TORONTO ONT 26 145 P-
PAUL ROBESON, CARE RENAISSANCE CASINO - 138 AND 7 AVE -

IN SENDING OUR WARMEST GREETINGS TO YOU WE SPEAK FOR MANY THOUSANDS OF CANADIANS WHO WANT YOU TO COME BACK TO SING WITH THEM AS YOU HAVE DONE SO MANY THRILLING TIMES BEFORE STOP THE FIGHT TO RESTORE YOUR PASSPORT AND FREEDOM TO TRAVEL AND SING IN CANADA AND WORLD AS MUCH OUR BATTLE AS YOURS AND OUR MAGAZINE OF CANADIAN CULTURE PLEDGES ITS FULL SUPPORT.

- MARGARET FAIRLEY EDITOR NEW FRONTIERS -

no address

WESTERN UNION

B6CC 2R 17 FD INTL
LAPAZ VIA ALLAMERICA 25 834P
LT PAUL ROBESON
138th ST 7th AV NY

SOLIDARITY CAMPAIGN RESTORATION PASSPORT CORDIALLY

Thank you

done

JOSE ANTONIO ARZE UNIVERSITY

1120P MAY 25 1954

WESTERN UNION

B940C 8D INTL FD
N MELBOURNE VIA RCA 18 24 1455
LT PAUL ROBESON RENAISSANCE CASINO
138TH STREET NEW YORK

HOPE TO HEAR YOU SOON IN AUSTRALIAN CONCERT HALLS

Thank you

IRWIN
823A MAY 24 1954

no address

July 25, 1954

All India Peace Council
14 Munshi Niketan
Kamla Market
New Delhi, India

Dear Ram Kumar,

Many, many thanks for your warm greeting. And thanks for your proposal for a meeting there. I am deeply sorry for the lack of communication. I sent a cable - and will from here out keep personally in close touch.

Have applied for passport - until now there is no answer. Will receive this soon and if refused, will institute court process.

Here in the United States the campaign will gather momentum on and after August 1st - when I sing at the Peace Arch near Vancouver, British Columbia, and Seattle, Washington, to about, we hope, 50,000 people. There were 40,000 there last year.

Feeling fine and in the thick of the struggle. Congratulations upon your magnificent contributions to the cause of peace. All the best. Message to your Congress will reach you soon.

Sincerely,

Paul Robeson

July 25, 1954

Mrs. Ruth McKie
9 Oak Hill
Woodford Green
Essex, England

Dear Ruth,

Thanks for the greetings from the Woodford Peace Committee.

We hope to be successful. If so, I shall hope to get soon to London and perhaps to Woodford Green to thank you in person.

All my best,

Sincerely,

Paul Robeson

July 25, 1954

Mr. and Mrs. Neva Berg
51 Fountayne Road
London, W. 16

Dear Mr. and Mrs. Berg,

Thanks for your kind and warm message. I know how you all feel over there and it has given me great strength.

Hope to come out on top and see you all soon and sing for you.

All my best.

Sincerely,

Paul Robeson

July 25, 1954

People's Press Printing Society
75 Farringdon Road
London, E. C. 1, England

Dear Pat Devine,

Thanks so much for your message. Fight continues and we may win.

All my best to you as ever. Hope to be with you soon.

All best,

Sincerely,

Paul Robeson

July 25, 1954

Mr. R. S. W. Pollard
17, Victoria Street
Westminster
London S. W. 1

Dear Mr. Pollard,

Thank you for your kind message. And your concern for my right to sing is deeply appreciated. All my best to you and your colleagues.

There is some real hope that I may be successful. If so, I hope to be singing soon again in London.

Sincerely,

Paul Robeson

July 25, 1954

Mrs. Dorothy Brooks
19 a St. Mark's Crescent
Regent's Park, N. W. 1

Dear Dorothy Brooks,

Thank you for your kind message. We hope to be successful. If so, I shall soon see you all again in London. There is some real hope.

All my best and again sincere thanks.

Sincerely,

Paul Robeson

July 25, 1954

Francisca and J. G. Crowther
2, Myrtle Court
Johns Mews
London, W. C. 1

Dear Francisca and J. G. Crowther,

Thank you so much for your kind message. The campaign is moving along and will get a big impetus on Autust 1. Then I am singing on the border between Canada and the United States, near Vancouver, British Columbia, and Seattle, State of Washington on the Pacific Coast. The Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers sponsor the gathering, dedicated to peace. Last year there were 40,000 persons. This year we hope for 50,000, and the campaign from there on will swing into high gear. Within the context of the right to cultural exchange and the rousing of public opinion here and abroad, we may be successful. A legal process may be instituted upon very reasonable constitutional grounds. So we'll see.

Feeling fine and looking forward to more delightful hours with you all and friends I so vividly remember. I keep up with much that goes on over there.

Thanks again and again for your courageous endeavors in the cause of world peace and a rich, bountiful world for all.

Sincerely,

Paul Robeson

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

July 25, 1954

Mr. Frank Digson
60, Brooke Road
London, N. 16

Dear Mr. Digson and Other Signers:

Thanks for your kind message. Hope to win the victory and see you all soon.

All my best.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Robeson

July 25, 1954

West African Students' Union
13 Chelsea Embankment
London, S. W. 3

Dear Friends,

Thank you all for your kind message. Nothing is closer to my heart than the well-being of my African brothers and sisters, and to close ties between us here in America and the lands of our forbears.

We shall continue the struggle for peace and a world where all live in peace, equality and plenty.

All my best and hope to see you soon.

Sincerely,

Paul Robeson

July 25, 1954

Mr. D. N. Pritt
Cloisters
Temple
London, E. C. 4

Dear Friend Pritt,

How good to get your message! I often hear of you and of your noble efforts wherever your gifts and knowledge can aid.

Thanks for your work in Kenya, for all of us and for peace. My best to your family. Hope to shake your hand soon. Am feeling fine and in the thick of the struggle.

Things are slowly changing - the world moves on and millions of Americans see that they must catch up.

All my best.

Sincerely,

Paul Robeson

July 25, 1954

Mr. Laurence Housman
Longmeadow Street
Somerset, England

Dear Laurence Housman,

How good to hear from you. Yes, I remember our visit with dear Dick Sheppard - that I shall always remember.

And thanks for the appreciation of "Water Boy". It is still one of my favorite songs. And my voice still holds up well.

Thanks for the message. We hope to be successful. If so, will soon greet you in England. All my best.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Robeson

July 25, 1954

Mrs. Beatrice King
28 Aldbourne Rd.
London, W. 12, England

Dear Beatrice King,

Thanks for your kind message. Hope to be successful and soon to be singing in England.

All my best,

Sincerely,

Paul Robeson

July 25, 1954

Mr. Ronald C. Mooda
78 Redcliffe Square
London, S. W. 10

Dear Ronald,

Thanks so much for your kind message. It will be good if we can meet again soon. And I'll be a little better sitter than before.

Have heard of you from time to time. All the best to you in your work.

Sincerely,

Paul Robeson

July 25, 1954

Dean Hewlett Johnson
The Deanery
Canterbury

Dear Dean Johnson,

Thank you so much for your message. The campaign here is on. I have applied for my passport. Have as yet received no answer but will get reply soon. If refused, a court process will be instituted.

On August 1st I again sing at the Peace Arch, on the Canadian border near Vancouver, British Columbia. The Mine, Mill and Smelter Union, the sponsors, expect around 50,000 people. There were 40,000 last year. From then on we shall vigorously take the struggle for our Constitutional rights to the highest tribunals and to the people, especially within the context of cultural exchange.

I often hear about you - in the various sections of the press, both here and from countries East and West. All my best to you and family. Certainly the people of the world of our time can never thank and bless you enough for your continuous, magnificent contributions to the common good. I often tell my clergyman brother - that you are really a man of God.

Again thanks.

Sincerely,

Paul Robeson

July 25, 1954

Mr. Albert Maltz
Manzano 29, Col. Florida, San Angel
Mexico 20, D. F., Mexico

Dear Albert Maltz,

Thanks so much for your message. The campaign is getting under way. I have applied for a passport. If refused will go to court with reasonable grounds around which we can go to the people. A very important aspect of this - is that the whole struggle lies within the context of the need for cultural exchange of many sections of our mutual cultures.

Great impetus will be given on August 1st when I go to the Canadian border - between Seattle and Vancouver, British Columbia. There, at the Peace Arch will be a concert, sponsored by the Canadian section of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers. They expect about 50,000 people. Last year there were 40,000.

Feeling fine and keeping at it. So good to hear from you. Once in a while some one brings news. Hope to be able to get down that way and say "hello" again.

All my best to your family to many, many friends.

Sincerely,

Paul Robeson

July 25, 1954

Workers' Music Association, Ltd.
17 Bishops Bridge Road
London, W. 2

Dear Will Sarrow,

Thanks so much for your kind letter around passport issue. Know that your letter and invitation are a very important section of my application for a passport.

I have still not heard from the State Department - have not yet been refused. If I am, I shall enter a court process and hope to be successful. The attitude of organizations like your own helps immeasurably.

All my best. You shall hear often from me. Doing well and learning much new material.

Sincerely,

Paul Robeson

July 25, 1954

Mrs. Norma Turner-Samuels
242 Willesden Lane
London, N. W. 2, England

Dear Mrs. Norma Turner-Samuels,

Thank you so much for your kind message. The Salute went off fine. The campaign is on and will reach a high level on August 1st - at the Peace Arch on the border between Canada and the United States, near Vancouver, British Columbia and Seattle, State of Washington. There will be a concert sponsored by the fine union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers. Last year there were 40,000 persons there. This year we hope for 50,000.

We shall keep you aware of developments. I have long ago applied for the passport. Will get an answer soon. If refused, a court process will be instituted on very important Constitutional grounds. Most important will be the strength of public opinion here and abroad.

So many thanks - I look forward to seeing you all once more in England, where I have spent so many happy years. All my best to you and many, many friends.

Sincerely,

Paul Robeson

July 25, 1954

International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers
111 Dunsmuir St.
Vancouver 3, B. C.

Dear Harvey Murphy,

Thanks for your message of May 20 in reference to the passport campaign. It's in full swing - but much of campaign here will mount around appearance on August 1. Have seen recent letters. Will see you soon.

All best to you, family and all friends. Playing with my grandchildren last night - thought of your beautiful youngster.

Will see you all on the first. Love to all

Sincerely,

Paul Robeson

July 25, 1954

Mrs. Janet Jagan
97 Laluni St.
Georgetown, British Guiana

Dear Mrs. Jagan,

How kind of you to write and to send us such a heartening message. We hope to be successful. If so, I would like so much to be able to visit you in British Guiana - as I long have desired to do.

Congratulations upon your magnificent struggle and contribution to the freedom of us all. All my best to your valiant husband, to his colleagues and to the courageous and far-seeing people of your land.

Sincerely,

Paul Robeson

July 25, 1954

People's Educational Organization
64 Barry St.
Kingston, Jamaica

Dear Folks,

I welcome this opportunity to say "hello" and to thank you for your gallant struggles in Jamaica. I remember my visit and hope soon to visit you again. And thanks for your support in my efforts to travel.

I will keep directly in touch with you from now on. I have followed some of the events.

How I would like to clasp the hand of my dear friend and co-worker, Ferdinand Smith. Give him my best, also to Mr. Richard Hart.

Thanks.

Sincerely,

Paul Robeson

July 25, 1954

Mr. E. Schatzman
98 bis Dd Arago
Paris 14°

Dear Mr. Schatzman,

Thank you for the support of your organization and your kind message.

I hope soon to be singing for you all in Paris and in all of France.

All the best to you.

Sincerely,

Paul Robeson

July 25, 1954

Mr. Henri Jourdain
World Federation of Trade Unions
Vienna, Austria

Dear Mr. Jourdain,

My deepest thanks for your kind message. Since then I have applied for a passport. As yet I have received no answer, but expect to soon. If refused, we will enter court process - and continue the fight for basic freedom to travel.

The campaign here will take a big stride on and after August 1st, when I sing at the International Peace Gathering between Canada and the United States - near Vancouver, British, Columbia. They expect 50,000 people. Last year there were 40,000.

All my best.

Sincerely,

Paul Robeson

July 25, 1954

Mr. John Wolfard
Praterstrasse 32/13
Vienna II, Austria

Dear John Wolfard,

Thank you so much for your message. Certainly hope we can make a dent in this business. As yet I have received no reply - will get one this week upon lawyer's insistence. If refused will institute court process.

There is real potential of a wide campaign here - within the context of cultural exchange - the growing uneasiness of all sections of our life - and most importantly, public opinion here and all over the world.

Certainly no messages coulbe more deeply appreciated or important than those from the World Federation of Trade Unions. I have also written the secretary, Mr. H. Jourdain.

Do hope that a successful outcome would influence the position of many like yourself. All my best to you and family. I have two little grandchildren, 3½ and 1½ (boy and girl), David and Susan, who are delightful.

Am feeling fine and in the thick of things. My best to many friends and to Ferdy Smith, if he gets over there, though I read of great pressures against him in Jamaica. Again thanks.

Sincerely,

Paul Robeson

July 25, 1954

South African Indian Congress
P. O. Box 2948
Johannesburg, South Africa.

Dear Mr. Cachalia,

Thanks so much for your kind messages. They have helped immeasurably and have certainly given me added courage.

I constantly hear of your work there. Keep on -- and may our people establish a decent South Africa with unity of all the oppressed.

A "hello" to my friend Dadoo. I often think of him.

All my best.

Sincerely,

Paul Robeson

July 25, 1954

South African Congress of Democrats
P. O. Box 4088
Johannesburg, South Africa

Dear Friends,

Thank you for your kind message of support. Hope soon to be successful.

Know that we shall ever continue the struggle for peace and a decent world.

Sincerely,

Paul Robeson

July 25, 1954

Union of Southern African Artists
P. O. Box 1355
Johannesburg, South Africa

Dear Friends,

Thanks to you all. No greeting could mean more to me. Would that I could join you in many cultural evenings.

All my best to you. Perhaps we shall one day be able to play and sing together. Know that the interests and struggles of your people are ever close to my heart.

Sincerely,

Paul Robeson

July 25, 1954

Mrs. Ruth First
7 Mendelsohn Rd.
Roosevelt Park
Johannesburg, South Africa

Dear Ruth First,

Thanks so much for your encouraging message. The meeting here was a great success and there is some real hope I may be able to travel.

No part of the world responded as vigorously as all of you in South Africa. Certainly no struggle for human dignity and freedom lies closer to my heart than your struggle there.

Thanks so much again and may unity be ever tighter and tighter drawn together.

All my best.

Sincerely,

Paul Robeson

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

July 25, 1954

Mr. M. M. Moerane
10 Scanlon Street
Queenstown, South Africa

Dear Mr. Moerane,

Thanks so much for your fine and encouraging message and for the news of yourself and the struggles. I think there will be some real chance of our right to travel.

I, as you know, stay close to news of South Africa. It lies very close to our hearts. All the best to you. We shall often drop a line. Eslanda is fine and working hard as a press correspondent at the United Nations.

My best to all.

Sincerely,

Paul Robeson

July 25, 1954

Mrs. Nance MacMillan
229 White Road
Lota, Brisbane Q

Dear Nance McMillan,

How good to hear from you. The gathering was a great success and the campaign is in motion. As yet I have not been refused or given permission to travel. A court case as a basis for going to the people will be instituted. I'll get over there one day soon.

Thanks for the songs and for your occasional messages. Do write now and then even when there is no urgency.

So glad to see you have a little one - I have two grandchildren, 3½ and 1½ years old. Have a great time with them.

Often think of the wonderful Congress of 1949 - and have followed your struggles in Australia. All my best to my many friends and a special hello to you and family. Am feeling fine and in the thick of the struggle for peace and a decent world for our children. Thanks again.

Sincerely,

Paul Robeson

July 25, 1954

Mr. Kring Het Gouden Hoofd
Uiterwaardenstraat 18
Amsterdam C., Netherlands

Dear Mr. Kring Het Gouden Hoofd,

May I thank you deeply for your kind message, and also the members of your club.

I do hope to be successful in obtaining my passport. If so, I shall be in England and would look forward to a visit with all in Amsterdam. I sang in the Hague many times and over the radio in Holland.

All my best to Mr. Theun de Vries, whom I well remember. We continue here, under difficult conditions, the struggle for a peaceful and abundant world.

Sincerely,

Paul Robeson

Kring Het Gouden Hoofd
Uiterwagrdenstraat 18
Amsterdam C.
Netherlands

Dear Mr. Robeson:

Writing in behalf of a group of Amsterdam artists and intellectuals, who assemble under the sign of the Gouden Hoofd (meaning: The Gold Head), we should be very glad indeed, if we could have the pleasure of seeing and hearing you in our midst.

Our club evenings, if one may call them so, embrace many activities: disputes, lectures, music. We are preparing now for the next season, and as there was a rumour here, that you would come to England and Holland again, we are eager to hear if you could find some time for us in September or October and sing for us.

One of our presidents is Mr. Theun de Vries, the Dutch author you have met on the Pushkin-festivals in 1950.

He gives you his best greetings and cordial wishes and hopes to see and hear you amongst many of your Dutch friends and admirers.

Waiting for a reply, which will be, so do we hope, a favorable one, we remain

Kring Het Gouden Hoofd

p/o A. With

July 25, 1954

Mr. R. White
204 Buckley St.
Essenden W 5
Victoria, Australia

Dear Mr. White,

Thank you so much for your help and for your message. Please extend my thanks to the other signers, including Mrs. J. Clayton.

The campaign here is on and we may be successful. One day I certainly hope to visit you all in your own land. I have many friends there and have long wanted to sing for the Australian people. I have just received a delightful set of Australian songs.

All my best again.

Sincerely,

Paul Robeson

July 26, 1954

Mrs. Sylvia Townsend Warner
Maiden Newton
Dorset, England

Dear Sylvia Townsend Warner,

Thank you so much for your kind message. There is some hope that I may be able to visit you all some time soon. I need not tell you how it helps to get such words of encouragement.

I am feeling fine and my voice is holding up very well. I am in the thick of the struggle for peace and decency.

Again all the best to you.

Sincerely,

Paul Robeson

July 26, 1954

Dr. Maurice Dobb
Trinity College
Cambridge, England

Dear Dr. Dobb,

Thank you for your message. There is some real hope that I may be able to visit you all again and sing for the wonderful audiences I remember so well.

My greetings to any friends at Cambridge and all the best to you.

Sincerely,

Paul Robeson

July 26, 1954

Fucikova, Vice President
Czechoslovak Peace Committee
Palais S. I. A.
Prague, Czechoslovakia

Dear Friends,

Thank you so much for your kind greeting. Do hope we can again travel to your wonderful land. I remember so well my stay there in 1949.

All my best to you and my deepest respects and honor to you, Fucikova. Here in America we are in the thick of the struggle to help win the peace and a world of friendship and plenty. Again thanks.

Sincerely,

Paul Robeson

July 26, 1954

Dr. Y. M. Dadoo
18 Barkly Arcade
28 Market Street
Johannesburg, South Africa

Dear Dadoo,

Just came across a special greeting from you. Have sent messages in almost every answer to South Africa of "hello" to you. How good to hear from you. I follow your noble and courageous struggle and, as you know, feel as close to it as my own.

All my best to you and the brave peoples of your land. Do write occasionally. I shall do the same. Mrs. Robeson and Pauli say "hello".

Sincerely,

Paul Robeson

July 26, 1954

Mr. Pablo Neruda
Calle Lynch 164
Santiago de Chile

Dear Pablo Neruda,

Thank you so much for your kind message. I trust you received the birthday greeting. So good to know you are back in your homeland.

One day, perhaps soon, I can visit with you again. All my best to you, family and to the Chilean people.

Sincerely,

Paul Robeson

July 26, 1954

Professor J. D. Bernal
21 Torrintgon Square
London W. C. 1

Dear Bernal,

Thanks so much for your message. Things are in motion. I have applied for my passport. As yet no reply. If refused, will institute court case which will provide basis for vigorous campaign. Especially now - within the context of cultural exchange.

On August 1, am again at the Peace Arch near Vancouver, British Columbia in Western Canada. It's just on the American-Canadian border. Expect about 50,000 people. There were 40,000 last year. The sponsors are the powerful progressive union, Mine, Mill and Smelters.

Feeling fine and hope to see you soon. Give best to everyone. And take my greetings when you go to Joliet-Cure, D'Arbussier, La Fitte and many others.

Continued thanks to you for your ceaseless contributions to peace and human knowledge and dignity. I'm proud to be numbered among your friends.

Sincerely,

Paul Robeson

July 26, 1954

Mr. William Pearson
National Union of Mine Workers, Scottish Area
5 Hillside Crescent
Edinburgh

Dear Mr. Pearson,

Thanks again for your continued interest and support. I often think of my visit and am certain I shall be with you all again not too far distant.

The campaign goes on and will receive real impetus on August 1st. Then under the auspices of the Canadian Section of the very fine union - The Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers - I sing at a Peace Arch on the American-Canadian border, 30 miles from Vancouver, British Columbia. They expect around 50,000 persons. Last year there were 40,000.

I am feeling fine and remain in the thick of the battle. Changes are being imposed upon our would-be warmongers, as you can see. Danger still ominous, but hope for eventual peace increases.

Continue the fight there, as I know you will. It has real effect on rulers here.

All my best. Will keep in touch.

Sincerely,

Paul Robeson

July 26, 1954

Mr. R. Palme Dutt
19 Whitehall Lodge
Pages Lane
London N. 10

Dear Palme Dutt,

It was really wonderful to get your kind and inspiring message. I keep in touch with your work of course - but it helped so to hear directly from you. I shall from here out keep in closer touch and once in a while send a short few lines about things I know would be of interest.

I keep in very close touch with India - and they have been wonderful there and in South Africa.

Hope to see you soon in London. Feeling fine and in the thick of struggle here. All the best.

Sincerely,

Paul Robeson

July 26, 1954

Mr. Pat Sloan
British Soviet Friendship Society
36 Spencer St.
London E. C. 1

Dear Pat Sloan,

Thanks for your kind message. Campaign here is under way. Will get real send-off on August 1st when I sing at Peace Arch between Seattle, State of Washington in the United States, and Vancouver, British Columbia in Canada. Expect 50,000 people - had 40,000 last year.

Feeling fine. In thick of struggle here. It's hard but it goes on with determination and great courage on the part of thousands of Americans.

Sincerely,

Paul Robeson

July 26, 1954

Mrs. Rose Grant
21a Eton Rise
London, N. W. 3

Dear Rose Grant,

Thanks for your greetings from the Assembly. I hope to be with you all - not too far in the future.

Know how much courage I take from the knowledge that the people of the British Isles give me such support. All my best.

Sincerely,

Paul Robeson

July 26, 1954

Mr. Christopher Brunel
19 Lawford Road
Kentish Town
London N. W. 5, England

Dear Mr. Christopher Brunell,

Thank you so much for your kind greeting. No, the message was addressed to you. Your father's work I, of course, know well.

All success to you in your work. Possibly we shall meet soon.

Sincerely,

Paul Robeson

July 26, 1954

Sarah and Daniel Latifi
4, Harkness Road
Malabar Hill
Bombay 6, India

Dear Sarah and Daniel Latifi,

Thank you for your kind message. I hope to be successful and to visit your great and noble land.

The deep affection of the Indian people is ever a source of strength.

Sincerely,

Paul Robeson

July 26, 1954

Mr. Edgar De Silva
Vijaya Road
Kurama
Negombo, Ceylon

Dear Mr. Edgar De Silva,

Thank you so much for the kind message from Ceylon. I remember so many friends from your "far-away but lovely land" and several with the illustrious name De Silva.

All my best to you and I shall often send greetings to you there. Feeling fine and in the thick of the struggle for peace - and very active artistically.

Sincerely,

Paul Robeson

July 26, 1954

Dr. John Takman
Alviksvagen 170
Bromma, Sweden

Dear Dr. Takman,

Thanks for your kind message. The struggle nears some kind of resolution.

I remember my visit to Sweden and the wonderful meeting in London in 1950.

Please give my best to the gallant peace fighters in your country. I shall certainly be happy to be singing to them once more. All good wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Robeson

Stockholm

Provisional Committee to Restore
Paul Robeson's passport

answered

Dear Paul Robeson: For your courage and your songs, giving voice to millions' wish for happiness and freedom, uniting over oceans those who want peace, we love you and thank you, hoping to meet you soon.

Andrea Andreen

###

Swedish volunteers in the war against fascism in Spain decided on their regular monthly meeting to protest against the refusal of passport for Paul Robeson, and demand the right for him to travel abroad.

Sincerely yours,

Per Eriksson   no address   Hilding Wessel

Thank you very much for your kind message

###

We will again hear and see Paul Robeson here in Sweden.

Marianne and David Isaksson   no address

Thank you, all the best

###

Clarte

Alviksvagen 170, Bromma, Sweden
May 15, 1954

Dear friends:

I enclose a copy of a letter to the State Department. I wish you success in your work. It is of tremendous importance to us. I don't exaggerate if I say that the whole Swedish people regardless of opinions is longing to hear Paul Robeson in person. Please forward my best wishes to him. I met him in London in 1950, but he doesn't, of course, remember me among the friends that gathered one evening in the laboratory of Professor Bernal.

Yours sincerely,
JOHN TAKMAN

letter answered

copy of letter to State Department:

Sirs,

Five years ago Paul Robeson toured Scandinavia. All his concerts in the biggest halls were attended by the most enthusiastic audiences we have ever seen, and an outdoor meeting in Stockholm gathered more than 40,000, which is the biggest audience I think an artist has had in the history of Sweden. Since then there has been a nationwide opinion for hearing this mighty voice again. Paul Robeson's records are frequently played over the radio and at popular meetings. But we want above all to have Paul Robeson tour Sweden again. Nobody here can understand the iron curtain preventing him to leave the United States. Please restore his passport. Yours,

JOHN TAKMAN, MD

July 26, 1954

Mrs. Mimi Sverdrup Lunden
Norwegian Committee of the WIDF
Weglandson 5 1, 504
Oslo, Norway

Dear Mimi Sverdrup Lunden,

Thanks so much for your message. I remember so vividly my visit to Oslo - the wonderful meeting in the Square - and my meeting so many of your brave people.

I do hope you are able soon to continue your work and that I shall be able soon to visit you all again. We struggle on here for peace and decency.

My best to you, your friends and to the people of Norway.

Sincerely,

Paul Robeson

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

July 26, 1954

Mr. Aarne Saarinen, General Secretary
Trade Unions International of Workers of the Building, Wood
and Building Materials Industries (WFTU)
Helsinki, Finland

Dear Mr. Saarinen,

Thank you for your fine message. The campaign here is underway and we shall fight it through.

It is indeed wonderful to know that support such as comes from your organization is firmly behind us. The struggle here is not easy but we are in the thick of it - to help insure peace and plenty and human dignity.

All my best again. Thanks.

Sincerely,

Paul Robeson

July 26, 1954

World Federation of Trade Unions
Seilerstatte 3
Vienna 1, Austria

Dear Friends,

Thank you deeply for your message of support. The fight continues and I hope for definite resolution soon.

Note that on August 1st there will be a Peace Concert on the borders between United States and Canada, near Seattle, Washington, and Vancouver, British Columbia. Expect 50,000 people, including thousands of American and Canadian youth.

All my best to you. Feeling fine and in the thick of the struggle.

Sincerely,

Paul Robeson

July 26, 1954

Mr. Alf Taylor
32 Woodline Crescent
Sydney, Australia

Dear Mr. Taylor,

Thank you so much for your kind message. The campaign is on and we hope to be successful. Maybe one day not too far off - I shall see you in Australia.

All my best to you and many, many friends in your land.

Sincerely,

Paul Robeson

PAUL ROBESON

July 27, 1954

Karin Bjorklund
Tomfraffsvagen 22
Hagersten
Stockholm, Sweden

Dear Karin Bjorklund,

Thank you for your kind message. And how good of you to write to Mrs. Juel of the radio station. It's wonderful to know people feel like that.

I do remember my visits to Sweden, especially the first time in 1939 - and of course in 1949 in a wonderful gathering in a large park there.

Thank you. I am making new records for a company called "Othello " Record Co. Hope you'll be able to get some of the records.

Sincerely,

Paul Robeson

PAUL ROBESON

July 27, 1954

Miss Sinilga Penn
Dizengoff 2V Street
Tel-Aviv, Israel

Dear Sinilga Penn,

How good of you to write me such a lovely letter. It gives me great content and great courage to know that youth far away feel as you do. Yes, I remember your father, know of his work, and I keep in close touch with the peace struggle all over the world. And often I see some item about Israel. I also sing in Hebrew and am learning to read.

I have received all the messages. I have also written the group you contacted.

I often see Charles Blackwell and Pearl Primus is dancing often here in New York City. Maybe soon I shall be able to come to sing to you in Israel. All my best to you and do write me again. I shall keep in touch with you all there.

The concert was a great success. Thanks again.

Sincerely,

Paul Robeson

115

PAUL ROBESON

July 27, 1954

Mrs. Andrea Andreen
Svenska Kvinnors Vansterforbund
Box 18073
Stockholm 18, Sweden

Dear Mrs. Andreen,

Thank you so much for your message. We hope here for some success and the opportunity of cultural exchange with many people.

I remember so well my visit to Sweden. Of course I know of the wonderful contributions of your organization.

Thank you again and give my greetings to the Swedish people whom I remember with such affection.

Sincerely,

Paul Robeson

July 27, 1954

Mr. Ed. Althoff
Amsterdamse Bachring
Damrak 68 I
Amsterdam - C.

Dear Mr. Althoff and members of the Amsterdamse Bachring,

Thank you so much for your kind message. And thanks for your invitation.

What a wonderful experience it must have been to hear Miss Ferrier in such surroundings. I hope soon to gain my right to travel. If so, I shall keep in touch with you and at sometime will gladly accept your invitation. I now often include in my programs some of the very moving Bach Chorales. All my best.

Sincerely,

Paul Robeson

July 27, 1954

Theater Carre
Telefoon 53800 (3Lynen)
Amsterdam, Holland

Dear Sirs:

Thank you for your letter. I am hoping to gain the right to travel from my government. If successful, I shall gladly get in touch with you.

Were I to come over to Europe, I would first reach London. From there I could perhaps reach you in person. I remember visits to Holland many years ago.

All my best.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Robeson

July 27, 1954

Mrs. Ruth Herman
Kvindernes Demokratiske Verdensforbund
Danmarks Demokratiske Kvindeforbund
Vesterbrogade 68, 1, V.
Kobenhavn, V. den
Denmark

Dear Ruth Herman,

Thank you so much for your kind message. Hope to be successful in my efforts to visit you and sing for you again.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Paul Robeson

July 27, 1954

Mr. F. Portnoi
M. Zamenhoff St.
Tel-Aviv, Israel

To my friends in Tel-Aviv,

How wonderful to receive your message and letter. I have it and shall treasure it - and, no joking, have learned to read it in the Hebrew.

My warmest wishes to you all. And continue your struggles for peace and a world where we can all live in dignity and freedom.

Thanks again. Sholom dise.

Sincerely,

Paul Robeson

July 27, 1954

Mme C. Honore
97 Bd St-Michel
Paris 5^{O}, France

Dear Mme Honore,

Thank you so much for your kind message and for the support of the Library group.

Within the context of the struggle for cultural exchange, and the weight of public opinion here and abroad, we hope to be successful.

All my best.

Sincerely,

Paul Robeson

July 27, 1954

Mrs. Eugenie F. Eboue-Tell
Assemblee de L'union Francaise
Asuieres, France

Dear Mrs. Eboue-Tell,

Thank you for your kind message. Do hope to be successful in gaining my constitutional right to travel.

So good to hear from you and to know you are well. Mrs. Robeson sends her warmest greetings. Perhaps I shall soon see you in Paris.

All my best.

Sincerely,

Paul Robeson

July 27, 1954

Mr . Jose L. Massera
Vazquez 1421
Montevideo, Uruguay

Dear Friend,

Thanks for your greeting from the National Council of Peace.

The struggle for freedom of travel will, I hope, be won and, if so, I would welcome the opportunity of at last visiting you in Uruguay and other countries in South America.

My good wishes to you and the Council in the urgent fight for peace. Thanks again.

Sincerely,

Paul Robeson

July 27, 1954

Prof. Jose Antonio Arze
Universidad Mayor de San Andres
La Paz, Bolivia

Dear Professor Arze,

Thanks so much for your kind message. The campaign is on and we hope to be successful. Maybe one day not too far off I shall see you in Bolivia.

All my best to you.

Sincerely,

Paul Robeson

July 27, 1954

Confederacion de Ferroviarios de Bolivia
Ayacucho #284, 3 er. Piso
La Paz, Bolivia

Dear Friends,

Thank you so much for your kind message. Hope to win my right to travel and one day to see you all in Bolivia.

We continue here the struggle for peace and human dignity. All the best.

Sincerely,

Paul Robeson

July 27, 1954

Mr. Ivor Montagu
Knowle, Bucks Hill, nr. Kings Langley
Herts, England

Dear, dear Ivor Montagu,

Thanks so much for your message - and for your added message from the World Council meeting.

It's always so good to hear from you and to note your continued magnificent contribution to the cause of peace and human decency. Do give my best to La Fitte, to D'Arbussier, to all. I shall keep in touch with you - with a personal note now and then.

Am feeling fine and in the thick of the struggle. Always good to recall, as I do, your warm smile and chuckle.

All best.

Sincerely,

Paul Robeson

155 West 138th St.
New York City

September 12, 1955

Editor
New York Amsterdam News
2340 Eighth Ave.
NewYork 27, N.Y.

Dear Sir:

I deeply appreciate your concern, expressed in recent editorials, that I should be dealt with fairly in my efforts to secure a passport. As you have pointed out, there is involved not only my right to pursue my career as an artist, but also the matter of equal justice, and you assert that I am "entitled to the same consideration that other Americans had received from the State Department in the granting of passports."

That is all that I want--that "same consideration"--and, indeed, this matter is the very essence of my long and costly legal struggle to win the right to travel.

However, there seems to be some misunderstanding of one aspect of the case, and I refer to your editorial comment on Sept. 10 that "we cannot go along with (Robeson's) decision to ignore the State Department's standard requirements."

But that is the rub. The fact is, the so-called non-Communist affidavit which the Passport Office insists that I must sign before my application can be considered is not a "standard requirement." I am told that a half million U.S. citizens annually receive passports without executing such an oath. They subscribe instead to the oath of allegiance to the United States which is printed upon the passport application, an oath which I have been proud to take upon the many occasions of my applications for a passport.

In rejecting the arbitrary and exceptional procedure demanded of me (and of Dr. Du Bois and certain other individuals), I am fighting not only for my own rights but for the fundamental principle of civil liberty that is involved. The right to travel is a constitutional right no less than is the right to vote, and to deny the free exercise of such a basic right by inquiries into a citizen's political beliefs and by special oaths for arbitrarily selected individuals is to make a mockery of our democratic institutions.

Anyone reading your wrathful editorial, "Murder in Mississippi," printed last week on the same page where you discussed my case, must surely recognize that the right to travel--from state to state, and to other countries--is of special concern to Negro Americans. It is highly significant that the right to travel is embodied in the 14th Amendment which is our legal guarantee of equal citizenship.

Further, it must be said that the matter of a non-Communist affidavit in my case is only a thin cover-up for the real issues behind the denial of my passport. In fact, when my passport was revoked in 1950 no question of any such affidavit was raised.

The real issues in this case are on the record. In a legal brief submitted to the Court of Appeals in 1952 the State Department argued that the revoking of Paul Robeson's passport was justified because of his "frank admission that he has been for many years extremely active in behalf of the independence of the colonial peoples of Africa." (The Bandung Conference showed that all of the colored nations of the world are also "guilty" of that charge.)

And now in 1955, the State Department has made it clear that, along with my interest in colonial liberation, my stand for Negro freedom in America is at the heart of the case. On Aug. 16, U.S. Attorney Leo A. Rover got up in a court hearing on my case and told why it was so "dangerous" to let me travel abroad. Here are his words from the official record:

"During the concert tours of foreign countries he (Robeson) repeatedly criticized the conditions of Negroes in the United States..."

And Mr. Rover added another charge of this kind of "Communist" activity on my part: "In May, 1955, that is this year, he sent a message to the Asian-African Conference at Bandung, Indonesia, pointing to the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and China as examples of social progress. Well, that has its slant, that has an overtone, that is definitely communistic. Representative Powell of New York went to that meeting and praised the efforts of the American government in the social progress it was making for the Negroes. He didn't go there and do as we say Robeson did ..."

Your readers may be interested in an exact quotation from my message to Bandung on this subject. I wrote:

"The time has come when the colored peoples of the world will no longer allow the great natural wealth of their countries to be exploited and expropriated by the Western world while they are beset by hunger, disease and poverty. It is clearly evident that these evils can be eradicated and that the economic, social and cultural advancement of whole populations of hundreds of millions of people can be rapidly achieved, once modern science and industrialization are applied and directed toward raising the general level of well being of peoples rather than toward the enrichment of individuals and corporations.

"The possibility and practicability of such rapid social advancement have been attested by those who have objectively examined the history of the Soviet Union since 1917 and developments during the last decade in the countries of Eastern Europe, in China, and in newly emancipated Asian countries such as India."

That is the truth as I see it, and I share this belief with the vast majority of mankind. Let me say here, again, that as long as race oppression and economic exploitation exist here at home or elsewhere in the world, I shall continue to denounce these evils wherever I might be.

Let others go abroad and "praise" the treatment of Negroes in Mississippi, if that is what they are moved to do, but tell me: Where in the Bible does it say that the Commandment, "Thou shalt not bear false witness," does not apply to Negro Americans who travel abroad? ~~[illegible]~~

Sincerely yours,

Paul Robeson

b 1 carbon

It is a great Privilege to be again addressing the Indian People. Especially is it fitting ~~that~~ in these Days of stress and struggle, ~~that~~ we gather in the cause of the Peace. Here in your land, you have been close to ~~recent~~ events ~~shaping~~ the destinies of Tens of millions. ~~In~~ The Papers here in the United States. Carry the news to-day of Peace in Indo-China.

It has been clear that you, the Peace fighters in India have Played an important and honorable Part in this historic event.

In 1949 in Paris - I heard the courageous President of the then World Peace Congress - utter prophetic words. I ever recall them. He said in essence, ~~that~~ the "Peoples of the World wanted Peace - they would have Peace (and he underlined) - "They the Peoples will not beg for Peace: they will if necessary - impose the Peace" - Impose the Peace.

That we must continue to do. Here in America - at the very core of World Re-action -

3,

~~Where~~ Swagger and ~~threaten~~
the most vicious ~~[illegible]~~ and most powerful of
the War-mongers = yes - ~~even~~ here,
to the ~~spo~~ People speak out.
when ~~the President Nixon~~ Top officers
suggested ~~that~~ American "troops might go to
Indo-China," in an ~~attempt~~ to
save for a moment a ~~decaded~~ decaying
French imperialism - and
the next moment to push the French ~~the~~ ~~the~~ ~~[illegible]~~ rulers aside,
& ~~[illegible]~~ establish a world-wide American century
Imperialism — The People
the United States said no =

3A.

~~And~~ They said no - because first they recognize the ~~mighty~~ growing Power of the Indo-Chinese People - they recognize the Power of the allies of the Indo-Chinese People and of all Peoples struggling for liberation. Allies growing Peace fighters everywhere -

And the American People are beginning to understand ~~that~~ mighty governments & Peoples stand for Peace - and for the support of the aspirations toward Freedom of hitherto colonial Peoples.

They know that ~~[illegible]~~ also among the allies of the Indo Chinese ~~Chinese~~ People -

Stand the mighty ~~Republics~~ ~~[illegible]~~ Lands of the
~~Socialist Lands of the Soviets~~ ~~Republics~~
~~the Union of Soviet Socialist~~
the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
~~that~~ behind the Indo-Chinese Viet Namese
Republic stands the ~~mighty~~
Powerful Peoples of the New China—
Yes ~~the~~ on earth this [illegible]
Viet Namese People. Stand all decent
minded People all over the globe.

We in America know our
Responsibilities. We look at recent
happenings in Guatemala. You in India
need no explanation of this — We
in America see the attempts to enforce

the struggle for the full freedom
of the Negro people from whom I
spring. ~~The attempt to arrest the~~
~~full~~
~~march toward liberation of the~~
~~millions of my people~~
~~many — by dropping a few crumbs —~~
~~a few jobs, never top jobs, to~~
~~who value little their~~
~~opportunities~~
~~women~~
~~millions of fellow-men — again these continue~~
~~understand~~
~~those things,~~

You in India know it.
Like you we shall struggle on —
never backing
~~ever~~ courageous —
up one inch — until as you — we are
closer to our goal.

6.

Thanks you for your interest, sympathy and support. I hope to obtain my Passport, & now ~~that~~ soon there-after I shall find my way to your land - a land I have ~~I've~~ always wanted to see, a people I have longed to be among and to be [illegible].

For I have longed shared your struggle thru many years in England especially. Your struggles were to me - one with the struggles of the African Peoples in Africa & in the Americas from whom I sprung.

Today in South Africa

there has grown a firm unity
between our Peoples - in the face of
a common enemy = That unity must
ever deepen, For Freedom is
and always will be indivisible.

All my best to you - and
again deep thanks for all your
efforts in the noble Cause of Peace
and Human Brother and Sister-hood
and Friendship between all
of the Earth.

Paul Robeson

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

Mihra
S Reed

Quarter
202

Ed
John Gray

MESSAGE OF PAUL ROBESON TO ALL INDIA PEACE COUNCIL

It is a great privilege to be again addressing the Indian People. Especially is it fitting in these days of stress and struggle, that we gather in the cause of Peace. There in your land, you have been close to events shaping the destinies of tens of millions. The papers here in the United States carry the news today of peace in Indo-China.

It has been clear that you, the peace fighters in India, have played an important and honorable part in this historic event.

In 1949 in Paris - I heard the courageous President of the then World Peace Congress utter prophetic words. I ever recall them. He said, in essence, that the peoples of the world wanted peace - they would have peace (and he underlined): "They, the people, will not beg for peace. They will, if necessary, impose the peace - impose the peace."

That we must continue to do. Here in America - at the very core of world reaction, where swagger and threaten the most vicious and most powerful of the warmongers-- yes, here, too, the people speak out. When top officials suggested that American troops might to to Indo-China, in an attempt to save for a moment a decaying French imperialism - and the next moment to push the French rulers aside and establish a would-be American Century imperialism - the people of the United States said no. They said no because, first, they recognize the growing power of the Indo-Chinese people - they recognize the power of the allies of the Indo-Chinese people and of all peoples struggling for liberation --allies among peace fighters everywhere. And the American people are beginning to understand that mighty governments and peoples stand for peace - and for the support of the aspirations toward Freedom of hither-to colonial peoples. They know that also among the allies of the Indo-Chinese people stand the mighty lands of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics - that behind the Indo-Chinese Viet-Nam Republic stands the powerful peoples of the New China -- yes, with these courageous Viet Namese people stand all decent-minded people all over the globe.

We in America know our responsibilities. We look at recent happenings in Guatemala. You in India need no explanation of this. We in America see the attempts to confuse the struggle for the full freedom of the Negro people from whom I spring. Again, you in India know of and understand these things. Like you, we shall struggle on - ever courageous - never backing up one inch - until, as you, we are closer to our goal.

Thank you for your interest, sympathy and support. I hope to obtain my passport. Know that soon thereafter I shall find my way to your land - a land I have always wanted to see - a people I have longed to be among and to be of, for I have long shared your struggles. In England, especially, through many years your struggles were to me one with the struggles of the African peoples, in Africa and in the Americans, from whom I spring.

Today in South Africa there has grown a firm unity between our peoples - in the face of a common enemy. That unity must ever deepen. For freedom is and always will be - indivisible.

All my best to you, and again deep thanks for all your efforts in the noble cause of peace and human brother and sister-hood.

Peace and friendship between all the peoples of the earth.

PAUL ROBESON

Cable - no address

139 W. 125th St
N.Y. City

To
Margaret Fairley
Editor New Frontiers

Thank you so much for your wonderful message of encouragement. I'll soon be greeting a section of the Canadian People at the Peace Arch near Vancouver. Do give my love and 'hello' to my friends and to the brave peace fighters of your land and mine. All my best to you in your work – Paul. (Robeson)

139 W. 125th St.
New York City

To my friends in
South Africa:—

Thank you all from the bottom of my heart for your messages of support and sympathy. Perhaps we shall be successful. Know ~~that~~ the Council on African Affairs, ~~that~~ I shall ever be fighting for the freedom of your land – a land dear to us – to me – the land of our gallant forbears and of our present day Brothers & Sisters. All the best –

Paul Robeson

139 W. 125 St
N.Y. City

Dear Alfredo Gravino—

Thank you for your kind message from Uruguay— and I do hope to be able to visit you soon.

All my best and be assured we shall here continue the struggle for Peace and Democracy— however difficult.

Sincerely

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

BUDAPEST

WHOLEHEARTED SUPPORT EFFORTS RESTORE PASSPORT YOUR SONGS INSPIRATION TO ALL YOUTH WARMEST GREETINGS.

WORLD FEDERATION OF DEMOCRATIC YOUTH

Thanks and deeply for your message regarding my Passport. ~~The struggle continues and~~ ~~We shall~~ I value so deeply my long association with the wonderful youth especially thru this Federation. Continue your ~~fine~~ work for a "New World in ~~Birth~~ Birth" and for Peace.

All the Best

P. R. ~~Scot~~

See appended message

Cable no address

139 W. 125th St
N.Y. City

Dear John St. John—

Thanks so much for the greeting from yourself and fellow writers. I remember so many of them. Do say a hello to Jack Lindsay & Montagu Slater – and to all the others. May be some real hope of my getting over to see you all.

All the best

Sincerely

Paul Robeson

no address on letter

1396. 125th St

To Audience which gathered at Workers & Youth Club – "Jitzchak Sedeh" = Tel Aviv

Thank you so much for your wonderful message. There is some hope ~~that~~ we shall soon be able to visit you. I have longed looked forward to such a journey. All my best to you there – Do write to me again –

Sincerely

Paul Robeson

COPY

American Embassy
Rothschild Blv.
Tel Aviv,
Israel

25.5.54

Dear Sirs,

Audience of Paul Robeson Concert at Jitschak Sadeh Workers and Youth Club in Tel Aviv, join the millions in all parts of the world who demand the return of his passport.

The voice of Paul Robeson has made many, many friends to the American song and music, and to the freedom loving heritage.

We want to hear Paul Robeson sing again, all peoples want to hear his voice - a bell of liberty to freedom loving people everywhere.

Let him consecrate his genius to the cause of peace and friendship among peoples all over the world, to strengthen the cultural relation among all peoples.

We demand of the U. S. Government to return Paul Robeson's passport to his owner.

Audience of the Concert of Paul Robeson's Song,
The Committee of "Jitschak Sadeh"
Workers and Youth Club.

Copy: Provisional Committee to Restore Paul Robeson's passport,
Suite 6, 139 West 125th Street, New York 27, U. S. A.

WESTERN UNION:

..[illegible] 17 PD INTL VIA FX NOT AT RENAISSANCE CASINO
- N LONDON VIA MACKAY MAY [illegible] 2005

- LT MAUD GREEN -
- 139 WEST 125 ST SUITE 6 NYK -

SIXTY LONDON MUSICIANS WISH YOU SUCCESS

- STONE

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

Suite 6
139 W. 125 Street
New York 27, N. Y.

December 10, 1954

Bishop C.C. Alleyne
5861 Haverford Avenue
Philadelphia, Pa.

Dear Bishop Alleyne:

We want to send out a letter asking people to join us in urging the State Department to restore Paul's right to travel abroad and practice his profession.

Enclosed you will find the letter which we hope you will sign with us, the fact sheet explaining the case, and the statement we plan to forward to the State Department. Please feel free to make any suggestions or changes in any of the material enclosed.

Will you sign the letter with us? The "us" I hope will be: Mr. Elmer Benson, Rev. Shelton Hale Bishop, Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, Judge Jane Bolin, Prof. G. Murray Branch, Dr. Lucien Brown, Mrs. Lucille Chance, Mr. Earl Dickerson, Judge Hubert Delaney, Mr. Duke Ellington, Mr. James Hicks, Rev. Charles Hill, Rev. Kenneth De P. Hughes, Miss Mahalia Jackson, Mrs. Nettie Carter Jackson, Mrs. James Weldon Johnson, Mr. Corliss Lamont, Mr. Carey McWilliams, Dr. C.B. Powell, Mr. Willard Ransom, Mr. J.A. Rogers, Mrs. Modjeska Simkins, Rev. Willard Uphause, Mr. Clarence Cameron White and Mr. Charles White.

We will be eager and anxious tohear from you.

Sincerely,

Eslanda Goode Robeson

EGR/s
Enc. 3

Suite 6
139 W. 125 Street
New York 27, N. Y.

December 10, 1954

Hon. Elmer Benson
Appleton, Minn.

Dear Mr. Benson:

We want to send out a letter asking people to join us in urging the State Department to restore Paul's right to travel abroad and practice his profession.

Enclosed you will find the letter which we hope you will sign with us, the fact sheet explaining the case and the statement we plan to forward to the State Department. Please feel free to make any suggestions or changes in any of the material enclosed.

Will you sign the letter with us? The "us" I hope will be: Bishop C.C. Alleyne, Rev. Shelton Hale Bishop, Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, Judge Jane Bolin, Prof. G. Murray Branch, Dr. Lucien Brown, Mrs. Lucille Chance, Mr. Earl Dickerson, Judge Hubert Delaney, Mr. Duke Ellington, Mr. James Hicks, Rev. Charles Hill, Rev. Kenneth De P. Hughes, Miss Mahalia Jackson, Mrs. Nettie Carter Jackson, Mrs. James Weldon Johnson, Mr. Corliss Lamont, Mr. Carey McWilliams, Dr. C.B. Powell, Mr. Willard Ransom, Mr. J.A. Rogers, Mrs. Modjeska Simkins, Rev. Willard Uphause, Mr. Clarence Cameron White and Mr. Charles White.

We will be eager and anxious to hear from you.

Sincerely,

Eslanda Goode Robeson

EGR/s
Enc. 3

Suite 6
139 W. 125 Street
New York 27, N. Y.

December 10, 1954

Rev. Shelton Hale Bishop
215 West 133 Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Rev. Bishop:

We want to send out a letter asking people to join us in urging the State Department to restore Paul's right to travel abroad and practice his profession.

Enclosed you will find the letter which we hope you will sign with us, the fact sheet explaining the case and the statement we plan to forward to the State Department. Please feel free to make any suggestions or changes in any of the material enclosed.

Will you sign the letter with us? The "us" I hope will be: Bishop C.C. Alleyne, Mr. Elmer Benson, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Judge Jane Bolin, Prof. G. Murray Branch, Dr. Lucien Brown, Mrs. Lucille Chance, Mr. Earl Dickerson, Judge Hubert Delaney, Mr. Duke Ellington, Mr. James Hicks, Rev. Charles Hill, Rev. Kenneth De P. Hughes, Miss Mahalia Jackson, Mrs. Nettie Carter Jackson, Mrs. James Weldon Johnson, Mr. Corliss Lamont, Mr. Carey McWilliams, Dr. C.B. Powell, Mr. Willard Ransom, Mr. J.A. Rogers, Mrs. Modjeska Simkins, Rev. Willard Uphause, Mr. Clarence Cameron White and Mr. Charles White.

We will be eager and anxious to hear from you.

Sincerely,

Eslanda Goode Robeson

EGR/s
Enc. 3

Suite 6
139 W. 125 Street
New York 27, N. Y.

December 10, 1954

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois
31 Grace Court
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Dear Dr. DuBois:

We want to send out a letter asking people to join us in urging the State Department to restore Paul's right to travel abroad and practice his profession.

Enclosed you will find the letter which we hope you will sign with us, the fact sheet explaining the case and the statement we plan to forward to the State Department. Please feel free to make any suggestions or changes in any of the material enclosed.

Will you sign the letter with us? The "us" I hope will be: Bishop C.C. Alleyne, Mr. Elmer Benson, Rev. Shelton Hale Bishop, Judge Jane Bolin, Prof. G. Murray Branch, Dr. Lucien Brown, Mrs. Lucille Chance, Mr. Earl Dickerson, Judge Hubert Delaney, Mr. Duke Ellington, Mr. James Hicks, Rev. Charles Hill, Rev. Kenneth De P. Hughes, Miss Mahalia Jackson, Mrs. Nettie Carter Jackson, Mrs. James Weldon Johnson, Mr. Corliss Lamont, Mr. Carey McWilliams, Dr. C.B. Powell, Mr. Willard Ransom, Mr. J.A. Rogers, Mrs. Modjeska Simkins, Rev. Willard Uphause, Mr. Clarence Cameron White and Mr. Charles White.

We will be eager and anxious to hear from you.

Sincerely,

Eslanda Goode Robeson

EGR/s
Enc. 3

Suite 6
139 W. 125 Street
New York 27, N. Y.

December 10, 1954

Judge Jane Bolin
555 Edgecombe Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Judge Bolin:

We want to send out a letter asking people to join us in urging the State Department to restore Paul's right to travel abroad and practice his profession.

Enclosed you will find the letter which we hope you will sign with us, the fact sheet explaining the case and the statement we plan to forward to the State Department. Please feel free to make any suggestions or changes in any of the material enclosed.

Will you sign the letter with us? The "us" I hope will be: Bishop C.C. Alleyne, Mr. Elmer Benson, Rev. Shelton Hale Bishop, Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, Prof. G. Murray Branch, Dr. Lucien Brown, Mrs. Lucille Chance, Mr. Earl Dickerson, Judge Hubert Delaney, Mr. Duke Ellington, Mr. James Hicks, Rev. Charles Hill, Rev. Kenneth De P. Hughes, Miss Mahalia Jackson, Mrs. Nettie Carter Jackson, Mrs. James Weldon Johnson, Mr. Corliss Lamont, Mr. Carey McWilliams, Dr. C.B. Powell, Mr. Willard Ransom, Mr. J.A. Rogers, Mrs. Modjeska Simkins, Rev. Willard Uphause, Mr. Clarence Cameron White and Mr. Charles White.

We will be eager and anxious to hear from you.

Sincerely,

Eslanda Goode Robeson

EGR/s
Enc. 3

Suite 6
139 W. 125 Street
New York 27, N. Y.

December 10, 1954

Prof. G. Murray Branch
Morehouse College
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Prof. Branch:

We want to send out a letter asking people to join us in urging the State Department to restore Paul's right to travel abroad and practice his profession.

Enclosed you will find the letter which we hope you will sign with us, the fact sheet explaining the case and the statement we plan to forward to the State Department. Please feel free to make any suggestions or changes in any of the material enclosed.

Will you sign the letter with us? The "us" I hope will be: Bishop C.C. Alleyne, Mr. Elmer Benson, Rev. Shelton Hale Bishop, Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, Dr. Lucien Brown, Mrs. Lucille Chance, Judge Jane Bolin, Mr. Earl Dickerson, Judge Hubert Delaney, Mr. Duke Ellington, Mr. James Hicks, Rev. Charles Hill, Rev. Kenneth De P. Highes, Miss Mahalia Jackson, Mrs. Nettie Carter Jackson, Mrs. James Weldon Johnson, Mr. Corliss Lamont, Mr. Carey McWilliams, Dr. C.B. Powell, Mr. Willard Ransom, Mr. J.A. Rogers, Mrs. Modjeska Simkins, Rev. Willard Uphause, Mr. Clarence Cameron White and Mr. Charles White.

We will be eager and ~~anxious~~to hear from you.

Sincerely,

Eslanda Goode Robeson

EGR/s
Enc. 3

Suite 6
139 W. 125 Street
New York 27, N. Y.

Decmeber 10, 1954

Dr. Lucien Brown
2460 Seventh Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Brown:

We want to send out a letter asking people to join us in urging the State Department to restore Paul's right to travel abroad and practice his profession.

Enclosed you will find the letter which we hope you will sign with us, the fact sheet explaining the case and the statement we plan to forward to the State Department. Please feel free to make any suggestions or changes in any of the material enclosed.

Will you sign the letter with us? The "us" I hope will be: Bishop C.C. Alleyne, Mr. Elmer Benson, Rev. Shelton Hale Bishop, Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, Judge Jane Bolin, Prof. G. Murray Branch, Mrs. Lucille Chance, Mr. Earl Dickerson, Judge Hubert Delaney, Mr. Duke Ellington, Mr. James Hicks, Rev. Charles Hill, Rev. Kenneth De P. Hughes, Miss Mahalia Jackson, Mrs. Nettie Carter Jackson, Mrs. James Weldon Johnson, Mr. Corliss Lamont, Mr. Carey McWilliams, Dr. C.B. Powell, Mr. Willard Ransom, Mr. J.A. Rogers, Mrs. Modjeska Simkims, Rev. Willard Uphause, Mr. Clarence Cameron White and Mr. Charles White.

We will be eager and anxious to hear from you.

Sincerely,

Eslanda Goode Robeson

EGR/s
Enc. 3

Suite 6
139 W. 125 Street
New York 27, N. Y.

December 10, 1954

Mrs. Lucille Chance
740 St. Nicholas Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mrs. Chance:

We want to send out a letter asking people to join us in urging the State Department to restore Paul's right to travel abroad and practice his profession.

Enclosed you will find the letter which we hope you will sign with us, the fact sheet explaining the case and the statement we plan to forward to the State Department. Please feel free to make any suggestions or changes in any of the material enclosed.

Will you sign the letter with us? The "us" I hope will be: Bishop C.C. Alleyne, Mr. Elmer Benson, Rev. Shelton Hale Bishop, Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, Judge Jane Bolin, Prof. G. Murray Branch, Dr. Lucien Brown, Mr. Earl Dickerson, Judge Hubert Delaney, Mr. Duke Ellington, Mr. James Hicks, Rev. Charles Hill, Rev. Kenneth De P. Hughes, Miss Mahalia Jackson, Mrs. Nettie Carter Jackson, Mrs. James Weldon Johnson, Mr. Corliss Lamont, Mr. Carey McWilliams, Dr. C.B. Powell, Mr. Willard Ransom, Mr. J.A. Rogers, Mrs. Modjeska Simkins, Rev. Willard Uphause, Mr. Clarence Cameron White and Mr. Charles White.

We will be eager and anxious to hear from you.

Sincerely yours,

Eslanda Goode Robeson

EGR/s
Enc. 3

Suite 6
139 W. 125 Street
New York 27, N. Y.

December 10, 1954

Earl B. Dickerson, Esq.
5027 Drexel Blvd.
Chicago 37, Illinois

Dear Mr. Dickerson:

We want to send out a letter asking people to join us in urging the State Department to restore Paul's right to travel abroad and practice his profession.

Enclosed you will find the letter which we hope you will sign with us, the fact sheet explaining the case and the statement we plan to forward to the State Department. Please feel free to make any suggestions or changes in any of the material enclosed.

Will you sign the letter with us? The "us" I hope will be: Bishop C.C. Alleyne, Mr. Elmer Benson, Rev. Shelton Hale Bishop, Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, Judge Jane Bolin, Prof. G. Murray Branch, Dr. Lucien Brown, Mrs. Lucille Chance, Judge Hubert Delaney, Mr. Duke Ellington, Mr. James Hicks, Rev. Charles Hill, Rev. Kenneth De P. Hughes, Miss Mahalia Jackson, Mrs. Nettie Carter Jackson, Mrs. James Weldon Johnson, Mr. Corliss Lamont, Mr. Carey McWilliams, Dr. C.B. Powell, Mr. Willard Ransom, Mr. J.A. Rogers, Mrs. Modjeska Simkins, Rev. Willard Uphause, Mr. Clarence Cameron White and Mr. Charles White.

We will be eager and anxious to hear from you.

Sincerely,

Eslanda Goode Robeson

EGR/s
Enc. 3

Suite 6
139 W. 125 Street
New York 27, N. Y.

December 10, 1954

Judge Hubert Delaney
617 W. 145 Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Judge Delaney:

We want to send out a letter asking people to join us in urging the State Department to restore Paul's right to travel abroad and practice his profession.

Enclosed you will find the letter which we hope you will sign with us, the fact sheet explaining the case and the statement we plan to forward to the State Department. Please feel free to make any suggestions or changes in any of the material enclosed.

Will you sign the letter with us? The "us" I hope will be: Bishop C.C. Alleyne, Mr. Elmer Benson, Rev. Shlton Hale Bishop, Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, Judge Jane Bolin, Prof. G. Murray Branch, Dr. Lucien Brown, Mrs. Lucille Chance, Mr. Earl Dickerson, Mr. Duke Ellington, Mr. James Hicks, Rev. Charles Hill, Rev. Kenneth De P. Hughes, Miss Mahalia Jackson, Mrs. Nettie Carter Jackson, Mrs. James Weldon Johnson, Mr. Corliss Lamont, Mr. Carey McWilliams, Dr. C.B. Powell, Mr. Willard Ransom, Mr. J.A. Rogers, Mrs. Modjeska Simkins, Rev. Willard Uphause, Mr. Clarence Cameron White and Mr. Charles White.

We will be eager and anxious to hear from you.

Sincerely,

Eslanda Goode Robeson

EGR/s
Enc. 3

Suite 6
139 W. 125 Street
New York 27, N. Y.

December 10, 1954

Mr. Duke Ellington
935 St. Nicholas Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Ellington:

We want to send out a letter asking people to join us in urging the State Department to restore Paul's right to travel abroad and practice his profession.

Enclosed you will find the letter which we hope you will sign with us, the fact sheet explaining the case and the statement we plan to forward to the State Department. Please feel free to make any suggestions or changes in any of the material enclosed.

Will you sign the letter with us? the "us" I hope will be: Bishop C.C. Alleyne, Mr. Elmer Benson, Rev. Shelton Hale Bishop, Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, Judge Jane Bolin, Prof. G. Murray Branch, Dr. Lucien Brown, Mrs. Lucille Chance, Mr. Earl Dickerson, Mr. James Hicks, Rev. Charles Hill, Rev. Kenneth De P. Hughes, Miss Mahalia Jackson, Judge Hubert Delaney, Mrs. Nettie Carter Jackson, Mrs. James Weldon Johnson, Mr. Corliss Lamont, Mr. Carey McWilliams, Dr. C.B. Powell, Mr. Willard Ransom, Mr. J.A. Rogers, Mrs. Modjeska Simkins, Rev. Willard Uphause, Mr. Clarence Cameron White and Mr. Charles White.

We will be eager and anxious to hear from you.

Sincerely,

Eslanda Goode Robeson

EGR/s
Enc. 3

Suite 6
139 West 125 Street
New York 27, N. Y.

December 10, 1954

Mr. James Hicks
21-15 Thirty Fourth Ave.
Long Island, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Hicks:

We want to send out a letter asking people to join us in urging the State Department to restore Paul's right to travel abroad and practice his profession.

Enclosed you will find the letter which we hope you will signe with us, the fact sheet explaining the case and the statement we plan to forward to the State Department. Please feel free to make any suggestions or changes in any of the material enclosed.

Will you sign the letter with us? The "us" I hope will be: Bishop C.C. Alleyne, Mr. Elmer Benson, Rev. Shelton Hale Bishop, Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, Judge Jane Bolin, Prof. G. Murray Branch, Dr. Lucien Brown, Mrs. Lucille Chance, Mr. Earl Dickerson, Mr. Duke Ellington, Rev. Charles Hill, Rev. Kenneth De P. Hughes, Miss Mahalia Jackson, Judge Hubert Delaney, Mrs. Nettie Carter Jackson, Mrs. James Weldon Johnson, Mr. Corliss Lamont, Mr. Carey McWilliams, Dr. C.B. Powell, Mr. Willard Ransom, Mr. J.A. Rogers, Mrs. Modjeska Simkins, Rev. Willard Uphause, Mr. Clarence Cameron White and Mr. Charles White.

We will be eager and anxious to hear from you.

Sincerely,

Eslanda Goode Robeson

EGR/s
Enc. 3

Suite 6
139 West 125 Street
New York 27, N. Y.

December 10, 1954

Rev. Charles A. Hill
Hartford Avenue Baptist Church
6300 Hartford Avenue
Detroit, Michigan

Dear Rev. Hill:

We want to send out a letter asking people to join us in urging the State Department to restore Paul's right to travel abroad and practice his profession.

Enclosed you will find the letter which we hope you will sign with us, the fact sheet explaining the case and the statement we plan to forward to the State Department. Please feel free to make any suggestions or changes in any of the material enclosed.

Will you sign the letter with us? The "us" I hope will be: Bishop C.C. Alleyne, Mr. Elmer Benson, Rev. Shelton Hale Bishop, Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, Judge Jane Bolin, Prof. G. Murray Branch, Dr. Lucien Brown, Mrs. Lucille Chance, Judge Hubert Delaney, Mr. Earl Dickerson, Mr. Duke Ellington, Rev. Kenneth De P. Hughes, Miss Mahalia Jackson, Mrs. Nettie Carter Jackson, Mrs. James Weldon Johnson, Mr. Corliss Lamont, Mr. Carey McWilliams, Dr. C.B. Powell, Mr. Willard Ransom, Mr. J.A. Rogers, Mrs. Modjeska Simkins, Rev. Willard Uphause, Mr. Clarence Cameron White and Mr. Charles White.

We will be eager and anxious to hear from you.

Sincerely,

Eslanda Goode Robeson

EGR/s
Enc. 3

Suite 6
139 West 125 Street
New York 27, N. Y.

December 10, 1954

Rev. Kenneth De P. Hughes
St. Bartholomew's Rectory
64 Gorham Street
Cambridge 36, Mass.

Dear Rev. Hughes:

We want to send out a letter asking people to join us in urging the State Department to restore Paul's right to travel abroad and practice his profession.

Enclosed you will find the letter which we hope you will sign with us, the fact sheet explaining the case and the statement we plan to forward to the State Department. Please feel free to make any suggestions or changes in any of the material enclosed.

Will you sign the letter with us? The "us" I hope will be: Bishop C.C. Alleyne, Mr. Elmer Benson, Rev. Shelton Hale Bishop, Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, Judge Jane Bolin, Prof. G. Murray Branch, Dr. Lucien Brown, Mrs. Lucille Chance, Judge Hubert Delaney, Mr. Earl Dickerson, Mr. Duke Ellington, Mr. James Hicks, Miss Mahalia Jackson, Mrs. Nettie Carter Jackson, Mrs. James Weldon Johnson, Mr. Corliss Lamont, Mr. Carey McWilliams, Rev. Charles A. Hill, Dr. C.B. Powell, Mr. Willard Ransom, Mr. J.A. Rogers, Mrs. Modjeska Simkins, Rev. Willard Uphause, Mr. Clarence Cameron White and Mr. Charles White.

We will be eager and anxious to hear from you.

Sincerely,

Eslanda Goode Robeson

EGR/s
Enc. 3

Suite 6
139 West 125 Street
New York 27, N. Y.

December 10, 1954

Miss Mahalia Jackson
3728 So. Prairie Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Miss Jackson:

We want to send out a letter asking people to join us in urging the State Department to restore Paul's right to travel abroad and practice his profession.

Enclosed you will find the letter which we hope you will sign with us, the fact sheet explaining the case, and the statement we plan to forward to the State Department. Please feel free to make any suggestions or changes in any of the material enclosed.

Will you sign the letter with us? The "us" I hope will be: Bishop C.C. Alleyne, Mr. Elmer Benson, Rev. Shelton Hale Bishop, Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, Judge Jane Bolin, Prof. G. Murray Branch, Dr. Lucien Brown, Mrs. Lucille Chance, Mr. Earl Dickerson, Judge Hubert Delaney, Mr. Duke Ellington, Mr. James Hicks, Rev. Charles Hill, Rev. Kenneth De P. Hughes, Mrs. Nettie Carter Jackson, Mr. James Weldon Johnson, Mr. Corliss Lamont, Mr. Carey McWilliams, Dr. C.B. Powell, Mr. Willard Ransom, Mr. J.A. Rogers, Mrs. Modjeska Simkins, Rev. Willard Uphause, Mr. Clarence Cameron White and Mr. Charles White.

We will be eager and anxious to hear from you.

Sincerely,

Eslanda Goode Robeson

EGR/s
Enc. 3

Suite 6
139 West 125 Street
New York 27, N. Y.

December 10, 1954

Mrs. Nettie Carter Jackson
35 Tompkins Place
Staten Island, N. Y.

Dear Mrs. Jackson:

We want to send out a letter asking people to join us in urging the State Department to restore Paul's right to travel abroad and practice his profession.

Enclosed you will find the letter which we hope you will sign with us, the fact sheet explaining the case, and the statement we plan to forward to the State Department. Please feel free to make any suggestions or changes in any of the material enclosed.

Will you sign the letter with us? The "us" I hope will be: Bishop C.C. Alleyne, Mr. Elmer Benson, Rev. Shelton Hale Bishop, Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, Judge Jane Bolin, Prof. G. Murray Branch, Dr. Lucien Brown, Mrs. Lucille Chance, Mr. Earl Dickerson, Judge Hubert Delaney, Mr. Duke Ellington, Mr. James Hicks, Rev. Charles Hill, Rev. Kenneth De P. Hughes, Mrs. Modjeska Simkins, Miss Mahalia Jackson, Mr. James Weldon Johnson, Mr. Corliss Lamont, Mr. Carey McWilliams, Dr. C.B. Powell, Mr. Willard Ransom, Mr. J.A. Rogers, Rev. Willard Uphause, Mr. Clarence Camerson White and Mr. Charles White.

We will be eager and anxious to hear from you.

Sincerely,

Eslanda Goode Robeson

EGR/s
Enc. 3

Suite 6
139 West 125th Street
New York 27, N. Y.
December 14, 1954

Mrs. James Weldon Johnson
Hotel Theresa
125th Street and 7th Avenue

Dear Mrs. Johnson:

We want to send out a letter asking people to join us in urging the State Department to restore Paul's right to travel abroad and practice his profession.

Enclosed you will find the letter which we hope you will sign with us, the fact sheet explaining the case, and the statement we plan to forward to the State Department. Please feel free to make any suggestions, or changes, in any of the material enclosed.

Will you sign the letter with us? The "us" I hope will be: Bishop C.C. Alleyne, Mr. Elmer Benson, Rev. Shelton Hale Bishop, Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, Judge Jane Bolin, Prof. G. Murray Branch, Dr. Lucien Brown, Mrs. Lucille Chance, Mr. Earl Dickerson, Judge Hubert Delaney, Mr. Duke Ellington, Mr. James Hicks, Rev. Charles Hill, Rev. Kenneth De P. Hughes, Miss Mahalia Jackson, Mrs. Nettie Carter Jackson, Mr. Corliss Lamont, Mr. Carey McWilliams, Dr. C. B. Powell, Mr. Willard Ransom, Mr. J. A. Rogers, Mrs. Modjeska Simkins, Rev. Willard Uphause, Mr. Clarence Cameron White, and Mr. Charles White.

We will be eager and anxious to hear from you.

Sincerely,

Eslanda Goode Robeson

EGR/g
Enc.3

Suite 6
139 West 125th Street
New York 27, N. Y.
December 14, 1954

Mr. Charles White
710 Riverside Drive
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. White:

We want to send out a letter asking people to join us in urging the State Department to restore Paul's right to travel abroad and practice his profession.

Enclosed you will find the letter which we hope you will sign with us, the fact sheet explaining the case, and the statement we plan to forward to the State Department. Please feel free to make any suggestions or changes in any of the material enclosed.

Will you sign the letter with us? The "us" I hope will be: Bishop C.C. Alleyne, Mr. Elmer Benson, Rev. Shelton Hale Bishop, Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, Judge Jane Bolin, Prof. G. Murray Branch, Dr. Lucien Brown, Mrs. Lucille Chance, Mr. Earl Dickerson, Judge Hubert Delaney, Mr. Duke Ellington, Mr. James Hicks, Rev. Charles Hill, Rev. Kenneth De P. Hughes, Miss Mahalia Jackson, Mrs. Nettie Carter Jackson, Mrs. James Weldon Johnson, Mr. Corliss Lamont, Mr. Carey McWilliams, Dr. C. B. Powell, Mr. Willard Ransom, Mr. J. A. Rogers, Mrs. Modjeska Simkins, Rev. Willard Uphause, and Mr. Clarence Cameron White.

We will be eager and anxious to hear from you.

Sincerely,

Eslanda Goode Robeson

EGR/g
Enc. 3

Suite 6
139 West 125th Street
New York 27, N. Y.
December 14, 1954

Mr. Clarence C. White
409 Edgecomb Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. White:

We want to send out a letter asking people to join us in urging the State Department to restore Paul(s right to travel abroad and practice his profession.

Enclosed you will find the letter which we hppe you will sign with us, the fact sheet explaining the case, and the statement we plan to forward to the State Department. Please feel free to make any suggestions or changes in any of the material enclosed.

Will you sign the letter with us? The "us" I hope will be:

Bishop C. C. Alleyne, Mr. Elmer Benson, Rev. Shelton Halw Bishop, Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, Judge Jane Bolin, Prof. G. Murray Branch, Dr. Lucien Brown, Mr. Lucille Chance, Mr. Earl Dickerson, Judge Hubert Delaney, Mr. Duke Ellington, Mr. James Hicks, Rev. Charles Hill, Rev. Kenneth De P. Hughes, Miss Mahalia Jackson, Mrs. Nettie Carter Jackson, Mrs. James Weldon Johnson, Mr. Corliss Lamont, Mr. Carey McWilliams, Dr. C. B. Powell, Mr. Willard Ransom, Mr. J. A. Rogers, Mrs. Modjeska Simkins, Rev. Willard Uphause, and Mr. Charles White.

We will be eager and anxious to hear from you.

Sincerely,

Eslanda Goode Robeson

EGR/g
Enc. 3

Suite 6
139 West 125th Street
New York 27, N. Y.
December 14, 1954

Mrs. Modjeska Simkins
2025 Marion Street
Columbia 2, So. Carolina

Dear Mrs. Simkins:

We want to send out a letter asking people to join us in urging the State Department to restore Paul's right to travel abroad and practice his profession.

Enclosed you will find the letter which we hope you will sign with us, the fact sheet explaining the case, and the statement we plan to forward to the State Department. Please feel free to make any suggestions or changes in any of the material enclosed.

Will you sign the letter with us? The "us" I hope will be: Bishop C. C. Alleyne, Mr. Elmer Benson, Rev. Shelton Hale Bishop, Dr. W.E.B. CuBois, Judge Jane Bolin, Prof. G. Murray Branch, Dr. Lucien Brown, Mrs. Lucille Chance, Mr. Earl Dickerson, Judge Hubert Delaney, Mr. Duke Ellington, Mr. James Hicks, Rev. Charles Hill, Rev. Kenneth De P. Hughes, Miss Mahalia Jackson, Mrs. Nettie Carter Jackson, Mrs. James Weldon Johnson, Mr. Corliss Lamont, Mr. Carey Mc Williams, Dr. C. B. Powell, Mr. Willard Ransom, Mr. J.A. Rogers, Rev. Willard Uphause, Mr. Clarence Cameron White, and Mr. Charles White.

We will be eager and anxious to hear from you.

Sincerely,

Eslanda Goode Robeson

EGR/g
Enc. 3

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

Suite 6
139 West 125th Street
New York 27, N. Y.
December 14, 1954

Mr. J. A. Rogers
37 Morningside Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Rogers:

We want to send out a letter asking people to join us in urging the State Department to restore Paul's right to travel abroad and practice his profession.

Enclosed you will find the letter which we hope you will sign with us, the fact sheet explaining the case, and the statement we plan to forward to the State Department. Please feel free to make any suggestions or changes in any of the material enclosed.

Will you sign the letter with us? The "us" I hope will be: Bishop C. C. Alleyne, Mr. Elmer Benson, Rev. Shelton Hale Bishop, Dr. W.E. B. DuBois, Judge Jane Bolin, Prof. G. Murray Branch, Dr. Lucien Brown, Mrs. Lucille Chance, Mr. Earl Dickerson, Judge Hubert Delaney, Mr. Duke Ellington, Mr. James Hicks, Rev. Charles Hill, Rev. Kenneth De P. Hughes, Miss Mahalia Jacksin, Mrs. Nettie Carter Jackson, Mrs. James Weldon Johnson, Mrs. Modjeska Sinkins, Rev. Willard Uphause, Mr. Clarence Cameron White, and Mr. Charles White.

We will be eager and anxious to hear from you.

Sincerely,

Eslanda Goode Robeson

EGR/g
Encls. 3

Suite 6
139 West 125th Street
New York 27, N. Y.
December 14, 1954

Mr. Willard B. Ransom
617 Indiana Avenue, Walker Building
Indianapolis, Ind.

Dear Mr. Ransom:

We want to send out a letter asking people to join us in urging the State Department to restore Paul's right to travel abroad, and practice his profession.

Enclosed you will find the letter which we hope you will sign with us, the fact sheet explaining the case, and the statement we plan to forward to the State Department. Please feel free to make any suggestions or changes in any of the material enclosed.

Will you sing the letter with us? The "us" I hope will be: Bishop C.C. Alleyne, Mr. Elmer Benson, Rev. Shelton Hale Bishop, Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, Judge Jane Bolin, Prof. G. Murray Branch, Dr. Lucien Brown, Mrs. Lucille Chance, Mr. Earl Dickerson, Judge Hubert Delaney, Mr. Duke Ellington, Mr. James Hicks, Rev. Charles Hill, Rev. Kenneth De P. Hughes, Miss Mahalia Jackson, Mrs. Nettie Carter Jackson, Mrs. James Weldon Johnson, Mr. J. A. Rogers, Mrs. Modjeska Simkins, Rev. Willard Uphause, Mr. Clarence Cameron White, and Mr. Charles White.

We will be eager and anxious to hear from you.

Sincerely,

Eslanda Goode Robeson

EGR/g
Enc. 3

Suite 6
139 West 125th Street
New York 27, N. Y.
December 14, 1954

Dr. C. B. Powell
Amsterdam News
2340 Eighth Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Powell:

We want to send out a letter asking people to join us in urging the State Department to restore Paul's right to travel abroad, and practice his profession.

Enclosed you will find the letter which we hope you will sign with us, the fact sheet explaining the case, and the statement we plan to forward to the State Department, Please feel free to make any suggestions or changes in any of the material enclosed.

Will you sign the letter with us? The "us" I hope will be: Mr. Elmer Benson, Rev. Shelton Hale Bishop, Dr. W. E.B. DuBois, Judge Jane Bolin, Prof. G. Murray Branch, Dr. Lucien Brown, Mrs. Lucille Chance, Mr. Earl Dickerson, Judge Hubert Delaney, Mr. Duke Ellington, Mr. James Hicks, Rev. Charles Hill, Rev. Kenneth De P. Hughes, Miss Mahalia Jackson, Mrs. Nettie Carter Jackson, Mrs. James Weldon Johnson, Mr. Willard Ransom, Mr. J. A. Rogers, Mrs. Modjeska Simkins, Rev. Willard Uphause, Mr. Clarence Cameron White, and Mr. Charles White.

We will be eager and anxious to hear from you.

Sincerely,

Eslanda Goode Robeson

EGR/g
Encl 3

Suite 6
139 West 125th Street
New York 27, N. Y.
December 14, 1954

Mr. Carey Mc Williams
The Nation
333 Sixth Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. McWilliams:

We want to send out a letter asking people to join us in urging the State Department to restor Paul's right to travel abroad, and practice his profession.

Enclosed you will find the letter which we hope you will sign with us, the fact sheet explaining the case, and the statement we plan to forward to the State Department. Please feel free to make any suggestions or changes in any of the material enclosed.

Will you sign the letter with us? The "us" I hope will be: Mr. Elmer Benson, Rev. Shelton Hale Bishop, Dr. W.E. B. DuBois, Judge Jane Bolin, Prof. G. Murray Branch, Dr. Lucien Brown, Mrs. Lucille Chance, Mr. Earl Dickerson, Judge Hubert Delaney, Mr. Duke Ellington, Mr. James Hicks, Rev. Charles Hill, Rev. Kenneth De P. Hughes, Miss Mahalia Jackson, Mrs. Nettie Carter Jackson, Mrs. James Weldon Johnson, Dr. C. B. Powell, Mr. Willard Ransom, Mr. J. A. Rogers, Mrs. Modjeska Simkins, Rev. Willard Uphause, Mr. Clarence Camerson White, and Mr. Charles White.

We will be eager and ansious to hear from you.

Sincerely,

Eslanda Goode Robeson

EGR/g
Enc. 3

STATEMENT TO JOHN FOSTER DULLES, SECRETARY OF STATE

Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:

We appeal to you to grant a passport to Mr. Paul Robeson.

We believe that the action of the State Department in restricting Mr. Robeson's right to travel abroad since 1950 is an unwarranted infringement upon the constitutional rights of an American citizen.

By this action Mr. Robeson has been denied the opportunity to earn a living by fulfilling numerous professional engagements abroad. Furthermore, his freedom of speech, travel and association have been greatly impaired.

Our support for Mr. Robeson's right to exercise these constitutional prerogatives need not be taken to imply concurrence with any or all of his political views. What seems to us important is to uphold the imperishable principle on which our nation was founded: that no citizen's fundamental rights shall be proscribed by officials of government solely on the basis that they object to his views on social questions.

In the denial of these rights to Mr. Robeson we recognize a threat to the rights of all Americans. In addition, since Mr. Robeson is viewed by millions of people in other countries as a leader in the centuries-long struggles of his people for full equality, the Department's continued refusal to grant him a passport can only serve to damage our influence and reputation in the eyes of the world.

In our own national interests as well as in the interests of free cultural expression throughout the world, we strongly urge that you give this matter your timely and favorable consideration.

Signed ______________________________

WORLD FELLOWSHIP, Inc.
including the
WORLD FELLOWSHIP OF FAITHS
Enrolling People of ALL Races, Faiths, Colors Countries and Convictions
Seeking Peace, Brotherhood and Plenty for ALL MANKIND,
Centering in a Forest - Farm - Lake - and - Mountain Estate near
CONWAY, NEW HAMPSHIRE
Headquarters, October to May, 66 Edgewood Ave., New Haven 11, Conn.

GENERAL EXECUTIVES
CHARLES FREDERICK WELLER
Founder-President
EUGENIA WINSTON WELLER
Founder-Vice President
1755 Preston Street, So.
St. Petersburg, Florida
DR. WILLARD UPHAUS
Executive Director
OLA H. UPHAUS
Assistant to the Director
66 Edgewood Avenue
New Haven 11, Connecticut

ADVISORY COUNCIL
REV. GEORGE A. ACKERLY
Massachusetts
DR. HARVEY F. BATY
Montana
DR. EUGENE L. BELISLE
Massachusetts
DR. HARRY COHEN
New York
WILLIAM S. FELTON
Massachusetts
REV. KENNETH R. FORBES
Pennsylvania
DR. ROYAL W. FRANCE
New York
PAULINE P. GARVIN
New York
REV. CLARENCE V. HOWELL
New York
LAURENCE J. JONES
Mississippi
REV. AND MRS. R. S. MODAK
New York and India
DR. HOLLAND ROBERTS
California
FARID-WAJDI TABARA
Jerusalem
JOHN PRATT WHITMAN
Maine

REV. RICHARD R. KEITHAHN
India
SAKUNTALA RAO SASTRI
India

Greater New York City
World Fellowship Council
Jerusalem, Israel
World Fellowship Group

66 Edgewood Avenue
New Haven 11,Conn.
December 19,1954.

Eslanda Goode Robeson
Suite 6,139 West 125th Street
New York 27,N.Y.

Dear Eslanda:

I am more than glad to sign the letter urging the State Department to restore Paul's right to travel abroad. We must win this right. It is a shame that Paul has been so long denied the honor and privilege of singing and speaking to the millions in other lands so eager to see and hear him.

Will you kindly use the title,"Dr." instead of "Reverend." I feel honored at being called "Reverend",but I never climbed the ecclesiastical ladder.

Warmest regards to you and Paul from Ola and me and best wishes for the holiday season and the year to come.

Sincerely yours,
Willard Uphaus
Willard Uphaus

450 Riverside Drive
New York 27, N. Y.

January 5, 1955

Mrs. Eslanda Goode Robeson
Suite 6
139 West 125th Street
New York 27, New York

Dear Eslanda:

Because of the Christmas and New Year's rush, I have been delayed in answering your note about signing the open letter urging the State Department to restore Paul Robeson's passport.

As you know, I am 100-percent behind Paul in this case and believe that the passport situation in general is scandalous. However, my name appears in connection with so many committees and causes that I am not keen to go on an open letter for any purpose at present. I feel that I have to go easy on this sort of thing, lest I dissipate the effect of my name.

Very sincerely yours,

Corliss Lamont

Corliss Lamont

(Letter We Hope You Will Sign)

Suite 6
139 West 125th Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Friend:

We invite you to join us and several hundred other Americans in urging the State Department to restore Mr. Paul Robeson's right to travel abroad.

As you probably know, Mr. Robeson's passport was voided by the State Department in 1950. Subsequent applications for renewal - to fulfill concert and theatrical engagements abroad - have all been denied.

In a brief submitted before the Court of Appeals in 1952, the Government explained its denial of Mr. Robeson's passport on the basis of his

> "frank admission that he had been for years extremely active politically in behalf of the independence of the colonial peoples of Africa."

We question the right of our Government to deprive Mr. Robeson or any other citizen of his constitutional rights because of his views on social questions; and we are especially concerned that support of the liberation struggles of the African peoples is viewed by our State Department as ground for such action.

In depriving Mr. Robeson of his passport, the State Department not only abridges his constitutional rights, it also denies him an opportunity to earn a living by practicing his profession abroad; and deprives millions of people throughout the world of the opportunity to see and hear one of America's foremost artists.

We believe that the principles involved in this case are basic to the liberties of our countrymen generally, and that our views should be presented formally to the State Department. If you agree with us, we hope you will authorize the signing of your name to the enclosed letter to be sent to Secretary of State John Foster Dulles. A response form and return envelope are enclosed.

If you prefer to send your own statement directly to Mr. Dulles, please do so and let us have a copy. Let us have any suggestions you care to make in furthering the restoration of Mr. Robeson's passport.

Sincerely yours,

Eslanda Goode Robeson

encl.

Law Offices of
HUGH E. MACBETH
Attorney at Law
524 S.Spring Street
Los Angeles I3, California   Mutual I847

copy

June 26,I956.

Mrs.Eslanda Good Robeson,
I6 Jumel Terrace,
New York 32, N.Y.

Dear Mrs.Robeson:

I want to thank you for your heartwarming letter of Hune I6,I956, together with its enclosures. We are all thrilled to learn that Paul is on the road to complete recovery of his health. To us, it is as important to have Paul Robeson in good physical condition as it is to the Republicans and Capitalists of the United States to keep Eisenhower able to take nourishment. And ours is a far greater Cause.

I have not been able to get the Afro American here. Tell George Murphy to send me a dozen copies together with his bill for same. I want to send them to personal friends in high places in the Orient.

I look forward to recieving the excerpts from the transcri script. I know they will be worth reading. If you have copies of same send me a half dozen copies together with the bill for same. I can use them to great international advantage.

Tell Paul the future is bright. He has called the turn on this rotten gang, and the world has heard his voice.

As I told some associates of mine in Mexico last week, my poor country is suffering from the Jim-Crow Siphilis. Its all through their institutions and theri very bodies and souls. While its ugly sores erupt in Alabama and the South, the "blood" stream of America, North, East, South and West is so debilitated by this Jim Crow Siphilis, that it is powerless to expel the Eastlands, the Walters, et al. It's "Jim-Crow", whether the blood be in politics, in religion, in economics, or elsewhere. It's only such heroic "shock treatment" as your Paul gave them, which can ever clear America's blood stream. I am working on similar shock treatments in Mexico, Latin America and the Orient. That's all for for now.

Kindest regards to Paul, to you and to all the family from Edna, myself and all of our friends.

Sincerely your friend,

Hugh E.Macbeth.

780426

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM COMMITTEE, Inc.

118 EAST 28th STREET • NEW YORK 16, N.Y. • MUrray Hill 5-1361

Co-Chairmen:
Rev. Paul W. Caton
Rabbi Oscar Fleishaker
Rev. U. J. Robinson, D.D.

Executive Committee:
Rev. Paul J. Allured
Rev. Cameron Alstork
Rev. Robert J. Ash
Rev. Edward E. Brewster
Rev. Dudley H. Burr
Mr. A. M. Butler
Mrs. Charles Campbell
Rabbi Jonah E. Caplan
Rev. Paul W. Caton
Rev. Mark A. Chamberlin
Rev. Henry Hitt Crane
Rabbi Abraham Cronbach
Prof. Kermit Eby
Rabbi Oscar Fleishaker
Rev. Miss Marion C. Frenyear
Rt. Rev. Charles K. Gilbert
Rev. Edler G. Hawkins
Rev. Donald Edgar Hicks
Rev. Edward D. McGowan
Mr. Jesse M. Mall
Rev. Clarence T. R. Nelson
Rev. George L. Paine
Rev. Edward L. Peet
Mrs. Mary Phillips
Rev. U. J. Robinson
Rev. Guy Emery Shipler
Miss Louise Pettibone Smith
Rev. H. S. Southgate
Rev. Frederick K. Stamm
Rabbi Joshua Trachtenberg
Prof. Leroy Waterman
Rev. David Rhys Williams
Rev. Loyd F. Worley
Rev. Paul Wright

Administrative Committee:
Rev. Lee H. Ball
Rev. Edward G. Carroll
Rev. Edler G. Hawkins
Mrs. Dorothy Haven
Rev. Lewis Kuester
Rev. William Howard Melish
Rev. James Rhinesmith
Miss Janice M. Roberts
Rev. Warren P. Sheen
Rev. Jesse William Stitt
Rabbi Joshua Trachtenberg
Rev. Wayne White

Treasurer:
Rev. Lee. H. Ball

Secretary:
Miss Janice M. Roberts

November 22, 1955

Mr. William L. Patterson
6 East 17th Street
New York 3, New York

Dear Mr. Patterson:

Thank you for your letter of November 9 with which you enclosed a fact sheet in the fight of Mr. Paul Robeson to secure a passport. I brought your letter to the attention of our Administrative Committee.

Religious Freedom Committee has been organized for the specific and limited purpose of working for the maintenance of the free exercise of religion as guaranteed by the first clause of the First Amendment and all of our activities must be carried on within that specific field. For that reason we cannot take the action of filing an amicus brief or communicating with Mr. Dulles as you have suggested.

Members of our Administrative Committee have asked me to assure you of their individual interest in the struggle to regain the right to travel; many of us are working to further that struggle wherever we can. Perhaps through some of the other religious groups to which our members belong, the sort of action needed can be taken.

Sincerely yours,

Janice M. Roberts
Secretary

264

"Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof . . ."
THE BILL OF RIGHTS

SYLVIA SCHWARTZ
458 PALMERSTON BLVD.
TORONTO, CANADA

April 25, 1956.

Dear Mr Patterson,

I must apologize for my seeming neglect in replying to your letter of the 11th. As it was addressed to the Park Plaza Hotel, it inadvertently got mixed in with some magazines and it was only a few days ago, when visiting my parents, that I found it. I appreciate your writing me and sending the motion and brief in connection with our good friend, Paul Robeson.

You know, of course, the developments since you wrote me. Nothing that we have been able to do, or can plan to do, is of any avail in changing the ruling by the Federal Government. Their objection, so they say, is not to the man himself, but to the group under whose auspices he was being brought here. To hope that he could come under the sponsorship of any other group is entirely out of the question.

You can be assured that we all are deeply concerned about the fight to have his passport returned and are grateful that he has so many loyal friends supporting him in his struggle.

Had he been able to come to Canada, we were prepared to do everything in our power to help by arranging as many meetings as possible. Now that that means of helping him is ruled out, we may be able to devise some other way of raising money to assist in defraying the expenses of his battle with the State Department. If you have any suggestions as to what we could do, please do pass them along to us.

We were very much upset when his re-entry was cancelled and we are deeply concerned about him and the larger issue which is involved, and are hoping that he wins out. I shall get in touch with you immediately we find any ray of hope in our effort to be of some help.

Meantime, will you please convey to Paul my very sincerest wishes for his success, and my renewed thanks to you for writing to me.

Sincerely yours,

Sylvia Schwartz

S. YARTO 14
SAN ANGEL INN
MEXICO 20. D. F.

Mar. 21, 1956

Dear Pat,

The darndest series of complications with family and friends ---of which the very least was the appendix operation of our daughter ---prevented either Margaret or myself from tending to this check sooner. And, since I am still on the run, let me just offer my warm wishes for the passport fight. Of course, we are following it in the press.

I hope this finds you and your family all flourishing.

Yours,

Albert

WILLIAM L. PATTERSON

23 West 26 th Street
New York 1, New York

May 4, 1956

Miss Sylvia Schwartz
458 Palmerston Boulevard
Toronto, Canada

Dear Miss Schwartz:

Your letter of April 25th reached me several days ago. I had written you care of the Park Plaza, as that was the only address available.

Paul is, as you perhaps know, not at all well. He has not seen any of his friends for a number of days. Only members of the family see him. There can be no doubt but that the position taken by the Canadian government was a heavy blow. While I agree that that government's position is for the moment final, I believe that activities both there and here can effect a change. We, of course, have the main responsibility.

The failure to mobilize widespread support for the travel rights of this man who has given of himself with extreme generosity for the cause of others has also undoubtedly made a very great impact on Paul. In my opinion this has been a most serious blow. Paul's selflessness is universally known. All of Europe has responded magnificently to his passport fight. Big events calling for the restoration of his travel rights have taken place in a number of countries. But here in the Americas - here in his home - the response has by no means reflected the great love so many entertain for him.

I think the reasons are in the main organizational. For this, many of us are to be censured.

You ask: What can be done? The appeal from the decision of the District Court has been argued before the Circuit Court of Appeals. We now await its findings. That it will sustain the lower court is most likely. The reasons are -- lack of movement behind Paul specifically, and in general the low level of the fight in America to safeguard constitutional liberties. This fight is as you undoubtedly read growing, and that too with some degree of speed. But it has not yet reached such proportions as will change the attitude of officialdom toward the passport matter where Paul is concerned.

This government does not want to world to hear either the voice of words of Paul Robeson. The legal fight now has a deficit of something above $4,000.00. If friends there could be brought together at house affairs or otherwise and contribute some part to the liquidation of this it would be extremely helpful in many ways.

Meanwhile, letters to the press criticizing the government's attitude should be continued. The church should take a hand in that.

Could someone in Canada start a movement for the right of Robeson to come to Canada to sing? It might be openly stated that the funds collected were to be sent to the U.S.A. to aid in the legal fight for the Robeson passport. Such a step could well be justified. The passport fight is not the property of Robeson alone, nor of Americans alone. Paul belongs to the world. This is too well accepted to demand lengthy argument.

Whatever can be done will be helpful.

Sincerely yours,

William L. Patterson

September 27, 1951

Mr. William L. Patterson, Executive Secretary
Civil Rights Congress
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

Dear Pat;

I am sorry you could not attend the last meeting on the question of Paul's passport. I has been so long since we have contemplated any organized mass action around the case that I must confess I had forgotten you were the chairman of a committee handling the matter.

We had a very fine representation from CRC, ASP, the Peace Crusade, the Negro Labor Council, Masses and Mainstream, CNA, American Women for Peace, the ALP and other interested groups. A number of proposals were made regarding the campaign and some of the individual organizations have already decided upon actions of their own. I am sure that Nat Ross and Jim Malloy can give you a full briefing on what has transpired.

One of the main decisions was that we would try to find a person who could work either full time or part time on the case. I have discussed the matter with a prospect and we want to reach a decision at our next meeting which will be held in this office on Tuesday morning, October 2, at 10 o'clock. I hope that you can make it and that if there are any questions in your mind regarding the project you will call me.

Sincerely,

Louis E. Burnham

CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS

SUITE A • 23 WEST 26th STREET • NEW YORK 10, N. Y. • MURRAY HILL 4-6640

WILLIAM L. PATTERSON
National Executive Sec'y

September 26, 1951

Mr. Lou Burnham, Editor
Freedom Associates
53 West 125 Street
New York 27, N.Y.

Dear Lou:

I have your letter of September 18th before me now but was not in town on the 20th, regretfully, and therefore was unable to be present for the discussions on Paul's passport.

I think I was at one time chairman of this committee. I would personally like to revive it and see that steps are taken at once to place the right of Paul's right to travel abroad on a broad basis. As you perhaps know, CRC has done much to stimulate the request for Paul Robeson to attend meetings abroad.

Sincerely

William L. Patterson
National Executive Secretary

dpowa

October 6, 1955

Dear Pat:

The Press Committee has outlined a plan of work on the Emmett Louis Till kidnap-lynching. Among the proposals is one concerning a statement on the case by Bishop Walls.

The proposal is that the Bishop write a special letter to all the churbhes under his jurisdiction concerning the case and call upom them to take certain actions: Call for Special Session of Congress on Anti-lynching legislation and/or Day of prayer, etc.

The Committee also proposes that Paul issue a special statement as a Spimgarn Medalist.

It is suggested that you discuss both these questions with Paul a) who best to see Bishop Walls - Rev. Robeson? Paul himself? or who., b) Paul's own statement.

These proposals came as a result of my talk with George the day we met in Washington. Ed suggests that because you are working with Paul, you should be the one to handled the matter with him.

Please let us know as soon as you can what the results are.

Sincerely yours,

Jim
(For the Press Committee)

P.S. There are other proposals on the same matter regarding other individuals. They are being pursued through other contacts and sources.

Dear Sir:

As a Negro American I am writing to inform you, and I hope through you the people of your great country, concerning the matter of Paul Robeson's right to travel. This great son of the American Negro people, renowned throughout the world as an artist and public figure, has been singled out for special persecution by the racists of the U.S.A. because of his passionate devotion to the cause of peace, freedom, equality and human dignity for the colored peoples of the world.

It is fitting and proper, therefore, that the great peoples of Asian and African countries whose representatives came together at Bandung in opposition to the evils of racism and colonialism know of the persecution he is now undergoing.

The step I am taking is, in my opinion, consistent with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted and proclaimed by the General Assembly of the United Nations on the 10th day of December, 1948. I refer specifically to Articles 2 and 9 and to Section 2 of Article 13 of that Declaration. Surely it is consistent with the spirit of Geneva and the magnificent objectives of the Bandung Conference.

This step is also consistent wihh the democratic tradition of this great land.

Paul Robeson, whose genius talents have been barred from the concert halls, theatres, film studios, radio and television stations of the United States, has been denied for the past five years the right to travel abroad to display his artistic genius. Although he has received numerous invitations for artistic appearances in all parts of the world, he is still denied a passport and the right to travel.

Sir, there are basic issues involved in the persecution of Paul Robeson which are international in character and of such importance as to fully justify appeals to world opinion, especially to the peoples of Asia and Africa. The issues were made clear in 1952. They deal with the freedom and independence of the colonial peoples, the equality of opportunity for the Negro people of the United States, and cultural exchanges. In contesting a legal suit by Mr. Robeson to secure his passport, the office of John Foster Dulles declared in its legal brief:

> ". . . Furthermore, even if the complaint (Mr. Robeson's complaint) had alleged, which it does not, that the passport was cancelled solely because of appellant's recognized status as a spokesman for large sections of Negro Americans, we submit that this would not amount to an abuse of discretion in view of appellants frank admission that he has been for years extremely active politically in behalf of independence of the colonial peoples of Africa (supra, p.2). Though this may be a highly laudable aim, the diplomatic embarassment that could arise from the presence abroad of such a political meddler, travelling under the protection of an American passport, is easily imaginable. After all, ' the President ~~of~~ is the sole organ of the federal government in the field of international relations.'"

It must be stated categorically that Mr. Robeson has never once been guilty of utterance that did not further the interests of the American people white as well as black. He has enlarged the friends of the United States abroad by his stand for justice and freedom.

Recently, on August 16, 1955, a member of the Attorney General's office, representing Mr. Dulles, in another court hearing of this case, presented this additional reason for denying Mr. Robeson's passport: "During the concert tours of foreign countries he (Robeson) repeatedly critisized the conditions of Negroes in the United States". Both instances reflect clear violations of the U.N.O. Charter and its Declaration of Human Rights.

Further evidence of so-called "un-American activity cited at this hearing was Mr. Robeson's message to the Bandung Conference, and the U. S. Attorney referred to that part of the message which read:

> "The time has come when the colored peoples of the world will no longer allow the great natural wealth of their countries to be exploited and expropriated by the Western world while they are beset by hunger, disease and poverty. It is clearly evident that these evils can be eradicated and that the economic, social and cultural advancement of whole populations of hundreds of millions of people can be rapidly achieved, once modern science and industrialization are applied and directed toward raising the general level of well being of peoples rather than toward the enrichment of individuals and copporations."

The Negro press of the U.S.A. has reflected our peoples' deep concern in this case, and on August 25, 1955 the Los Angeles Herald Dispatch declared in an editorial that:

> "The conclusion is unavoidable that the Government, which cannot be separated from the State Department, is guilty of crude race discrimination against this internationally famous Negro artist and the Negro people generally. Its discriminatory persistence in denying Robeson's right to a passport is a blow not only against Robesnn, the individual, but against Negro Americans."

Sir, I respectfully submit that colored peoples everywhere have an interest in this matter, and that, in the spirit of Bandung and its resolutions in opposition to race discrimination and in support of cultural exchange, it is in order that the peoples of Asia and Africa lend their influence and voice in behalf of justice for a beloved people's leader and artist, Paul Robeson, to travel, to visit with, and to appear before those whose love for him and his art has been expressed in myriad ways.

Respectfully yours,

William L. Patterson
National Executive Secretary
Civil Rights Congress

November 28, 1955

Mr. J. Daniel Weitzman
7821 Morningside Drive
Washington, 12, D. C.

Dear Danny,

I had a feeling that I would not see you during the Thanksgiving holiday even though you might come here. I was out of town, speaking in Boston, and then went up to northern New York. My conclusion, however, had been that if you came into town there would be so much to do and so little time in which to do it that contacting me only to listen to my appeal would be something unseasonable.

I hope the whole family spent an enjoyable holiday.

You have undoubtedly seen the decision of Judge Youngdahl in the Leonard Boudin passport case. You probably have also seen that very favorable comment of Youngdahl's position which emerged from the Henning Senate Subcommittee. It is my opinion that the Youngdahl decision marks a judicial change that John Foster Dulles' administrative agency would have to recognize. Many dissenters will undoubtedly get passports. However, I do not believe that a fundamental change in the attitude toward the application of Paul Robeson will result. Yet, obviously, what Youngdahl has said makes the fight for the Robeson passport much easier. Many elements who need such a legal position before they can be activized politically will receive great moral stimulus from this.

We have filed the Robeson appeal to the Circuit Court. I sent the money for filing to Jimmy Wright who is handling the Washington fase of the case. A decision will perhaps come down the last part ofthis Winter or the beginning of Spring. If it is adverse, I shall oppose going to the Supreme Court with this record. This record is based entirely on the law, and while splendid in this respect, the law is not an issue here. The Robeson case is political to the nth degree. The Government clearly brought this fact forth in its pleadings. I am enclosing the fact sheet which indicates the major substantive points made in the Government's case. On the other hand the record sent up by us ignored these political questions (question of the freedom of the colonial people, and the rights of the American Negro) and this was a grievous error in which I had no part and against which I inveighed very sharply. But, I came into the case too late to bring about a change.

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

I would not carry this record up to the Supreme Court because with it the Negro people cannot see their interest in the Robeson fight, nor does the record reflect Robeson's heroic defense of the national interests of all Americans. Therefore, if the Circuit Court affirms the Trial Court, I shall demand that we begin the legal phases of the Robeson fight anew and inject from that beginning the political issues. I believe that thus we assure ourselves the support of the Negro people here, thousands of white Americans, all of Eastern Europe, and the Asian people, and thousands of Western Europeans who understand Robeson's position.

Sometimes, Danny, I have felt that you have thought that I place too great emphasis on the Negro question. I believe that the Southern inferno of murder and terror, based on disloyalty and subversion; the skillful manner in which the legislative and the executive branches of Government avoid wholeheartedly bringing every instrumentality within their control to the support of the decisions of the judiciary; the mass anger of the Negro people and the preparations in the South for a titanic struggle around this basic question testifies to the soundness of my position.

Danny, weaare entering a new abolitionist era under historically changed political conditions. Millions of white Americans havee accepted the myth of white superiority and this acceptance nullifies effective political resistance against Southern terror. Behind the lynchers are the most reactionary of the imperialist elementsswhose agents control decisive departments of government (the Department of Justice; the Department of State). This abolitionist movement is going tobbe split, with a right, a center, and a left wing. The left will have such magnificent figures as Dr. Howard in its leadership.

The fight for Robeson's passport must bewwaged in such a manner as to bring the political ideas of Robeson on racism out as clearly consistent with the law, but also in the best interests of America generally, and of the Negro people in particular.

For this, I want to get out an extraordinary brochure on Paul. For the young Negro today Robeson is something of a legend. For people in the artistic world he looms up in great heroic proportions as a great idealist but impractical. I want a brochure that will greatly reflect him in his true character,-- a living, practical, far-sighted artist-politico.

Danny, I need help. As well as the above, material must be prepared for the U. N. which will be presented by Robeson.

I have contracted with the lawyers without money with which to pay them, and in the light of the fact that this is not a CRC case, even though I have charge of it, I must make personal appeals.

Let me assure you, Danny, I will make a real fight in this matter.

Very sincerely,

William L. Patterson

November 4, 1955

Mr. Albert Maltz
S. Yarto 14
San Angel Inn
Mexico 20 D. F. Mexico

Dear Albert:

Many thanks for the material from the Mexican press. The day it arrived, Monday, October 31st, I was before the combined Baptist Minister's Conferences of Baltimore and Washington, pleading for their support for the Robeson fight for the right to travel and a passport. The meeting took place in Baltimore at the Enon Baptist Church, with the Rev. Henry Houston presiding. The result: a resolution supporting the fight for the right of all Americans to travel unconditionally, and in particular the right of Paul Robeson to secure his passport and to travel without U.S. restrictions. I told them that this was consistent with both the Charter of the UN and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. They accepted that conclusion.

I am in charge of the Robeson passport-travel fight. You have probably noted what is transpiring in the fight of Rockwell Kent for travel rights. The Robeson fight is not being developed in competition with that for Rockwell Kent. In fact, I am trying to link them together as far as possible. The Charles Chaplin letter, about which you have perhaps heard, mentioned Paul Robeson together with Kent as American artists whose travel rights should not be restricted, and could not be, legally.

Robeson has already spent thousands of dollars in this fight without asking aid of anyone. I am, however, seeking to secure all possible funds for its continuance to what I hope will be a successful end. Paul left the hospital Wednesday after an extremely expensive operation and three weeks interrment during most of which time there were two nurses, a day and a night nurse, in attendance. This is a bill that should be picked up by those of us who understand our responsibility in recognition of his struggle for our rights.

Will you speak to your close friends and ask aid in this fight? I know this is no easy task, but it is a vitally important one. The enclosed fact sheet will acquaint you with the presentlegal status as of the moment.

I am setting up an international as well as a national committee and a comment from you as to your feeling abuut the violation of this man's constitutional liberties would be very helpful.

I am wondering if it is not possible to organize a conference in Mexico City on the question of the deterioration of civil liberties and civil rights in the United States and its possible dangers to the peace and prosperity of Mexico. Even the church here is now openly speaking about the existence of a reign of terror in South Carolina and Mississippi. The terrorist groups such as the White Citizens Councils, National Association for the Advancement of White People, and others, are calling unity conferences and the federal government's Department of Justice under Brownell only intensifies its hunt for so-called "reds". Even while the Till case is at an exceedingly high point and calls were being made from allsides upon Brownell to aid in prosecuting the murderers of a U.S. citizen, Brownell filed a petition with the S.A.C.B. calling for an examination of the National Negro Labor Council.

Protestant churches meeting in Cleveland at this moment have issued a call for all affiliated bodies to back the fight for free speech and to speak out with courage and clarity on current social issues.

On October 23rd, the trade union and progressive movement of Glasgow, Scotland, called a conference dealing exclusively with the deterioration of civil liberties and civil rights in the U. S. and its effect upon the future of their country. Hardly anyone outside of America is unaware of the fact that the mounting terror here is in some sections assuming proportions similar to Hitler's attack upon the Jewish people in Germany.

I have before me a leading Negro newspaper of New York and vicinity, the Amsterdam News, which front pages in bold type the recent statement by the South Carolina Governor's Aide that "Negroes are worse than Communists."

In the same state during the Korean War, a Governor's aide said, "Why go to Korea to shoot Communists, when there are plenty right here at home?"

Delegations to the American Embassy are in order with protests against this terror, and as well, demands for the right of Robeson to travel.

Please do what you can.

Very truly yours,

William L. Patterson

WLP/rr

November 9, 1955

Religious Freedom Committee Inc.
118 East 28 Street
New York 16, New York

Ladies and Gentlemen:

The outstanding character of your efforts in defense of and for the extension of our heritage of democracy and constitutional liberties, as well as civil rights and human dignity, gives me the courage to write to you again within so short a time.

I am fully aware that you are a group most specifically interested in the defense of religious freedom. While the matter with which I shall deal does not fall directly into that category, its breadth and the fact that it impinges upon the moral integrity of our country leads me to consider it as something you would not ignore.

For five years Paul Robeson, an American citizen of international fame in the cultural field, has been denied all possibility of exercising his right to travel. By order of the State Department, immigration officials have been instructed not to permit him to leave the continental confines of the United States even though he sought to reach only those countries requiring neither passport nor visa,- Mexico, Cuba. The only exception, and that recently made by Mr. Dulles, was Canada.

Robeson's case is in the courts, where he has unqualifiedly declared that the right to travel cannot be curtailed because of color, creed, or political opinion. This restriction of his constitutional right was declared by the Government's formal legal answer to have been made necessary because Mr. Robeson spoke, while abroad, for the right of the African colonial peoples to be free, and against the violation of legal rights and a denial of positions of human dignity to American Negroes. The right to travel thereby is conditioned upon conformity. But, this is in violation of the First Amendment.

I have had the possibility of placing the matter of the right to travel, and of Paul Robeson's right to a passport before the Joint Conference of the Baltimore and Washington Baptist Ministers. They voted to support both; disassociating themselves, however, in this context from Mr. Robeson's political views.

The editorial support given to Mr. Robeson by the Negro press has been considerable. His case, however, is not a matter of concern only to Negroes. In fact, the treatment of Negroes in our country has become a matter of concern to the entire world and severely criticized by millions outside our borders. Its moral content, and the dangers inherent in racism, justify the alarm of other peoples. Certainly it calls for more energetic efforts by us.

I am writing you, hoping that in the matter of Mr. Robeson's passport fight and for the right to travel, you will take a supporting position. The right of this man to earn a living has been violated. Numerous contracts have been offered him from cultural institutions in Europe and Asia from which he cannot benefit. This is surely highly immoral.

The scope of this case, handled legally by Messers. Leonard Boudin and James T. Wright, is so great, morally and otherwise, that it is my hope that you find it possible to engage Mr. Royal France to write a brief amicus curiae in support of the legal arguments which Mr. Boudin will carry to the Federal Appellate Court.

If this is not possible, a lesser step, such as an appeal to Mr. Dulles to alter his position, could be very helpful. Those with whom you are in contact might well help in this.

Respectfully yours,

William L. Patterson

Copy to:
Royal France, Esq.
104 East 40 Street
New York, N.Y.

September 29,1955

Mr. Rockwell Kent
Ausable Forks
New York

Dear Rockwell,

I deeply regret the fact that Louise and I did not find it possible to enjoy your wonderful hospitality during the summer. More so, because down here I suffered in quite an inhuman way from hay fever which I think I might have avoided up there. Maybe we can feel that we have a rain check.

I am now in full charge of the fight for a passport for Paul Robeson. This case has been physically separated from all of the other passport cases because of the many factors it embraces which play no part in the other cases. I am trying to secure the aid of Roscoe Dunjee, editor and publisher of the Black Dispatch in Oklahoma City, the leading Negro periodical in the Southwest, to send out an initial letter in the campaign.

It is my feeling that the Robeson passport fight can enlist the aid of hundreds of artists, regardless of their field, because a deprivation of travel rights which involve income would strike them as particularly onerous. I wanted to get out a letter appealing specifically to them, which you might sign. However, I want to find out first what your feeling is regarding this. Perhaps you recall that at Geneva Eisenhower said that it was necessary "to lower the barriers which now impede the opportunities of people to travel anywhere in the world for peaceful, friendly purposes."

In the light of the increasing attacks on the rights of Negroes, and consequently on the liberties of all Americans, which is going on to the very detriment of our moral prestige, it is my feeling that moving in on this fight for Paul's passport can sharpen the whole struggle for civil liberties in the world.

Please let me know how you feel about acting in this matter.

Louise and I send our warmest greetings to you and yours.

Louise is going through the book and finding it extremely exhiliarating. Thanks.

Cordially,

William L. Patterson

SECRETARIAT
OF THE
WORLD COUNCIL OF PEACE

ESTATE-HAUS
WIEN IV.
MÖLLWALD-PLATZ 5
AUSTRIA

Vienna, 3rd November, 1955

O:mp

Mr. W. Patterson,
U.S.A.

Dear Friend,

Thank you for your letter of 20th October.

We appreciate Paul Robeson's symbolic value in your country and we know the contribution he is making and can make to work for peace. We should therefore like to examine carefully the way we think we should help you in your undertaking.

We are doing so at the moment and we shall not fail to inform you immediately of the decisions we are going to take very soon.

We should be glad to receive any supplementary information you may be able to give us.

With best wishes,
Yours sincerely,
For the Secretariat of the
World Council of Peace,

Jean Laffitte
General Secretary

A renewed struggle is now being ~~waged~~ [illegible] here to win for Paul Robeson the right to travel, and we earnestly solicit the support of the World Council of Peace in our efforts to stimulate ~~a worldwide~~ an international campaign for this great artist who is, as you know, the foremost leader of the peace movement in our country.

We would deeply appreciate it if your office would forward a letter, ~~that~~ which we have prepared on this matter, to each of those who signed the "Appeal to the Peoples of the World" of January 19, 1955. A copy of the letter is enclosed, and the other copies are being sent under separate cover. In forwarding the letters it would also be very helpful ~~of~~ if your office sent out an accompanying letter for endorsement, urging full support for this campaign.

Further, we wish to ~~propose~~ suggest that a ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ World Committee loose be set up, consisting of promi~~nt~~nent leaders of the peace movement, ~~that~~. It would promote and co-ordinate the international efforts to free Paul Robeson. It is suggested that, because of the wide support which this campaign has already attracted in Great Britain, the center for this World Committee might be in London. At any rate, we hope that the Secretariat of the World Council of Peace will discuss this matter and render all possible assistance.

in form

Thanking you in advance for your kind co-operation, I am

Sincerely yours,

William L. Patterson

PS. I am also enclosing a factual document on Mr. Robeson's case.

October 12, 1955

Mr. John Wesley Dobbs, Vice-Chairman
Republican State Central Committee of Georgia
Masonic Temple
Auburn Avenue at Hilliard Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Brother Dobbs:

I have read the very stirring defense of our Constitutional liberties which was the substance of your letter of August 17th, 1955 to Hon. Herbert Brownell, Jr. Such a statement should be read by tens of thousands. From its words loyal Americans can formulate a democratic program of struggle. And that is necessary today for the democracy which our fathers molded with the blood they spilt at Concord and Valley Forge, in the battle of The Wilderness, at Fort Pillow and with Sherman as he marched to the sea, in Flanders Field and Korea will be maintained only through struggle. New forms are needed - peaceful forms - but as Douglass said, "it must be struggle". Our fathers formulated the truism that "all men are created equal", the Bill of Rights, the deathless Emancipation Proclamation and the Civil War won 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments. This foundation must not be undermined. We have the responsibility to see that these immortal documents live. That is no easy task in the face of the legal terror that has been loosed.

Freedom is bought and paid for. It is never given. Democratic action must today be militant, dynamic, demonstrative democratic action.

Correctly you challenge the Legion's "The Firing Line". That line of fire is directed at the destruction of a people's institution when it is directed at the Southern Conference Educational Fund. There can be no doubt of that. The Legion wants an order issued that S.C.E.F. shall register as a Communist Front. How interesting and how informative.

Why Communist Front? Because today in the eyes of Senator James O. Eastland, in the eyes of those who murdered the Harry T. Moores, the Rev. George W. Lee, Lamar Smith and the child Emmett Louis Till, in the minds of those who murder justice, honor and human dignity, if you fight for democracy and justice then: you must be Communist.

What a commentary on the degree to which evil myths and hoaxes have been advanced in our great country. But the moral is simple. It is that those who would fight for Constitutional rights must include the rights of the Communists. The issue is not the philosophy of Communism. Only those who want confusion will advance that argument. The issue is rather that the inherent rights of the Communists must be defended in order to defend the Bill of Rights. Deny the Bill of Rights to Communists and though you yourself may fight ever so zealously for our democratic heritage you will be labelled Communist. They are after Communists but what is more significant - they are after the Bill of Rights and the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments. The point is as true as it is true that the policy of Mississippi in its relations with Negroes is an avowed policy of terror. Terrorists cannot live with the Bill of Rights.

Eastland has called upon the people of Mississippi to do violence to an order of the United States Supreme Court. That is contrary to his oath of office. But he is not seriously challenged.

The attack upon S.C.E.F. was, as you and others said to Senator Jenner, "an attack upon the Negro community of this nation". Jenner knew this to be true before you wrote him. The attack of the Jenners, McCarthys, Eastlands is "upon the Negro community and the nation". It is also upon the Constitution. It is no less true that the attack of the same men upon Paul Robeson is "an attack upon the Negro community of this nation". So are the murders I have cited. So too, whether I like it or not, are the attacks upon the Communists. There is a unity here that cannot be denied by realists no matter how difficult it is to conceive by the politically naive.

You have named 61 illustrious Negro men and women. You have said that it is absurd to call these citizens "subversive". Those to whom you speak and write so courteously will call all who fight for Constitutional liberties subversives. (Please believe me, I am not against courtesy, but ---) The men to whom you speak have renounced the Bill of Rights. They have never accepted the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments or the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Brother Dobbs, I ask you, can it be said after the most serious deliberation that it is less absurd to call Ben Davis, Paul Robeson, the eminent Dr. W.E.B. DuBois subversive? What have they subverted? Those who deny to the Negro people one iota of their blood-won rights subvert the Constitution.

Representative Charles Diggs of the 13th C.D., Michigan, says that after the Lee murder he called upon Brownell for federal intervention, but none was forthcoming. He went back to the Department of Justice after the Smith murder to be greeted by the same heartless indifference. Dr. Howard of Mississippi says that "law and order has broken down". What was subverted? The inalienable rights of black Americans! Murdered in states that denied to Negroes their human and constitutional rights - their Federal government notes and does not note, sees and is blind. It is deeply engaged in pleading abroad its devine right to the moral leadership of the world.

I stood this Tuesday morning beside the hospital bed on which Paul Robeson lay. He was operated on last night for an abdominal obstruction. I pledged him that the fight for his right to travel - which embraces the Constitutional right of all Negroes - all Americans to travel - would be relentlessly pursued. You truly say that "we must defend not harass organizations like S.C.E.F." Nor is it alone for the future of any political Party that such must be our course. It is the interests of the people - the people who alone are eternal - that this harassment must stop. But we must not harass the individual who couches his protest of racism in the sharpest political language. He is an angry man who has known three hundred years of persecution.

I have asked a number of prominent Americans to stand behind Paul Robeson in this fight. I hope that your name can be recorded with the others. The fight will not be under the auspices of the organization which I have the honor to head. That would make it subversive! It will be under the leadership of a Committee to Secure a Passport for Paul Robeson.

Incidentally, he lies in Sydenham Hospital, Manhattan Avenue and 123rd Street, New York City.

In the fight for human dignity and the Constitution of our country all true lovers of democracy should, I think, stand together.

Sincerely yours,

William L. Patterson

WLP/rr

WILLIAM L. PATTERSON
6 EAST 17 STREET
NEW YORK 3, NEW YORK

Dear Friend:

I am appealing to you to enlist your aid and support in behalf of Paul Robeson, who is today an American prisoner of the cold war.

Because of his heroic stand for world peace, for colonial liberation, for equal rights for the oppressed Negro people, Paul Robeson has been cruelly persecuted by the Hitler-like McCarthyites who seek to impose an American brand of fascism on our country. Barred from concert hall, stage, films, radio and television in the U.S.A., he has also been prevented from travelling abroad even to countries reached without a passport or visa. He has been unable to accept many offers for artistic appearances in other lands; or to attend various international gatherings of peoples' representatives seeking peace and freedom.

The Robeson case involves much more than justice for an individual. To millions Paul Robeson personifies the American people's resistance to war and fascism. The persecution directed against him symbolizes the repression of democratic rights, which has accompanied the cold war hysteria.

But now, in 1955, the spirit of Geneva is alive in the world, although there are some men who seek to kill it, the policy of peaceful co-existence, which Paul Robeson has so heroically championed, is daily winning new victories. Programs for cultural exchange have been initiated, and the reciprocal visits of various delegations now taking place between the United States and the Soviet Union are a happy sign of the changing climate in world affairs.

Dear friend, we ask your help, and the help of your fellow countrymen, to free Paul Robeson. The pressure of world opinion, combined with our own determined efforts here, can bring a speedy victory in this case.

We appeal for petitions and delegations to be sent to U.S. Embassies, Consulates, and Information Centers in every country, and for messages to President Eisenhower and Secretary Dulles in Washington.

Many invitations have already been sent to Paul Robeson, but we would like to see many more from every country—from governmental agencies concerned with cultural exchange, from cultural organizations and committees, from trade unions and peace groups.

Finally, we ask of you a statement in support of Paul Robeson's right to travel, a statement that we may present to the American people along with similar expressions from other distinguished leaders of the world peace movement.

Hoping to hear from you soon on this matter, I am,

Sincerely, yours,

William L. Patterson

WILLIAM L. PATTERSON

6 East 17th Street
New York 3, N. Y.

November 14, 1955

Dear Sir:

I am an American Negro deeply affected by the persecution of the great Negro artist and people's leader, Paul Robeson, who has been denied his constitutional right to travel and is perforce confined to the territorial limits of continental U.S.A. under a sort of national arrest. Such a "national arrest" is more injurious than it might at first glance appear because this restriction has been accompanied by such a political and scurrilous attack upon Mr. Robeson as has greatly impaired his earning power here.

I am writing to you concerning this matter for I am aware that it cannot nor should it be made the property of citizens of the United States alone. It is fitting and proper that an appeal in his behalf be addressed to the peoples of the world, but particularly to the great peoples of Asian and African countries and especially those whose representatives came together at Bandung in opposition to the evils of racism and colonialism.

Such an appeal is consistent with the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted and proclaimed by the General Assembly of that body on the 10th day of December, 1948. I refer specifically to Articles 2 and 9 and to Section 2 of Article 13 of the Declaration. Such an appeal is in the spirit of Geneva and the magnificent objectives of the Bandung Conference. Such an appeal is consistent with the fierce opposition you have voiced against racism. Your hatred of racism has been signally noted in the United States.

Sir, there are basic issues involved in the persecution of Paul Robeson which are international in character. These issues further justify appeals to world opinion. They revolve around the freedom and independence of the colonial peoples; equality of opportunity for the Negro people of the United States; and the great values for human advancement inherent in cultural exchanges between all countries.

Paul Robeson, whose creative talents have literally been barred from the concert halls, theaters, film studios, radio and television stations of the United States, for the past five years, has also been denied the right to display his artistic genius abroad and to make further contributions to the cultural life of mankind. Although he has received numerous invitations for artistic appearances in all parts of the world, the policy of the State Department is to flout such requests. Robeson is still denied a passport and the right to travel. The requests of his foreign audiences are held in contempt.

Why has this great son of the American Negro people, renowned throughout the world as an artist and public figure been singled out for special persecution by the racists of the U.S.A.? Because of his passionate devotion to the cause of peace, freedom, equality and human dignity for the colored peoples of the world.

The government of my country has said as much, as fantastic as that may seem. In opposing a legal suit brought by Paul Robeson to secure his passport, the State Department declared in its reply brief:

> "...Furthermore, even if the complaint (Mr. Robeson's complaint) had alleged, which it does not, that the passport was cancelled solely because of appellant's recognized status as a spokesman for large sections of Negro Americans, we submit that this would not amount to an abuse of discretion in view of appellant's frank admission that he has been for years extremely active politically in behalf of independence of the colonial peoples of Africa . . . Though this may be a highly laudable aim, the diplomatic embarrassment that could arise from the presence abroad of such a political meddler, travelling under the protection of an American passport, is easily imaginable. After all, 'the President is the sole organ of the federal government in the field of international relations.'"

Recently, on August 16th, 1955, a member of the Attorney General's office, representing the State Department in another court hearing of this case, presented this additional reason for denying Mr. Robeson's passport:

> "During the concert tours of foreign countries he (Robeson) repeatedly criticized the conditions of Negroes in the United States."

Further reasons cited by the government at this hearing concerning Mr. Robeson's so-called "un-American" activity was his message to the Bandung Congerence. The U.S. Attorney condemned that part of the Robeson message which read:

> "The time has come when the colored peoples of the world will no longer allow the great natural wealth of their countries to be exploited and expropriated by the Western world while they are beset by hunger, disease and poverty. It is clearly evident that these evils can be eradicated and that the economic, social and cultural advancement of whole populations of hundreds of millions of people can be rapidly achieved, once modern science and industrialization are applied and directed toward raising the general level of well-being of peoples rather than toward the enrichment of individuals and corporations."

I believe Mr. Robeson's message to the Bandung Conference to be consistent with the aims, even the dreams of all freedom-loving peoples. I believe the section quoted here to be of fundamental significance. R Robeson's position supports the U.N.Charter and Declaration of Human Rights; Mr. Robeson's position does honor to the Constitution of his country. It gives stature and prestige to Americans. The position of the government contravenes these documents.

More than that! We ask you, what kind of cultural outlook has one who would prevent the free exchange of cultural values? Paul Robeson's cultural genius in music and the drama contributes to the advancement of man's universality, brotherhood and humanism. Our State Department in its attitude to Paul Robeson has struck a blow at the development of culture on an international scale.

The Negro press of the USA has reflected deep concern in this case, as well it might. On August 25, 1955, the Los Angeles Herald Dispatch declared in an editorial that, "the conclusion is unavoidable that the Government, which cannot be separated from the State Department, is guilty of crude race discrimination against this internationally famous Negro artist and the Negro people generally. Its discriminatory persistance in denying Robeson's right to a passport is a blow not only against Robeson, the individual, but against Negro Americans."

Mr. Editor, I respectfully submit that colored peoples everywhere have a profound interest in this matter. It is on the order of the day that the peoples of Asia and Africa lend their influence and voice in behalf of justice for the beloved people's leader and artist, Paul Robeson.

Invitations from your people for this man to exhibit his creative talents in your country will be extremely helpful. May I also beseech you to write to Mr. John Foster Dulles, Secretary of State of my country, to ask that Mr. Robeson be permitted to have a passport, to travel, to visit with and to appear before you and the vast audiences who await him and his concerts.

Respectfully yours,

William L. Patterson

William L. Patterson

WLP/rr

September 29, 1955

Mr. Roscoe Dunjee,
Editor and Publisher
Black Dispatch
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Dear friend Dunjee,

You may recall that at Geneva President Eisenhower made the following statesmanlike proposals: "Lower the barriers which now impede the opportunities of people to travel anywhere in the world for peaceful, friendly purposes."

It is my opinion that this conclusion should be made the point of departure in raising the level of struggle for the right of Paul Robeson to travel. As you know, he has been denied that right for some five years now, much to his embarrassment financially and otherwise. A letter is being drafted which I hope can be sent, under your signature, to several hundred leading Negro figures in the country. It is a request that they join with you in soliciting the State Department to reverse its unconstitutional position and grant Paul Robeson his constitutional right of travel.

A number of very prominent white men who were also, for the moment, denied their right to travel have now been permitted to travel abroad. Decision in their case has been reversed and they were not required to sigh any anti-Communist affidavit such as the government now places before Robeson.

I know you cannot decide one way or another definitely without seeing the letter itself and I shall have such a letter in your hands in a couple of days. However, since time is of the essence I am writing you in advance hoping that you would let me know what your attitude is toward taking a leading part in this fight.

It is my thinking that with racism reaching new heights, the fight for the right of Robeson to travel can only redound to the advantage of the whole struggle against racism in all of its phases.

Sincerely,

William L Patterson

P.S.- The letter which I am preparing will be somewhat along the lines of the enclosed draft.

It is my feeling that the general situation is such that a manifesto ought to be drafted which would be submitted to the President and as well to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights. I wonder if there is any thinking along these lines out your way.

Thurs.

Dear Pat:

You'll notice that the press release is directed specifically to the Negro press.

As for the fact sheetx, as amended and brought up to date, it seems to me that it deserves wide circulation. The simple setting down of this data, in logical order, must surely convince any fair-minded person that Paul has been viciously discriminated against in the passport denial.

I'll ring you tomorrow evening for sure.

Yours,

Lloyd

AUSABLE FORKS
NEW YORK

October 5, 1955

Mr. William L. Patterson
Civil Rights Congress
Suite 200
6 East 17th. Street
New York 3, New York

Dear Pat:

Of course I will sign the letter appealing for support of Paul Robeson in his demand for a passport --unless you feel that my own at present very active interest in getting a passport would make me too partisan a signer.

I was refused a passport in '50, again in '51, and yet again in June of this year. I have now reapplied and, with the backing of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, am prepared to take the matter to the courts, my claim being that a passport is not properly a permit to travel but merely an official certification of citizenship. I believe that my stand is virtually identical with Paul's, inasmuchas one of the reasons I have advanced has been to pursue my work.

But if this action on my part does not make me too interested a party, I will be most happy to sign the letters.

Of course you have a rain check for your invitation, though the season when we have anything much to offer--the much being this countryside in summertime--you may want to keep it until another summer season rolls around.

My warmest regards to you both,

Faithfully yours,

Rockwell

RK/sj

Rockwell Kent

Mr. Patterson -

Please wait for Bella Altschuler who will come in at 5:30 P.M. Monday if you can make it. It is important.

Moe

EMERGENCY CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE
421 SEVENTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, 1, N. Y. • OXFORD 5-2863

HARVEY O'CONNOR
Chairman
CORLISS LAMONT
Vice-Chairman
ANDREW D. WEINBERGER
Treasurer
ELINOR FERRY KIRSTEIN
Secretary
CLARK FOREMAN
Director
LEONARD B. BOUDIN
General Counsel

NATIONAL COUNCIL

Executive Committee
Joseph H. Crown, N. Y.
Prof. Thomas I. Emerson, Conn.
Mrs. Aleine Austin Mufson, N. Y.
John M. Pickering, N. Y.
Louis L. Redding, Del.
Robert Rosenwald, N. Y.
Edgar Stillman, Jr., N. Y.
J. Raymond Walsh, N. Y.

Byron Allen, Md.
John S. Atlee, Ohio
Edmund O. Austin, N. Y.
Rev. William T. Baird
Prof. Derk Bodde, Pa.
Mrs. Walter Boyden, Mass.
Rev. John W. Bradbury, N. Y.
Rev. C. Lennart Carlson, R. I.
Prof. John Ciardi, N. J.
Homer C. Clay, Md.
Prof. Robert S. Cohen, Conn.
Earl B. Dickerson, Ill.
Dr. Marynia Farnham, N. Y.
Royal W. France, N. Y.
Laurent B. Frantz, Calif.
Rev. Stephen H. Fritchman, Calif.
Dan Gillmor, N. Y.
Prof. Harvey K. Goldberg, Ohio
Rabbi Robert E. Goldburg, Conn.
David Haber, N. Y.
Prof. Fowler Harper, Conn.
Rev. A. A. Heist, Calif.
John N. M. Howells, Mass.
Leo Huberman, N. Y.
James Imbrie, N. J.
Prof. Erich Kahler, N. J.
Robert Kenny, Calif.
Ignacio L. Lopez, Calif.
Mrs. Dorothy Marshall, Calif.
Prof. Curtis D. MacDougall, Ill.
Carey McWilliams, N. Y.
Prof. Clyde Miller, Ill.
Prof. Broadus Mitchell, N. Y.
Dr. Nancy Morse, Mich.
Harry I. Rand, D. C.
Richard L. Ritman, Ill.
Prof. Arnold Rogow, Calif.
Dr. Guy Emery Shipler, N. Y.
I. Philip Sipser, N. Y.
Morton Stavis, N. J.
Mrs. A. W. Simpkins, S. C.
Bernard J. Somers, N. Y.
I. F. Stone, D. C.
Mrs. Nancy P. Straus, D. C.
Robert Ware Straus, Md.
Paul Sweezy, N. H.
Miss Olive Van Horn, N. Y.
Rev. Arthur E. Walmsley, Mo.
David Wesley, Pa.
Frank Wilkinson, Calif.
Henry Willcox, Conn.
Prof. William A. Williams, Ore.
Milton Zaslow, N. Y.

June 20, 1956

Mr. William L. Patterson
23 West 26th Street
New York 1, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Patterson:

In reply to your letter of June 16th, it was my proposal that if Paul Robeson would sing at the Town Hall concert for raising funds for his passport case, we would guarantee $1500 toward his passport expenses. Unfortunately, Mr. Robeson was not able to sing and the difference between the amount we are able to turn over to his lawyers and the estimated sum is just about the fee of $750 which we had to pay for the talent we did use. In other words, it looks now as if the net profits from the concert will amount to about $750 which we are turning over to Boudin and Rabinowitz toward the fee owed them. As soon as we have more precise figures, I will notify Mr. Robeson.

Yours sincerely,

Clark Foreman

Clark Foreman
Director

mg

264

June 15, 1956

Mr. James Hicks
Amsterdam News
2340 Eighth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Hicks:

I have been perplexed in recent months at the seeming failure of Negro Americans to be deeply stirred by the monumental growth of liberation movements in Asia, Africa, the Arabian World and Eastern Europe. Deep in our hearts there must be a feeling of kindredness with liberty loving peoples. But there do not appear to be delegations applying for passports or visas to visit China, Egypt, Indonesia, the Soviet Union and points East. It is impossible to see the militancy of this vast world of color and its drive for freedom from centuries of exploitation by the Western lands, without fervently hoping for its success.

The speech President Sukarno made before the Congress of our country was a magnificent statement of the aims of those seeking to control their political destiny and gain human dignity. As an American Negro I was however forced to seriously ponder his profound observation that:

> "The people of Asia have come to believe that the rulers of America (my emphasis) have no understanding of a nationalism rooted in liberty and dedicated to equality of opportunity."

What an indictment! Yet, who can refute it? I thought of our glorious Bill of Rights and then of Mississippi, Montgomery, Alabama, Tallehassee, Florida and the southland; I thought of the ghettos and jim-crow practices of the North.

Here was no charge against the American people, white or black. Here was a specific charge against the rulers of this land; a charge that was confirmed by the report of President Truman's Committee on Civil Rights, entitled "To Secure These Rights," and further confirmed by the growth of the White Citizens Councils and their murderous racist program and ideology.

American Negroes in Church, fraternal bodies, civil and social organizations should be talking with these freedom loving peoples. They, these forward moving masses of mankind, seek only what was written into our Declaration of Independence, Constitution and Emancipation Proclamation. These things are worth no less today than when we fought for them. We cannot hide our heads or hearts from the struggles others like us wage today for human dignity. We not only have an affinity with freedom loving mankind, we have as well a responsibility to history to align ourselves with all who seek liberty. In no other way can we defend the national morality and political integrity of America. We Negroes must first of all defend both if we would "secure these rights."

I am not unaware that those ruling Americans of whom the East is skeptical have the power to victimize those who seek democracy and justice.

Paul Robeson, Dr. Du Bois and others, like myself, are among those who cannot travel. But there are noble figures who can. Our government is sending some Negroes abroad while it restricts the travel rights of others. This restriction is a matter of grave concern. All who can should travel.

Go East, my son! See the movement of freedom loving peoples. Draw your own conclusions as to the merits or demerits.

The Negro should not permit those who revile and persecute him to dictate what he shall see and hear. We live in a changing world. New ideas are rampant. Man's love of liberty, his association with every effort made to obtain liberty, is what makes him one with eternity. Let's look-see. The East would be delighted to have us as guests. What do you think?

Sincerely yours,

WLP/cb

William L. Patterson

July 10, 1956

Rev. C. A. Hamilton
915 St. Catherine Street, N. E.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Reverend Hamilton:

You undoubtedly heard of the splendid position in defense of the constitutional liberties and dignity of Negroes taken by Paul Robeson when recently called before a Congressional Committee. Mr. Robeson asked as to why the White Citizens Councils, the "respectable" organized terrorists of Mississippi, Alabama and other Southern states, were not called before the Un-American Activities Committee. He asked why militant Negro leaders are persecuted when they are defending national morality and the political integrity of our country through their demands for the enforcement of the law.

The background of all this is the courageous fight waged by Paul Robeson for the right to travel and the restoration of his passport. I think you will be pleased to have an opportunity to understand this historic case. It represents a continuation of the centuries-old struggle of the Negro people to gain respect for their dignity as human beings and to be accorded full citizenship rights under the law.

Perhaps you would like Mr. Robeson to speak before your people. If so please let me know. Robeson is as one leading paper has said: The conscience of America.

Sincerely yours,

WLP/cb

William L. Patterson

Same letter to:
Rev. W. L. Turley, 1820 Swann St., N.W.
Rev. W. A. Tutt, 1829 Nineteenth St., N.W.
Rev. M. McQueen, 47 New York Ave., N. W.
Rev. R. Lockheart, 1327 Holbrook St., N.E.
Rev. G. E. Stevenson, 535 Twenty-first St., N.E.
Rev. G. Travis, 5327 Central Ave., N.E.
Rev. F. L. Jones, 1810 Kalorama Road, N. W.
Rev. H. B. Thigpen, 2355 Champlain St., N.W.
Rev. E. Thomas, 4831 Ninth Street, N.W.
All in Washington, D. C.

July 10, 1956

Mr. P. L. Prattis
c/o Pittsburgh Courier
2628 Centre Avenue
Pittsburgh 19, Pa.

Dear Friend Prattis:

Your column of July 7th was very much to the point. Responsible people the world over have come to regard our country as morally bankrupt and completely lacking in national integrity. The Culture of the Racist bears a bitter fruit.

It was time the John Foster Dulles and such like him began to realize that the voices they would still are precisely the ones which can help restore a reputation that once was respected in foreign fields. Paul Robeson, Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois and others who speak for equal justice and indiscriminate observance of the Bill of Rights and the Civil War (14 & 15) Amendments should have their passports restored. Words like yours should be echoed abroad.

More power to you.

Sincerely yours,

WLP/cb

William L. Patterson

P.S. Incidentally did you see the Christian Science Monitor for May 15? It held that word came to it that President Sukarno of Indonesia: "Had to pledge not to contact Communist sympathizers in the U. S. and not to make investigations about the American Negro people."

W.L.P.

June 29, 1956

Mr. George Murphy
2535 13 Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear George:

I thought the decision would be of interest to you. Its immediate value to the Negro people generally is not too obvious, but certainly a sound argument is that in this effort to deny to Communists the benefits of social security insurance one sees more clearly the maneuvers and machinations of various government agencies in depriving Negroes of their constitutional rights.

I wanted you also to see this letter to Walls. It was originally drafted to some Negro artists, but I sent a copy to Walls, hoping to stimulate some action there in those channels. A copy was also sent to Carl.

Thanks for the material you sent. If you ever have any material for me, please send it direct to me.

I expect to do an article on Paul stressing the manner in which the three branches of government have cooperated to deprive this man of his constitutional rights, instead of each seeking to curb the usurpation of powers of the other and to maintain inviolate constitutional liberties.

Sincerely,

WLP/cb
Encl.

William L. Patterson

August, 1954

TO THE AMERICAN NEGRO, 1954

After a long career devoted principally to the emancipation of the American Negro from partial slavery to full and equal citizenship, I claim the right to advise my people in this day of crisis -- of crisis greater I fear than most of them imagine.

The greatest question of our day is Communism. The American Negro is asked today to choose between two pictures of Communism. The first declares that Communism is a crime promoted by conspirators who are enslaving peoples for selfish reasons. The attempts have failed yet the Soviet Union threatens to overthrow the world and the United States especially by force and violence. That persons who believe in Communism or cooperate with Communists deserve severe punishment; and that this nation should prepare to contain if not exterminate Communish by the greatest possible preparation of military force; an effort so great as to threaten the nation with a financial disaster.

The second thesis says that Communism is an attempt to eliminate poverty, ignorance and disease among the majority of peoples, through efforts to achieve socialism by Communist methods; that Socialism has long been regarded as the goal of modern civilization by many great social philosophers; that the present Communist attempts to achieve socialism are succeeding and spreading widely and are the hope of future civilization.

Both these statements cannot possibly be tmue. It would therefore be the natural reaction of honest persons asked to choose between them, or to modify them into more acceptable statements, to begin careful study of these beliefs so as to guide their thought and action toward Right and Truth.

But today so violent is the belief of many Americans in the first thesis, that any real study of Socialism or Communism is forbidden; any belief in it even if honest is regarded as a crime; and the nation is asked to forbid contrary opinions, curtail the democratic process of government, and even to go to war in order to support a belief which the majority of Negroes and probably most whites today do not understand. It is asserted that we are in present danger of communist revolution by force and violence.

I am not writing to ask any American Negro or anybody else to embrace Communism. That is a matter for his individual intelligence and conscience and of his knowledge of Truth. But I am saying, and saying with warning and deep conviction, that no patriotic American and no loyal descendant of African slaves, can for a moment consent without bitter protest to deny to any free citizen the right himself to search for the truth, to make up his mind in accord with the evidence, and then to act within the law as he thinks right. If he thinks it his duty to defy the law, he must be ready to suffer the consequences.

With that firm belief I am convinced that every Negro should make an attempt to learn what Socialism and Communism are; what they are trying to accomplish and what success they are having. Personally I believe that today communistic nations are leading the world in the fight against poverty, ignorance and disease and against that worst of diseases, race prejudice. My belief is based on personal investigation and study. I ask no man to share this belief unless he makes similar effort to know. If and when he does, I recognize his full right to disagree with me.

I believe that the present hysterical fear of Socialism and Communism is the false propaganda of the selfish rich. Let me remind my readers that today, in this nation, every effort is being made by those in authority to prevent truth from becoming known; by use of misleading news reports and wrong interpretation of news; by keeping honest study of socialism and communism out of schools and colleges; by scaring social leaders into silence; by open use in court of stool-pigeons, hired spies and confessed liars; by censoring books and periodicals, radio and television; and by slanting and distorting every source of public information so that it is most difficult if not dangerous for honest and well-meaning people to really know what is truth and what they should think. It will be no service to this nation if 15,000,000 of its citizens, by ignorance or silence, help such effort toward making sincere search for truth and honest belief impossible in this country.

Today the leaders of our industry and makers of public opinion are helping every reactionary movement in the world from land monopoly in Guatemala to race discrimination in South Africa. Negroes ought to know better than to be party to such policies. Never forget that in this nation and others, whenever a difficult social problem is faced, and such problems usually touch income and property, there will be concerted effort to stop knowledge of the facts and discussion of the situation by strong public opinion and even by law. This was the case in the slavery controversy in the United States from 1619 to 1863. The repression led to bloody civil war. For ninety years after the Emancipation Proclamation repeated effort was made to stop discussion of the status of Negroes by public disapproval, vicious slander and law. There is only one way to meet such tactics and that is by re-assertion of the right of American citizens to know and think.

If this nation has sense enough to learn anything from history it should be that no great social problem can be settled by making it dangerous or illegal for people to study it, discuss it and to come to believe about it whatever they think right. This battle for freedom of opinion we once thought had been won and won forever in this land. Today we are told and told by threat, insult and punishment that Communism is something we must not study, must not know about, must not discuss and about which we have no right to hold honest opinions.

Sons of Africa, it is up to you; out of the bitter experience of your own past, to tell this nation that this destruction of elementary human rights is not only unworthy of the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights, but even contrary to ordinary common sense.

(Signed) W. E. B. Du Bois

DB:lh

a statement TO THE PRESIDENT AND ATTORNEY GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES

We, the undersigned Negro Americans, do not believe that Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois is or ever was a "foreign agent"; and we fear that his prosecution for alleged violation of the Foreign Agents Registration Act is designed to intimidate into silence other leaders of our people who speak out boldly for full democratic rights for Negro citizens.

When Dr. Du Bois denies the "foreign agent" charge and declares that he and his associates in their work for peace through this (Peace Information) Center were acting as Americans for America and that the work was supported by funds raised solely in the United States, we accept his statement as completely valid.

The integrity and loyalty of Dr. Du Bois have been firmly established during his more than half-century of public life. However we may differ with some of his opinions, we do not and cannot question his honesty and loyalty.

We have long been proud of Dr. Du Bois as an able leader of the Negro people and as a scholar with few peers in our country. Moreover, we admire his courage and defend his right, now at the age of eighty-three, to continue to speak out for the democratic rights of oppressed people and for world peace as he has been doing for many decades.

It is our considered opinion that the indictment and prosecutions of Dr. Du Bois under the Foreign Agents Registration Act constitute unjust and cruel persecution of one of the very best citizens and one of the greatest scholars the United States has produced.

We endorse fully the resolution on the indictment and prosecution of Dr. Du Bois which was adopted by the Annual Conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (Atlanta, Georgia, June 26-30, 1951), namely: *"that this Convention go on record as being unalterably opposed to such methods by any Governmental instrumentality to silence spokesmen for full equality for Negroes and affirm its determination to continue to fight for such citizenship rights for all Americans."*

We, therefore, respectfully petition you to drop the "foreign agent" indictment against Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois and to call off the unwarranted trial scheduled for October 2, 1951. This action by our Government, especially at this time, would do much to uphold the requirements of justice and the democratic traditions of our country.

SIGNED..

I agree to cooperate with the campaign to have the unjust "foreign agent" indictment against Dr. Du Bois dropped. (Please check one or more of the following)

.... 1. I have (not) signed the above statement.

.... 2. I agree to become a member of the *Friends of Dr. Du Bois.*

.... 3. I enclose $.............................. to help defray expenses for the campaign to defend Dr. Du Bois.

(Please make checks or money orders payable to GRACE P. GOENS, Treasurer)

Issued by FRIENDS OF DR. W. E. B. DU BOIS, 101 North 52nd Street, Philadelphia 39, Pa.

June 2, 1954

Department of State
Passport Division
Washington, D.C.

Gentlemen:

This letter is intended to accompany my application for a passport. It is submitted in compliance with Item No. 3 of printed instructions issued by you and entitled "Essential Requirements to Obtain a Passport." That item calls for a letter "stating where, when, why and length of stay abroad." I hereby furnish the information requested:

1. I intend to visit the British Isles and Israel. I may also visit such areas of continental Europe, particularly France and the Scandinavian countries, as may invite me to sing or perform during my stay abroad.

2. I propose to leave in or about September, 1954.

3. My purpose in traveling is to practice my profession as a singer and actor. More particularly:

   (a) I have been invited by Leslie Linder Productions to play the title role in a production of Othello. British Actors' Equity Association has unanimously approved of my appearance and performance in England. Annexed hereto is a photostatic copy of the offer of Leslie Linder Productions. Also annexed hereto is a photostatic copy of the approval of British Actors' Equity Association. I call specific attention to the following language of the letter of the British Actors' Equity Association:

   > "It was the unanimous opinion of the Council that Mr. Robeson's status is such that we cannot raise any objection to his appearing in this country. Indeed the Council expressed its satisfaction at the prospect of seeing Mr. Robeson play this part, in which he has previously made so striking an appearance. We would welcome his presence in this country."

   (b) I have been invited by Workers' Music Association Ltd to make a concert tour of England under its auspices. Annexed hereto is a photostatic copy of the offer, supported by a personal invitation from the vice-presidents, and another from R. Vaughan Williams, the renowned dean of contemporary British music. The vice-presidents who signed the invitation are:

Geoffrey Corbett
Phil Cardew
Inglis Gundry
Arnold Goldsbrough
Bernard Stevens
Rutland Boughton
Edward J. Dent
Elizabeth Maconchy
Benjamin Britten
Joseph Lewis
Alan Rawsthorne
Arthur Benjamin

I call your specific attention to the following language of the vice-presidents' invitation:

> "We cordially support this invitation and, as representative British professional musicians, assure you that such a visit would undoubtedly be greatly appreciated by thousands of music-lovers here."

(c) I have been invited by Adam Holender, Impresario of the Agence Internationale de Concerts, Theatre de Variete of Tel Aviv, Israel, to make a concert tour of Israel. It is my understanding that Mr. Holender has made arrangements for me to sing in various concert halls in Israel. Annexed hereto is a photostatic copy of a proposed contract tendered to me by Mr. Holender. It is my intention to enter into a contract to sing in Israel upon satisfactory terms to be arranged.

(d) I have received many expressions of interest in my singing or performing in other lands. It is probable that when I travel to England to fill my engagement there, arrangements may be made for me to sing and perform in other European countries, notably France and Scandinavia.

4. I expect to stay abroad for about six months.

* * * *

I am a singer and actor by profession and I have achieved recognition in many foreign countries as well as in the United States. However, my opportunities for performing in the ordinary channels of entertainment in this country have been severely limited, in that opera, drama, motion pictures, the larger concert halls, radio and television have unfortunately been closed to me here. I am one of many American artists who have been thus blacklisted for political nonconformity.

Consequently the invitation to sing and act abroad is welcomed by me with heightened enthusiasm in that it affords me the only opportunity to practice my profession in conventional entertainment media before large audiences. The value of this opportunity lies in the fulfillment of my artistic efforts and in permitting me to earn a livelihood in my profession. If I should be unable to accept the present invitations to perform abroad, I should be without any corresponding opportunity to employ my talents for compensation at home.

Accordingly, I request your speedy and favorable consideration of the within application.

Very truly yours,

Enc.

July 2, 1954

Date?

Department of State
Passport Division
Washington, D. C.

Gentlemen:

This letter is intended to accompany my application for a passport. It is submitted in compliance with Item No. 3 of printed instructions issued by you and entitled "Essential Requirements to Obtain a Passport". That item calls for a letter "stating where, when, why and length of stay abroad". I hereby furnish the information requested:

1. I intend to visit the British Isles and Israel. I may also visit such areas of continental Europe, particularly France and the Scandinavian countries, as may invite me to sing or perform during my stay abroad.

2. I propose to leave in on about September, 1954.

3. My purpose in traveling is to practice my profession as a singer and actor. More particularly:

   (a) I have been invited by Leslie Linder Productions to play the title role in a production of Othello. British Actors' Equity Association has unanimously approved of my appearance and performance in England. Annexed hereto is a photostatic copy of the offer of Leslie Linder Productions. Also annexed hereto is a photostatic copy of the approval of British Actors' Equity Association. I call specific attention to the following language of the letter of the British Actors' Equity Association:

> "It was the unanimous opinion of the Council that Mr. Robeson's status is such that we cannot raise any objection to his appearing in this country. Indeed the Council expressed its satisfaction at the prospect of seeing Mr. Robeson play this part, in which he has previously made so striking an appearance. We would welcome his presence in this country."

(b) I have been invited by Workers' Music Association Ltd to make a concert tour of England under its auspices. Annexed hereto is a photostatic copy of the offer, supported by a personal invitation from the vice-presidents and another from R. Vaughan Williams, the renowned dean of contemporary British music. The vice-presidents who signed the invitation are:

Geoffrey Corbett
Phil Cardew
Inglis Gundry
Arnold Goldsbrough
Bernard Stevens
Rutland Boughton
Edward J. Dent
Elizabeth Maconchy
Benjamin Britten
Joseph Lewis
Alan Rawsthorne
Arthur Benjamin

I call your specific attention to the following language of the vice-presidents' invitation:

> "We cordially support this invitation and, as representative British professional musicians, assure you that such a visit would undoubtedly be greatly appreciated by thousands of music-lovers here."

(c) I have been invited by Adam Holender, Impresario of the Agence Internationale de Concerts, Theatre de Variete of Tel Aviv, Israel, to make a concert tour of Israel. It is my understanding that Mr. Holender has made arrangements for me to sing in various concert halls in Israel. Annexed hereto is a photostatic copy of a proposed contract tendered to me by Mr. Holender. It is my intention to enter into a contract to sing in Israel upon satisfactory terms to be arranged.

(d) I have received many expressions of interest in my singing or performing in other lands. It is probable that when I travel to England to fill my engagement there, arrangements may be made for me to sing and perform in other European countries, notably France and Scandinavia.

4. I expect to stay abroad for about six months.

* * *

I am a singer and actor by profession and I have achieved recognition in many foreign countries as well as in the United States. However, my opportunities for performing in the ordinary channels of entertainment in this country have been severely limited, in that opera, drama, motion pictures, the larger concert halls, radio and television have unfortunately been closed to me here. I am one of many American artists who have been thus blacklisted for political non-conformity.

Consequently the invitation to sing and act abroad is welcomed by me with heightened enthusiasm in that it affords me the only opportunity to practice my profession in conventional entertainment media before large audiences. The value of this opportunity lies in the fulfillment of my artistic efforts and in permitting me to earn a livelihood in my profession. If I should be unable to accept the present invitations to perform abroad, I should be without any corresponding opportunity to employ my talents for compensation at home.

Accordingly, I request your speedy and favorable consideration of the within application.

Very truly yours,

Paul Robeson

Enc.

July 2, 1954

Department of State
Passport Division
Washington, D.C.

Gentlemen:

This letter is intended to accompany my application for a passport. It is submitted in compliance with Item No. 3 of printed instructions issued by you and entitled "Essential Requirements to Obtain a Passport." That item calls for a letter "stating where, when, why and length of stay abroad." I hereby furnish the information requested:

1. I intend to visit the British Isles and Israel. I may also visit such areas of continental Europe, particularly France and the Scandinavian countries, as may invite me to sing or perform during my stay abroad.

2. I propose to leave in or about September, 1954.

3. My purpose in traveling is to practice my profession as a singer and actor. More particularly:

    (a) I have been invited by Leslie Linder Productions to play the title role in a production of Othello. British Actors' Equity Association has unanimously approved of my appearance and performance in England. Annexed hereto is a photostatic copy of the offer of Leslie Linder Productions. Also annexed hereto is a photostatic copy of the approval of British Actors' Equity Association. I call specific attention to the following language of the letter of the British Actors' Equity Association:

    > "It was the unanimous opinion of the Council that Mr. Robeson's status is such that we cannot raise any objection to his appearing in this country. Indeed the Council expressed its satisfaction at the prospect of seeing Mr. Robeson play this part, in which he has previously made so striking an appearance. We would welcome his presence in this country."

    (b) I have been invited by Workers' Music Association Ltd to make a concert tour of England under its auspices. Annexed hereto is a photostatic copy of the offer, supported by a personal invitation from the vice-presidents, and another from R. Vaughan Williams, the renowned dean of contemporary British music. The vice-presidents who signed the invitation are:

Geoffrey Corbett
Phil Cardew
Inglis Gundry
Arnold Goldsbrough
Bernard Stevens
Rutland Boughton
Edward J. Dent
Elizabeth Maconchy
Benjamin Britten
Joseph Lewis
Alan Rawsthorne
Arthur Benjamin

I call your specific attention to the following language of the vice-presidents' invitation:

> "We cordially support this invitation and, as representative British professional musicians, assure you that such a visit would undoubtedly be greatly appreciated by thousands of music-lovers here."

(c) I have been invited by Adam Holender, Impresario of the Agence Internationale de Concerts, Theatre de Variete of Tel Aviv, Israel, to make a concert tour of Israel. It is my understanding that Mr. Holender has made arrangements for me to sing in various concert halls in Israel. Annexed hereto is a photostatic copy of a proposed contract tendered to me by Mr. Holender. It is my intention to enter into a contract to sing in Israel upon satisfactory terms to be arranged.

(d) I have received many expressions of interest in my singing or performing in other lands. It is probable that when I travel to England to fill my engagement there, arrangements may be made for me to sing and perform in other European countries, notably France and Scandinavia.

4. I expect to stay abroad for about six months.

* * * *

I am a singer and actor by profession and I have achieved recognition in many foreign countries as well as in the United States. However, my opportunities for performing in the ordinary channels of entertainment in this country have been severely limited, in that opera, drama, motion pictures, the larger concert halls, radio and television have unfortunately been closed to me here. I am one of many American artists who have been thus blacklisted for political nonconformity.

Consequently the invitation to sing and act abroad is welcomed by me with heightened enthusiasm in that it affords me the only opportunity to practice my profession in conventional entertainment media before large audiences. The value of this opportunity lies in the fulfillment of my artistic efforts and in permitting me to earn a livelihood in my profession. If I should be unable to accept the present invitations to perform abroad, I should be without any corresponding opportunity to employ my talents for compensation at home.

Accordingly, I request your speedy and favorable consideration of the within application.

Very truly yours,

Enc.

February 14, 1952

Dr. Alphaeus Hunton
Council on African Affairs
53 West 125th Street
New York, New York

Dear Alphaeus:

You may be interested in this item in connection with the government's brief in the Court of Appeals in the Robeson passport case.

In support of the argument that the exercise of the discretion of the Secretary of State in refusing passports is not reviewable by the courts, the brief contains the following footnote: (p. 20, n. 12)

> "Even if the Secretary's discretionary actions in this field were reviewable for abuse of discretion, appellant's complaint does not allege facts amounting to an abuse, and consequently would fail to state a cause of action. The complaint does not allege that the passport was cancelled because appellant is a loyal American whose activities have been guided by the bounds of the Constitution, or that it was cancelled solely because he is a recognized spokesman among Negro Americans. It alleges that the passport was cancelled because the Secretary disapproved of appellant's political activities and associations abroad, and certainly the Secretary would be acting properly in refusing a passport to appellant if he had good cause to believe him to be a dangerous anarchist -- a possibility which the complaint does not exclude. Furthermore, even if the complaint had alleged, which it does not, that the passport was cancelled solely because of appellant's recognized status as a spokesman for large sections of Negro Americans, we submit that

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

> this would not amount to an abuse of discretion in view of appellant's frank admission that he has been for years extremely active politically in behalf of the independence of the colonial peoples of Africa (supra, p. 2). Though this may be a highly laudable aim, the diplomatic embarrassment that could arise from the presence abroad of such a political meddler, travelling under the protection of an American passport, is easily imaginable. After all, 'the President is the sole organ of the federal government in the field of international relations.' United States v. Curtiss-Wright Corp., supra, 299 U.S. at 320."

This footnote is interesting not only because Robeson (and any person who would be in a similar position) is referred to as "a political meddler" but also because of the attempt to use against Robeson the allegation of our complaint that "he has been for years extremely active politically in behalf of the independence of the colonial peoples of Africa." Do you not think that it is the height of hypocrisy for this government which is now fighting the colonial peoples everywhere to argue that Robeson should be denied a passport because to give him one to pursue his efforts on behalf of the colonial peoples might prove a "diplomatic embarrassment" to the government?

Here's what I mean
Fight for
Peace
the
[illegible]
[illegible]
aggression
to struggle
freedom of
our people
same forces
war [illegible]

Fraternally,

NW:ms
dpowa

cc: Mr. Louis Burnham

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

C
O
P
Y

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
Washington

In reply refer to
F130-Robeson, Paul

Mr. Paul Robeson
155 West 136th Street
New York, New York.

My dear Mr. Robeson:

Reference is made to the application for a passport which you executed at the passport agency in New York City on July 29, 1953. Reference is also made to your application dated January 30, 1953 and to the Department's letter to you dated February 11, 1953.

It would appear, upon the basis of information which the Department has received from various sources, that the issue of a passport to you is precluded under the provisions of sub-sections (a) and (b) of Section 51.135 of the Passport Regulations. In this connection it has been alleged that (a) you are a Communist, and (b) you have manifested a consistent and prolonged adherence to the Communist Party line on a variety of issues through shifts and changes of that line. You may, if you so desire, appeal your case in the manner set forth in Section 51.137 of the Passport Regulations. You should submit, as a part of your appeal, an oath or affirmation of the nature outlined in Section 51.142 of the Regulations. It would also be pertinent for you to submit, in connection with the appeal, evidence of any deviation on your part from the Communist Party line.

Sincerely yours,

/s/ R. B. Shipley

R. B. Shipley,
Director, Passport Office

Enclosure:
Copy of Supplement to the
Passport Regulations

WITT & CAMMER
9 EAST 40th STREET
NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

August 20, 1951

Hon. James A. Cobb
Cobb, Howard & Hayes, Esqs.
613 F Street, N.W.
Washington 4, D. C.

Re: Robeson v. Acheson

Dear Judge Cobb:

Thank you for your letter of August 16, enclosing bill for the briefs for $365.67. I am referring the bill to Paul for immediate payment.

As you know, George sent me three copies of the brief. I have given two to Paul and have one for my files, but I have had several requests for it so I wonder whether you will be good enough to send me five more copies.

I will be awaiting receipt of a copy of the government's brief as soon as it is served on you.

With warmest greetings to yourself, to your associates, and to Dean Parker.

Sincerely,

NW:ms
dpowa

cc: Paul Robeson
Louis Burnham

COBB, HOWARD & HAYES
613 F Street, N.W.
Washington 4, D.C.

August 16, 1951

Nathan Witt, Esq.
9 East 40th Street
New York 16, N.Y.

Re: Robeson vs. Acheson

Dear Mr. Witt:

Under separate cover I had three (3) briefs sent to you in the above-entitled case as of the 15th of August, 1951. The briefs were properly filed in the Court of Appeals. You will note that we had seventy (70) copies printed, the reason therefor being in all probability this case will go to the Supreme Court of the United States and we had a sufficient number printed so if application is made for certiorari to the Supreme Court, we could use the records already printed for the Court of Appeals and thereby save a large printing bill. The bill is herewith inclosed.

George is on his vacation for a few days. As I am in touch with him daily and should you desire a word with him, I could send it on.

Very sincerely yours,

(signed) James A. Cobb

WITT & CAMMER

NATHAN WITT
HAROLD I. CAMMER
RALPH SHAPIRO

9 EAST 40TH STREET
NEW YORK 16, N.Y.
MURRAY HILL 3-6790

August 17, 1951

Mr. Louis Burnham
Freedom Associates
53 West 125th Street
New York, New York

Re: Robeson v. Acheson

Dear Lou:

I enclose herewith copy of our brief in the Court of Appeals which has just been filed.

If you write a story about this, I suggest that you will find the most quotable material contained on pages 8-12.

I am also sending a copy of the brief directly to Paul.

Fraternally,

NW:ms
dpowa
enc.

cc: Mr. Paul Robeson

WITT & CAMMER
9 EAST 40th STREET
NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

September 13, 1951

Mr. Paul Robeson
22 East 89th Street
New York, New York

Dear Paul:

With my letter of August 20 I sent you the original of the bill which Judge Cobb had sent me for the briefs from the Law Reporter Printing Company in Washington, which bill amounted to $365.67.

I have just received another letter from George Hayes in which he advises me that he has received another bill from the printer for the briefs, and in which he asks that we give this matter immediate attention.

If you will send me the check, I will be glad to transmit it to George.

Fraternally,

NW:aw
dpowa
cc: Mr. Louis Burnham
cc: George Hayes, Esq.

Passport-Legal

WITT & CAMMER
9 EAST 40th STREET
NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

March 26, 1951

Mr. George Murphy
Freedom Associates
53 West 125th Street
New York 27, New York

Dear George:

Pursuant to your request, I enclose herewith copy of the memorandum of points and authorities which the Government filed in support of its motion to dismiss the complaint in Robeson v. Acheson. As I told you the other day, this is actually the Government's brief in support of its position. As I also told you, the motion will be argued in Washington, D. C. on Thursday, April 5.

I will send you a copy of our memorandum as soon as I receive a copy from George Hayes.

Sincerely yours,

NW:ms
enc.
uopwa 16/264

cc: Alphaeus Hunton

WITT & CAMMER

NATHAN WITT
HAROLD I. CAMMER
RALPH SHAPIRO

9 EAST 40TH STREET
NEW YORK 16, N. Y.
MURRAY HILL 3-6790

May 23, 1951

Mr. Louis Burnham
Freedom Associates
53 West 125th Street
New York, New York

Re: Robeson v. Acheson

Dear Lou:

I have just had word from George Hayes that the record on appeal is being filed and that it will cost $10.40. I am sending him a check in that amount and adding it to the account.

Please note that I have not heard from you in answer to my letter of May 11, concerning the fee of $1,000. which George has asked for in payment of his services and that of his associates. I think it is advisable to clear this matter up as soon as possible.

Sincerely,

Nat

NW:ms
dpowa

cc: Mr. Paul Robeson

Robeson
Passport case

WITT & CAMMER

NATHAN WITT
HAROLD I. CAMMER
RALPH SHAPIRO

9 EAST 40TH STREET
NEW YORK 16, N. Y.
MURRAY HILL 3-6790

OK
LEB

April 27, 1951

Mr. Louis Burnham
Freedom Associates
53 West 125th Street
New York, New York

Re: Robeson v. Acheson

Dear Lou:

Enclosed herewith I am sending you copy of self-explanatory letter dated April 25, from Judge Cobb in Washington. We should discuss this when we get together Monday evening, particularly Judge Cobb's request for a fee.

Fraternally,

Nat

NW:ms
enc.
dpowa

(letterhead of)

COBB, HOWARD & HAYES

April 25, 1951

Nathan Witt, Esq.
9 East 40th St.
New York 16, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Witt:

Enclosed herewith is a notice of appeal in the Robeson case. The notice itself discloses what has to be done. It is of the highest importance that it be attended to at once, if appeal is to be had.

The two Georges and myself have traveled over the matter and are of the opinion that there is fundamentally a constitutional question involved and should be heard should we decide to appeal.

In connection with this, I wish to call your attention to the fact that we have noted the appeal and have paid the Clerks fee of Five Dollars.

Should we appeal, the expense involved can't be determined until the matter is filed and the briefs are printed.

After confering with my colleagues, Messrs. Hayes and Parker, we have noted the fact what we have come into this case at your instance. In other words, you are the controlling counsel and should make all of the arrangements including the appeal as well as for some fee for ourselves.

Very sincerely yours,

Cobb, Howard and Hayes

(signed) James A. Cobb

JAC:sw

WITT & CAMMER
9 EAST 40th STREET
NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

June 6, 1952

Hon. James A. Cobb
Cobb, Howard & Hayes, Esqs.
613 F Street, N.W.
Washington 4, D. C.

Re: Robeson v. Acheson

Dear Judge Cobb:

I assume that you also received a copy of the order of the Court of Appeals, dated June 5, copy of which I enclose herewith, but I am sending you this copy in order to make certain.

If agreeable to you, I will prepare a draft of the memorandum called for by this order and send it to you so that you may go over it before you file it. If in the meantime, you have any ideas about it, you might telephone me. I suggest telephoning because of our limited time.

With warmest greetings to you and to your associates.

Sincerely yours,

NW:ms

cc: Louis Burnham, Esq.

WITT & CAMMER
9 EAST 40th STREET
NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

JULY 1, 1952

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS

-to-

WITT & CAMMER, DR.

DISBURSEMENTS:

To bill rendered June 1, 1952	$ 82.42

53 West 125th Street
New York, New York

WITT & CAMMER
9 EAST 40th STREET
NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

June 9, 1952

George E. C Hayes, Esq.
Cobb, Howard & Hayes, Esqs.
613 F Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Re: Robeson v. Acheson

Dear George:

Pursuant to our telephone conversation today, I am sending you herewith an original and nine copies of the supplemental memorandum. I assume that the Court gets the original and six copies, as it did of the first memorandum. There are two copies for your use and one for the government.

You are free of course to make any changes that you see fit or you may telephone me if you think it necessary.

With warmest regards.

Sincerely,

NW:ms
enc.

cc: Mr. Paul Robeson
Mr. Louis Burnham

WITT & CAMMER
9 EAST 40th STREET
NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

July 8, 1952

Hon. James A. Cobb
Cobb, Howard & Hayes, Esqs.
613 F Street, N.W.
Washington 4, D. C.

Re: Robeson v. Acheson

Dear Judge Cobb:

I am returning to you herewith the copy of the Government's second supplemental memorandum which your office sent me and an additional copy which I had made.

I am sure that you will agree with me that the Government's memorandum furnishes no answer to ours and, in fact, is positively dishonest in leaving the impression that a new statute to take care of this situation has been passed. As you of course have noticed, the statute has not been passed and the fact is that even if it is, it will not have the effect of reinstating the proclamation of May 27, 1941 and the proclamation of November 14, 1941 which was based on the earlier proclamation.

In view of this, I am wondering whether it would be advisable for us to take the liberty of filing a short reply to the Government's memorandum to point this out. I would be quite sure that the Court will see this for itself but it may well be that in order to make sure we should consider filing a reply.

I would appreciate having your views on this question.

Sincerely yours,

NW:ms

cc: Mr. Paul Robeson
Miss. Edith Roberts

WITT & CAMMER

NATHAN WITT
HAROLD I. CAMMER
RALPH SHAPIRO

9 EAST 40TH STREET
NEW YORK 16, N.Y.
MURRAY HILL 3-6790

June 1, 1952

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS

-to-

WITT & CAMMER, DR.

DISBURSEMENTS:

To Bill rendered May 1, 1952	$ 82.42

53 West 125th Street
New York, New York

WITT & CAMMER

NATHAN WITT
HAROLD I. CAMMER
RALPH SHAPIRO

9 EAST 40TH STREET
NEW YORK 16, N.Y.
MURRAY HILL 3-6790

July 31, 1952

Council on African Affairs

-to-

WITT & CAMMER, DR.

DISBURSEMENTS:

To bill rendered May 1, 1952	$ 82.42

53 West 125th Street
New York, New York

WITT & CAMMER

NATHAN WITT
HAROLD I. CAMMER
RALPH SHAPIRO

9 EAST 40TH STREET
NEW YORK 16, N.Y.
MURRAY HILL 3-6790

MAY 1, 1952

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS

-to-

WITT & CAMMER, DR.

DISBURSEMENTS:

To bill rendered April 1, 1952	$ 78.12
Long distance telephones	4.30
	$ 82.42

53 West 125th Street
New York, New York

dpowa

RABINOWITZ & BOUDIN
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
25 BROAD STREET
NEW YORK 4, N. Y.

VICTOR RABINOWITZ
LEONARD B. BOUDIN

TELEPHONE
DIGBY 4-5564

May 10, 1955

Mr. Paul Robeson
c/o Mr. John Gray
139 West 125th Street
New York 27, New York

Dear Mr. Robeson:

I enclose herewith my letter of today to the Passport office with respect to the Othello invitation.

Very truly yours,

Leonard B Boudin
Leonard B. Boudin

LBB:a

encl.

~~SHAPIRO~~, RABINOWITZ & BOUDIN
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
25 BROAD STREET
NEW YORK 5, N. Y.

~~SAMUEL P. SHAPIRO~~
VICTOR RABINOWITZ
LEONARD B. BOUDIN

TELEPHONE
DIGBY 4-5564

May 10, 1955

Director
Passport Office
Washington, D. C.

Dear Madam:

As you may know, the denial by your predecessor in office of a passport to my client Mr. Paul Robeson resulted in the institution of an action on January 13, 1955 in the United States District Court for the District of Columbia, Robeson v. Dulles, (Civil Action No. 169-55). This action is still pending and in due course will come on for trial.

In the meantime, Mr. Robeson has received numerous requests from all parts of the world to appear in concerts, films and plays. He has been unable to accept these invitations because of the refusal of your office to give him a passport. This has resulted in severe detriment to his livelihood and to his international public and to the arts.

I enclose herewith one of the most recent invitations - an opportunity to appear in a film version of "Othello" to be produced in the Soviet Union.

I should like you to reconsider the previous action taken by your office and to advise me whether you will not issue a passport to Mr. Robeson so that he may appear in the film referred to.

May I have your reply within the next several days.

Very truly yours,

Leonard B. Boudin

cc:
Mr. Paul Robeson
c/o Mr. John Gray
139 West 125thStreet
New York 27, N.Y.

LBB:a
encl.

(Translated from the Russian original)

Moscow
March 15, 1955

Dear and highly esteemed Mr. Robeson:

Perhaps you already know from reports in the world press that the "Mosfilm" studio has included in its plans for this year the production of a film version of Shakespeare's "Othello."

Knowing you as a magnificent portrayer of this role, we would be very happy if you would agree to play Othello in our film (in either English or Russian, whichever language you would prefer).

The scenario is already prepared and we plan to start filming it in the latter part of May or the beginning of June and to finish by November of this year.

We would be highly pleased to receive from you as soon as possible your agreement in principle, since work on the production has already been begun.

It is hardly necessary for me to assure you once again of the tremendous artistic joy which association with your wonderful talent will bring us.

Anxiously awaiting your reply,

With sincerest respect,
Sergei Yutkevich
Director

[P.S.] If you are going to be in Europe, I ask you to keep in mind that I will be in France (in Cannes and Paris) from April 25 to May 15 as a member of the International Film Festival jury, and would be happy to meet you personally and discuss any questions that you might have.

C
O
P
Y

RABINOWITZ & BOUDIN
Attorneys at Law
25 Broad Street
New York 4, N.Y.

Victor Rabinowitz
Leonard B. Boudin

Telephone
DIgby 4-5564

November 21, 1955

James T. Wright, Esq.
2003 - 12th Street, N. W.
Washington 9, D. C.

Re Paul Robeson

Dear Jim:

I received a telephone call today from your office telling me that the record on appeal in the above matter had to be filed by the 26th and it would not be filed unless the sum of $78.50 was received by you.

I advised your office that this record had to be filed before the 26th. I also stated that I cannot become involved in financial discussions between you and Mr. Robeson. All that I must insist on both from you and Mr. Robeson and other representatives is that the work to be done by you as local counsel for me must be done or I will have to make my own arrangements with respect to local counsel, regardless of your wishes or those of Mr. Robeson.

I want to have telegraphic word from you by tomorrow night that this record will be filed on time, otherwise both you and Mr. Robeson can accept this notice that I will be retaining other counsel.

I am sorry that I have to write this way but I cannot carry out my responsibility as counsel if this sort of thing continues.

Sincerely yours,

/s/ Leonard B. Boudin

Leonard B. Boudin

LBB:H

RABINOWITZ & BOUDIN
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
25 BROAD STREET
NEW YORK 4, N. Y.

VICTOR RABINOWITZ
LEONARD B. BOUDIN

TELEPHONE
DIGBY 4-5564
CABLE ADDRESS: RABOUDIN NEWYORK

July 10, 1956

Mr. Paul Robeson
16 Jumel Terrace
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Robeson:

We have just received another bill from our printer, indicating a balance of $803.64 due on the briefs filed in your case with the Court of Appeals. May I remind you of my recent letter calling your attention to this bill and requesting the transmittal of an additional $500 to pay for printing expenses on the petition for certiorari in the United States Supreme Court. It would not be in your interest or in the public interest to delay the filing of this petition; in addition, there is a statutory time limitation. Under the circumstances, would you be good enough to see that I receive in the next few days a check in the sum of $1300, in the absence of which we shall not be able to have this printing done?

I was very pleased to see you in improved health when last we met and I am sure that this improvement will continue and that we shall have the opportunity to hear you sing here and in Europe.

Sincerely yours,

Leonard B. Boudin

LBB:J

RABINOWITZ & BOUDIN
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
25 BROAD STREET
NEW YORK 4, N. Y.

VICTOR RABINOWITZ
LEONARD B. BOUDIN

TELEPHONE
DIGBY 4-5564

Term #2936

June 8, 1956

William L. Patterson, Esq.
1268 President Street
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Patterson:

I enclose in accordance with today's conversation the opinion in Robeson v. Dulles.

I should like to suggest that we meet Monday evening at 10:30 at the Hay-Adams House in Washington,* D.C. to discuss the next steps to be taken.

Sincerely yours,

Leonard B. Boudin

LBB:se

Enc.

* Because I'll be making a series of appointments there from 8. 30 on. However, if this will inconvenience Mr. Robeson I shall of course meet elsewhere. Yours -

RABINOWITZ & BOUDIN
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
25 BROAD STREET
NEW YORK 4, N. Y.

VICTOR RABINOWITZ
LEONARD B. BOUDIN

TELEPHONE
DIGBY 4-5564

February 7, 1956

Mr. Paul Robeson, Jr.
408 West 128th Street
New York City

Dear Mr. Robeson:

You will by this time have received 75 copies of the brief which we filed in the Court of Appeals today, the rules having previously been complied with by the filing of page proof last Friday. The government has been served with both page proof and the brief.

Now that the brief has been filed there is no objection to your summarizing its contents or making any other public statement on this subject. This seems to be a government practice in these passport cases.

I met with Mr. Patterson last week in accordance with your statement that he will be in charge of general administrative and financial matters. I pointed out to him that the preparation of this brief required us to assign a lawyer, and one of great ability, to work exclusively on this matter for more than a month and a half with me and my partner and that our special expenses in this respect amounted to $1,500. Mr. Patterson agreed that this was an appropriate matter for reimbursement and also that there was a shortage of funds available for this purpose, but that he would endeavor in the future to meet this expense.

I am enclosing a revised bill which will reflect the additional expenses to date as well as the receipt of $750. from you, $500 of which was applied toward printing of record and brief and $250 on account of our fee.

We have ordered about 200 more copies of this brief than are necessary for filing purposes because the brief represents the last word to date on the subject of passport law, although I trust it will be improved by the time the case reaches the Supreme Court. I have had 75 copies shipped to you and am giving the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee 75 more which they will pay for as a contribution to this case; as you know, the purchase

RABINOWITZ & BOUDIN
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
25 BROAD STREET
NEW YORK 4, N. Y.

VICTOR RABINOWITZ
LEONARD B. BOUDIN

TELEPHONE
DIGBY 4-5564

Mr. Paul Robeson, Jr.
Page 2

2/7/56

in bulk has reduced the cost per unit. The additional 50 copies will be used for distribution to lawyers and law professors who have evidenced an interest in this case.

It will be well, in order that there is no duplication in distribution, if you would periodically indicate to me the persons to whom you are sending copies of the brief.

Sincerely yours,

Leonard B. Boudin

LBB:J
enc.

RABINOWITZ & BOUDIN
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
25 BROAD STREET
NEW YORK 4, N. Y.

VICTOR RABINOWITZ
LEONARD B. BOUDIN

TELEPHONE
DIGBY 4-5564

February 22, 1956.

Mr. Paul Robeson,
16 Jumel Terrace,
New York City, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Robeson:

The Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia, by order of yesterday, has directed that the argument in your case be heard by the court en banc, ie, before the entire bench of eight judges, on Wednesday, March 7th at 11:30 in the morning.

I assume that you wish to be present.

We are now working upon a brief in reply to that of the government which was received here yesterday.

While you were out of town I sent our bill for services rendered and disbufsements to Mr. Patterson. I should very much appreciate having a portion of this bill paid within the next week and the balance as soon as possible.

I trust that you had a successful and enjoyable trip to Canada and that I shall be seeing you very soon.

Sincerely yours,

LBB:H

Leonard B. Boudin.

Copy to William L. Patterson
Paul Robeson, Jr.

RABINOWITZ & BOUDIN
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
25 BROAD STREET
NEW YORK 4, N. Y.

VICTOR RABINOWITZ
LEONARD B. BOUDIN

TELEPHONE
DIGBY 4-5564

February 28, 1956

Mr. Paul Robeson
16 Jumel Terrace
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Robeson:

Supplementing my letter to you of February 22, please be advised that the date of argument in your case before the Court of Appeals has been changed to Thursday, March 8, at 11:30 in the morning.

Sincerely yours,

Leonard B. Boudin

LBB:J
cc. Mr. William L. Patterson
Mr. Paul Robeson, Jr.

RABINOWITZ & BOUDIN
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
25 BROAD STREET
NEW YORK 4, N. Y.

VICTOR RABINOWITZ
LEONARD B. BOUDIN

TELEPHONE
DIGBY 4-5564

December 29, 1955

Mr. William Patterson
Civil Rights Congress
6 East 17th Street
New York City

Dear Mr. Patterson:

In accordance with your request of today, I enclose herewith a copy of my bill of December 20 to Mr. Robeson. I requested that there be an immediate deposit with me of $500 to take care of printing expenses.

Sincerely yours,

Leonard B. Boudin

LBB:J
enc.

COPY

RABINOWITZ & BOUDIN
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
25 BROAD STREET
NEW YORK 4, N. Y.

VICTOR RABINOWITZ
LEONARD B. BOUDIN

TELEPHONE
DIGBY 4-5564

December 20, 1955

Mr. Paul Robeson, Sr.
139 West 125 Street
New York 27, N. Y.

Retainer		$2500.00
Paid on account		750.00
Balance		$1750.00
Deposit for printing disbursements		500.00
Disbursements		
Long distance telephone	18.06	
Photostats	8.28	26.34
		$2276.34

SHAPIRO, RABINOWITZ & BOUDIN
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
25 BROAD STREET
NEW YORK 5, N. Y.

SAMUEL P. SHAPIRO
VICTOR RABINOWITZ
LEONARD B. BOUDIN

TELEPHONE
DIGBY 4-5564

November 11, 1954

Mr. James Gray
Room 6
139 West 125 Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Gray:

I write to confirm the arrangement made with Mr. Robeson through you with respect to the institution of a legal action on his behalf for the enforcement of his right to a passport.

We are to receive a fee of $2,500 payable in five equal instalments, the first being due on November 15, 1954, and the remaining ones on the first day of each month beginning with December, 1954.

In addition, Mr. Robeson will, of course, pay the usual costs and disbursements, including travel expenses, long distance telephone calls and printing bills. Where special stenographic assistance beyond the usual practice is required, such expenses shall also be paid by our client.

You, yourself will make arrangments with other counsel in Washington for the payment of fees to such counsel.

Very truly yours,

Leonard B. Boudin

LBB/s

P.S. I enclose herewith a copy of a letter to be sent by Mr. Robeson to Mrs. Shipley in response to her telegram of November 10th.

155 West 136 Street
New York, N. Y.

C O P Y

December 3, 1954

Willis H. Young,
Acting Director
Passport Office
Department of State
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Young:

While Mrs. Shipley's letter of July 27, 1954 did not indicate that it constituted a "tentative" disapproval, and it stated that I could "appeal," your letter of November 18 suggests the possibility of further proceedings in the Passport Office. It is my understanding from both letters and the Regulations as well as from a knowledge of your procedures in other cases that the failure to execute the affidavit referred to precludes the informal hearing referred to under Sec. 51.137. If I am correct in this understanding, then, since I decline to execute the affidavit requested, may I receive without further delay your final decision.

Very truly yours,

Paul Robeson

SHAPIRO, RABINOWITZ & BOUDIN
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
25 BROAD STREET
NEW YORK 5, N. Y.

SAMUEL P. SHAPIRO
VICTOR RABINOWITZ
LEONARD B. BOUDIN

TELEPHONE
DIGBY 4-5564

January 6, 1955

Mr. Paul Robeson
c/o Mr. John Gray
139West 125th Street
New York 27, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Gray:

I enclose herewith our bill for the instalment due in January and the balance of the instalment due in December.

I will carry this December balance over until February, if you are still short of funds, and you can send me a check in the sum of $500.00 on account.

Sincerely yours,

Leonard B. Boudin
LEONARD B. BOUDIN

LBB:lk

Enclosure

Leonard B. Bowden

pd 1750

due 750

SHAPIRO, RABINOWITZ & BOUDIN
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
25 BROAD STREET
NEW YORK 5, N. Y.

SAMUEL P. SHAPIRO
VICTOR RABINOWITZ
LEONARD B. BOUDIN

TELEPHONE
DIGBY 4-5564

January 18, 1955

Mr. John Gray,
139 West 125th Street,
New York 27, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Gray:

I am advised by Mr. Wright that on January 13th, 1955, the action in Robeson vs. Dulles, bearing Civil Action file No. 169-55, was filed in the United States District Court for the District of Columbia.

Mr. Wright will bill you direct for filing expenses.

I trust that you will remit to this office as soon as possible in accordance with our last bill.

My regards to Mr. Robeson.

Very truly yours,

Leonard B. Boudin

LEONARD B. BOUDIN

LBB/ES

(Dictated but not read)

SHAPIRO, RABINOWITZ & BOUDIN
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
25 BROAD STREET
NEW YORK 5, N. Y.

SAMUEL P. SHAPIRO
VICTOR RABINOWITZ
LEONARD B. BOUDIN

TELEPHONE
DIGBY 4-5564

January 6, 1955

Mr. Paul Robeson
c/o Mr. John Gray
139 West 125th Street
New York 27, New York

- -

To:	Legal Services Rendered	$500.00

December 6, 1954

Herbert Monte Levy, Esq.
American Civil Liberties Union
170 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, N. Y.

Dear Herbert:

Your letter of November 17th to Mr. Charles White has been referred to me by Mr. Robeson.

The remedies of a lawsuit in the United States courts and an appeal to the United Nations are not, of course, mutually exclusive. I have been retained by Mr. Robeson to institute a federal court action and will do so very shortly. However, the subject matter of the right to travel, is one clearly within the scope of the universal declaration of human rights.

I should be pleased to consider any suggestions by you with respect to either of these matters. Needless to say, I am always ready to meet with Mr. Baldwin, for whom I have the greatest admiration, on this or any other subject. His views on the United Nations aspect would probably be very helpful in the situation.

Sincerely yours,

SHAPIRO, RABINOWITZ & BOUDIN

Leonard B. Boudin

LBB:lk

SHAPIRO, RABINOWITZ & BOUDIN
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
25 BROAD STREET
NEW YORK 5, N. Y.

SAMUEL P. SHAPIRO
VICTOR RABINOWITZ
LEONARD B. BOUDIN

TELEPHONE
DIGBY 4-5564

December 2, 1954

Mr. John Gray
139 West 125 Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Gray:

I enclose the letter which Mr. Robeson is to send to the Passport Office. Please telephone me if there is any question concerning the contents. If not, the letter should go off immediately.

Please advise me, too, whether the allegations of the complaint are completely accurate and are satisfactory to Mr. Robeson.

I am to hear from you by the beginning of next week as to whether Mr. Wright is to be co-counsel.

Sincerely yours,

Leonard B. Boudin

LBB/s
Enc. 1

July 23, 1954

Passport Division
State Department
Washington, D. C.

Gentlemen:

On July 2 I submitted an application for a passport to your New York office at 630 Fifth Avenue. I was informed at that time to expect action on this application within a three week period.

As this period has now expired I made inquiry today at the New York office and was told by them to communicate directly with the Passport Division in Washington.

I will greatly appreciate an immediate reply.

Very truly yours,

Paul Robeson

February 7, 1956

Mr. Paul Robeson
c/o Mr. Paul Robeson, Jr.
408 West 128th Street
New York City

- -

Balance due on bill dated January 16, 1956				$1199.71
Special legal research				1500.00
Printing costs -	Record		- 351.26	
	Brief		815.65	
			1166.91	
Deposit		500.00		448.66
E. C. L. C.		218.25	718.25	
			Disbursements	
Long distance, telegrams			10.57	
Extra stenographic service			224.50	335.07
				$3483.44

RABINOWITZ & BOUDIN
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
25 BROAD STREET
NEW YORK 4, N. Y.

VICTOR RABINOWITZ
LEONARD B. BOUDIN

TELEPHONE
DIGBY 4-5564

January 16, 1956

Mr. William Patterson
1268 President Street
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Patterson:

I enclose copy of our corrected bill, which will replace that of December 20, 1955.

This will also remind you that we should receive immediately from you the sum of $500 requested in my letter of December 20, 1955, on account of printing expenses, a similar sum as the first installment on account of the balance due on our fee and $199.71 for current disbursements, making a total of $1199.71.

Sincerely yours,

Leonard B. Boudin

Leonard B. Boudin

LLB:J

RABINOWITZ & BOUDIN
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
25 BROAD STREET
NEW YORK 4, N. Y.

VICTOR RABINOWITZ
LEONARD B. BOUDIN

TELEPHONE
DIGBY 4-5564

CORRECTED BILL

January 16, 1956

Mr. Paul Robeson, Sr.
139 West 125 Street
New York 27, N. Y.

- -

Retainer		$2500.00
Paid on account		1250.00
Balance		$1250.00
Deposit for printing disbursements		500.00
Disbursements		
Long distance telephones	$ 30.69	
Photostats	9.02	
Special stenographic bills	160.00	199.71
		$1949.71

RABINOWITZ & BOUDIN
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
25 BROAD STREET
NEW YORK 4, N. Y.

VICTOR RABINOWITZ
LEONARD B. BOUDIN

TELEPHONE
DIGBY 4-5564

March 13, 1956

Mr. Paul Robeson
16 Jumel Terrace
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Robeson:

You will by this time have received a report on the oral argument Thursday. I think that it went rather well. There is, of course, no indication as to when or what the decision will be. I will send you a transcript of the oral argument when I receive it.

In the meantime I enclose a copy of our reply brief together with a current statement with respect to expenses and fees.

I was very sorry to hear that you were not well and hope that this finds you fully recovered.

Sincerely yours,

Leonard B. Boudin

LBB:J
enc.

RABINOWITZ & BOUDIN
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
25 BROAD STREET
NEW YORK 4, N. Y.

VICTOR RABINOWITZ
LEONARD B. BOUDIN

TELEPHONE
DIGBY 4-5564

March 13, 1956

Mr. William L. Patterson
23 West 26 Street
New York, N. Y.

Re: Paul Robeson Passport

Dear Mr. Patterson:

I enclose a copy of my letter and bill sent this day to Mr. Robeson. I should appreciate the immediate payment of $585.39 for the printing bills, representing a disbursement which we cannot postpone. As for our bill for legal expenses, I would suggest that it be paid in regular installments beginning the first of next week.

Sincerely yours,

Leonard B. Boudin

LBB:J
enc.

RABINOWITZ & BOUDIN
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
25 BROAD STREET
NEW YORK 4, N. Y.

VICTOR RABINOWITZ
LEONARD B. BOUDIN

TELEPHONE
DIGBY 4-5564

March 13, 1956

Mr. Paul Robeson
16 Jumel Terrace
New York, N. Y.

Balance due on bill dated February 7, 1956 (This includes $448.66 owed to the printer for the main brief in the Court of Appeals)		$3,483.44
Printing costs - reply brief in Court of Appeals		136.73
Disbursements		
Long distance telephones	$41.05	
Transcripts, etc.	44.01	
Telegrams	4.98	
Postage	2.92	
Photostats	18.67	
Extra stenographic service	50.50	
Washington expenses	119.94	282.07
		$3,902.24

The Immunity Bill

By
LEONARD B. BOUDIN

Reprinted from
THE GEORGETOWN LAW JOURNAL
Vol. 42, No. 4 May, 1954

THE IMMUNITY BILL

LEONARD B. BOUDIN*

THE fifth amendment to the Constitution of the United States provides that no person "shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself." This constitutional right is implicit in our accusatorial system under which government must produce evidence rather than compel self-conviction. It arises from a moral concept, a revulsion against requiring a man to injure himself, and from an historical fact, that political and religious dissenters in 17th century England were unable to protect themselves if they took the oath *ex officio*.[1]

For several years, witnesses before congressional committees have invoked the constitutional privilege and thereby have relieved themselves of the legal duty to answer questions of an incriminating nature. They thus avoided a contempt citation for refusing to answer, a perjury indictment for answering where contrary testimony, true or false, was available, and possible prosecution for substantive crime, again for answering.[2]

Although the privilege, say the courts, is for the protection of the innocent[3] as well as the guilty, an extraordinary campaign by government and press has created the widespread impression that assertion of this particular constitutional right is an admission of guilt.[4] Thus, for example, Senator McCarthy's celebrated, though unproven, charges of espionage are based exclusively upon the assertion by many witnesses of this constitutional privilege.[5] Numerous persons have lost their jobs and suffered opprobrium and community sanctions for reliance upon the Amendment. Nevertheless, it remains effective in the principal area for which it was intended, to require the accuser rather than the accused to produce the incriminating evidence.

---

* Member of the Bars of the Supreme Court of the United States and of the State of New York.

[1] See Boudin, The Constitutional Privilege in Operation, 12 Lawyers Guild Rev. 128 (1952).

[2] See Aiuppa v. United States, 201 F. 2d 287, 300 (6th Cir. 1952), reversing 102 F. Supp. 609 (N. D. Ohio 1952).

[3] See cases cited in Boudin, n. 1, supra, at 135, n. 101. Hence such phrases as "risk of prosecution," Matter of Doyle, 257 N. Y. 244, 265, 177 N. E. 489, 496 (1931); and "criminated or placed in jeopardy," People ex rel. Lewisohn v. O'Brien, 176 N. Y. 253, 268, 68 N. E. 353, 357 (1903).

[4] Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Government Operations, has coined the term "Fifth Amendment Communist". His annual Report of the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations of the Committee on Government Operations, Sen. Rep. No. 881, 83d Cong., 2d Sess. 7, 10 (1953), describes the new Executive Order, No. 10491, requiring discharge of government employees asserting the privilege, and similar action taken by the General Electric Company, a private employer.

Two years ago Senator McCarran of Nevada began a campaign to eliminate the use of the constitutional privilege as a ground for refusal to answer questions in congressional hearings. The McCarran bill,[6] now S. 16, was inspired by the Supreme Court's decision in *Blau v. United States*[7] that a witness before a grand jury could not be required to answer questions concerning Communist Party membership. This decision was a necessary result of the Smith Act prosecutions which, perforce, made admissions of membership incriminatory. It applied equally to testimony before congressional committees.[8]

Senator McCarran's proposed method was to guarantee the witness against criminal prosecution concerning the subject matter of his testimony. This guarantee was regarded as eliminating any danger to the witness. It would be given by a two-thirds vote of the committee involved, with two members of the minority party concurring. If the Attorney-General objected, a majority vote of the house involved would be required to grant immunity.

The bill passed the Senate on July 9, 1953. Three facts are significant: (1) No committee hearings were held on the bill, although it was of obvious importance; (2) It was delayed in passage for two years by Senator Taft and other conservative leaders; (3) The opposition was of two kinds, that of Senators George, Lehman and Hoey who opposed all such legislation; that of Senators Kefauver and Morse, who believed that the Attorney-General, not the Congress, should determine when immunity should be given.

---

[5] See editorial, New York Times, Jan. 14, 1954, p. 28, col. 2. See also New York Herald Tribune, Nov. 16, 1953, p. 14, col. 1; and Nov. 14, 1953, p. 1, col. 8; and 1953 Report of the Subcommittee, n. 4, supra, at 49.

[6] S. 1570, 82d Cong., 1st Sess. (1951), introduced May 31, 1951 (97 Cong. Rec. 5972), and reported Aug. 27, 1951, Sen. Rep. No. 717, 82d Cong., 1st Sess. It was repeatedly passed over at the request of various Senators, 97 Cong. Rec. 12390, 12945 (1951), and finally put at the foot of the calendar on July 3, 1952, 98 Cong. Rec. 9052, 9114. On Jan. 7, 1953, S. 16, 83d Cong., 1st Sess., was introduced by Senator McCarran, 99 Cong. Rec. 153. It was reported on April 20, 1953, Sen. Rep. No. 153, 83d Cong., 1st Sess., 99 Cong. Rec. 3319; debated in May, 99 Cong. Rec. 4737-4743; laid aside on the suggestion of Senator Taft, 99 Cong. Rec. 4770; passed over, 99 Cong. Rec. 6172; and passed, on July 9, 1953, 99 Cong. Rec. 8357. The bill was supported by the Special Committee to Investigate Organized Crime in Interstate Commerce, Final Report, Sen. Rep. No. 725, 82d Cong., 1st Sess. 95 (1951), and by the American Bar Association Commission on Organized Crime, Report to the American Bar Association, Sept. 1, 1951, p. 53.

[7] 340 U. S. 159 (1950).

[8] See cases cited in Boudin, n. 1, supra.

More recently, Representative Keating introduced a bill[9] supported by the Administration which is similar to the McCarran bill except that under it the Attorney-General possesses the immunity power.

THE FIFTH AMENDMENT AND THE PROTECTION OF CONGRESSIONAL WITNESSES

If S. 16 became law, it would cause a revolutionary increase in the congressional power of investigation. It is therefore appropriate to determine how wisely the existing power has been exercised, and whether the record of congressional committees justifies such an enlargement of their powers.

It is common knowledge that the investigating authority of congressional committees has been used in the last decade as a means of interfering with fundamental civil liberties.[10] While many congressional committees have quietly carried out their traditional functions of overseeing the executive departments of the government and of determining the need for new legislation, the committees which this bill is intended to aid have far exceeded their legal functions and have engaged in mass trials of "subversives".

As the Attorney-General has said *approvingly*,[11] "Many of these investigating committees have been particularly concerned in alerting the American people to the nature of subversive and other criminal activities; the many forms that these activities take and how they threaten the democratic processes."

Witnesses have been examined by the same committee in repeated executive and public sessions, and shuffled from committee to committee. Subjected to television and newspaper releases, their dramatic cross-examination has been timed for newspaper deadlines. They have been denounced by other witnesses and committee members who enjoy congressional immunity. They have been deprived of the secrecy which governs grand jury proceedings, the right to counsel, and to cross-examine their accusers and have been put to the hazard of subsequent criminal proceedings for contempt, perjury and other crimes.

---

[9] H. R. 6899, 83d Cong., 2d Sess. (1954).

[10] The literature is too vast for notation here. A good example is Lloyd Garrison's Congressional Investigations: Are They a Threat to Civil Liberties? 40 A. B. A. J. 125 (1954).

[11] Brownell, Remedy for Abuse of Constitutional Privilege Against Self-Incrimination, an address before the National Press Club, Washington, D. C., Oct. 14, 1953.

These attacks upon fundamental liberties have been resisted by committee witnesses in a variety of ways. Some witnesses have refused to testify by invoking the First Amendment which guarantees freedom of speech, belief and assembly, by asserting the separation of powers doctrine which gives the judicial branch of government the exclusive power to determine crime, or by calling attention to a particular committee's lack of jurisdiction over the subject matter of its investigation.

Each of these defenses requires the witness to gamble that his legal arguments in an uncharted field will receive judicial approval. It is virtually impossible for the witness to secure a judicial decision until after he has made his committee appearance and subjected himself to the danger of contempt proceedings. No federal court has thus far vacated a congressional committee subpoena. In *Mins v. McCarthy,* the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit, in denying a motion for leave to file an application for stay of a congressional committee subpoena, said:[12]

> The Court is of the opinion that where a committee of the Congress has issued a subpoena ad testificandum to a witness to appear at a hearing, without defining the questions to be asked, the judicial branch of the Government should not enjoin in advance the holding of the hearing or suspend the subpoena. The rights of witnesses in respect of any question actually asked at the hearing are subject to determination in appropriate proceedings thereafter.

There is some indication, however, that relief may be granted in clear-cut or exceptional cases. For example, a subpoena duces tecum calling for the production of documents outside a committee's jurisdiction might be the basis for an injunctive suit. Although in *Hearst v. Black*[13] the same court that later decided *Mins v. McCarthy* refused to enjoin a Senate committee from using documents in its possession which it had unlawfully seized, the court also ruled that had the motion been brought prior to the passage of the documents into the committee's possession, an application to restrain their unlawful seizure would have been entertained.[14] Since unlawful executive acts may be enjoined,[15] there is no constitutional reason for denying protection against infringements of rights by the legislative branch. It must, however, be recognized that this path is beset by difficulties.

---

[12] 209 F. 2d 307 (D. C. Cir. 1953). See, e.g., Fischler v. McCarthy, 117 F. Supp. 643 (S. D. N. Y. Jan. 6, 1954); and Hutner v. McCarthy, Civil No. 89-364, S. D. N. Y. Dec. 8, 1953 (decided without opinion), denying injunctive relief against a congressional committee

[13] 66 App. D. C. 313, 87 F. 2d 68 (1936).

Even in litigation arising *after* the witnesses' appearance before a committee, the Supreme Court has avoided a decision upon the First Amendment defense by refusing to review lower court decisions sustaining the power of the House Un-American Activities Committee.[16]

The doctrine of separation of powers is not more promising as a defense for the witness. Congressional committees have usually been able to make a theoretical case that they have some legislation in mind. They argue in court that the discovery of crime or the "intent to combat subversive activities" elsewhere admitted to be their true objective, is merely incidental to a *bona fide* legislative purpose.[17]

Yet of course the doctrine is reasonably applicable to the congressional investigating scene. For as Mr. Justice Brandeis said: "The doctrine of the separation of powers was adopted by the Convention of 1787 not to promote efficiency but to preclude the exercise of arbitrary power."[18] It is rather interesting that this doctrine has been enforced obliquely by assertion of the constitutional privilege in response to a legislature's extralegal inquiry into crime.

As for the jurisdictional limitations of each committee,[19] Congress has never seen fit to enforce them for the protection of witnesses. Other defenses, such as the irrelevance of questions, or the undue breadth of a *subpoena duces tecum,* are equally hazardous.[20]

---

[14] "And so, also, if a Senate Committee were to attempt to force a telegraph company to produce telegrams not pertinent to the matters the committee was created to investigate, the company could be restrained at the instance of the sender of the telegrams, for as the Supreme Court said in McGrain v. Daugherty, 273 U. S. 135 . . . , the decisions in Kilbourne v. Thompson, 103 U. S. 168 . . . and Marshall v. Gordon, 243 U. S. 521 . . . point, in such circumstances, to admissible measures of relief. We are, therefore, of the opinion that the court below was right in assuming jurisdiction as to the commission, and if the bill had been filed while the trespass was in process it would have been the duty of the lower court by order on the commission or the telegraph companies or the agents of the committee to enjoin the acts complained of." 66 App. D. C. at 316, 87 F. 2d at 71. See also, Reeve v. Howe, 33 F. Supp. 619 (E. D. Pa. 1940).

[15] Youngstown Sheet and Tube v. Sawyer, 343 U. S. 579 (1952).

[16] Barsky v. United States, 83 U. S. App. D. C. 127, 167 F. 2d 241, cert. denied, 334 U. S. 843 (1948); Lawson v. United States, 85 U. S. App. D. C. 167, 176 F. 2d 49 (1949), cert. denied, 339 U. S. 934 (1950); United States v. Josephson, 165 F. 2d 82 (2d Cir. 1947), cert. denied, 333 U. S. 838 (1948).

[17] See, e.g., Brief for the United States, Emspak v. United States, no. 67, U. S. Sup. Ct., Oct. Term, 1953.

[18] Myers v. United States, 272 U. S. 52 (1926).

[19] These limitations are imposed by the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, 60 Stat. 831; the Standing Rules of the Senate, Sen. Doc. No. 10, 83d Cong., 1st Sess. (1953); and

The Fifth Amendment therefore stands today as the only complete answer to a congressional investigation of political beliefs and associations.[21] This conclusion is not intended to question the moral or legal justification for the other defenses suggested above. The Supreme Court's increasing awareness of the true nature of current legislative investigations suggests the possibility of a partial reversion to *Kilbourn v. Thompson*[22] which upheld the right of privacy in congressional investigations.[23] Nor is it intended to suggest that the invocation of the Fifth Amendment is a technical device, useful but morally questionable. Elsewhere[24] I have indicated the significant relationship between the First and Fifth Amendment and the view that *each* was historically intended to protect political and religious dissent, a view which is unchanged.

---

the Rules of the House of Representatives, H. R. Doc. No. 812, 82d Cong., 2d Sess. (1952). They have been completely disregarded in recent years by the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations of the Committee on Government Operations which has investigated subversive activities allocated to the Judiciary Committee by specific resolution, S. Res. 366, 81st Cong., 2d Sess. (1950), and the overseas information program which was in the process of investigation by the Committee on Foreign Relations, Sen. Rep. No. 406, 83d Cong., 1st Sess. (1953). Nevertheless, the Committee on Government Operations had no difficulty in securing its 1954 appropriations, 100 Cong. Rec. 1064 (Feb. 2, 1954). The failure of committees to recognize their congressional limitations was noted by Congressman Javits, For a Joint Committee on Subversion, New York Times, Feb. 28, 1954, § 6, Part 1, p. 10.

[20] Bowers v. United States, 92 U. S. App. D. C. 79, 202 F. 2d 447 (1953), is one of the few decisions based on failure to prove pertinency. Cf. United States v. Orman, 207 F. 2d 148 (3d Cir. 1953), holding that it is the question, not the answer, which must be pertinent. Congressman Keating has introduced H. R. 4975, 83d Cong., 1st Sess. (1953), which would give congressional committees direct recourse to the courts to enforce their subpoena power. This would improve the situation if the courts in the first instance would determine whether the committees are acting within the scope of their jurisdiction, and in the second instance, whether the questions asked are pertinent and not otherwise objectionable.

[21] Lloyd Garrison has described a witness' defenses on "a trial for his actions, associations or beliefs" as "for practical purposes worthless." Garrison, n. 10, supra, at 125.

[22] 103 U. S. 168 (1880).

[23] Mr. Harvey O'Connor, the leading proponent of the First Amendment position, United States v. O'Connor, Crim. no. 1650-53, D. C. D. C., has put the matter well in a letter to the writer: "The only practical difference between the First and the Fifth, is that the Fifth is the poor man's amendment. If a man can afford legal defense and also make provision for his family while he is in the coop, he should by all means choose the First." And "we have to keep hammering away on the First until finally some court somewhere recognizes its validity. Otherwise it becomes as dead a letter as some of the other amendments are."

[24] Boudin, n. 1, supra.

S. 16 is intended to destroy this defense by requiring the witness to answer all questions concerning himself and others under pain of punishment for contempt.

S. 16 IS NEITHER NECESSARY NOR INTENDED TO AID CONGRESS IN ITS LEGITIMATE FUNCTIONS

The Administration's arguments in support of the bill are that the privilege was intended for the "innocent", that the public believes that "subversives" are "coddled" and that the privilege is being "abused".[25] These arguments, discussed briefly below, are self-revelatory. They point up the objective of the bill: to increase a congressional power of harassment already at high-water mark.

The bill is neither necessary to the legislative process nor intended to aid it. Congressional committees have only two legitimate investigative functions: (1) to determine the need for new legislation and (2) to oversee the operations of the executive branch.[26]

The bill is intended to aid Congress to carry out a supposed third function: the dissemination of political information to the American people. This function is not within the constitutional power of Congress and no court has ever so held. The claim of its existence is often incorrectly attributed to President Woodrow Wilson. But even he did not regard the congressional committees as the public's source of interesting information.[27] In his view the right of Congress to inform the people was connected with the legitimate concern of Congress, as overseer of the operations of the executive branch, in the behavior of "the administrative agents of the government". His reference to the "informing function of Congress" did not suggest that Congress could investigate anything susceptible of communication to the public.

Even this informing function, Mr. Justice Frankfurter warns,[28] "has its limitations," and President Wilson "did not write in light of the history of events since he wrote; more particularly he did not write of the investigative power of Congress in the context of the First Amendment." We may add that a committee's exercise of a public information function is different from its power to *compel* testimony in furtherance of that objective.

---

[25] Brownell, n. 11, supra.

[26] McGrain v. Daugherty, 273 U. S. 135, 173-174 (1927).

[27] His full conclusion reads as follows: "It is the proper duty of a representative body to look diligently into every affair of government and to talk much about what it sees. It is meant to be the eyes and the voice, and to embody the wisdom and will of its constituents. Unless Congress have and use every means of acquainting itself with the acts and the disposition of the administrative agents of the government, the country must be helpless to learn how it is being served; and unless Congress both scrutinize these things and sift them by every form of discussion, the country must remain in embarrassing, crippling ignorance of the very affairs which it is most important that it should understand and direct. The informing function of Congress should be preferred even to its legislative function." Wilson, Congressional Government 303 (15th ed. 1913).

[28] United States v. Rumely, 345 U. S. 41, 43-44 (1953). See Mr. Justice Holmes' famous

Likewise the names of Landis and Frankfurter are frequently used to support latitudinarian activities of congressional committees.[29] But these statements supported *bona fide* legislative functions, not the aberrations of today. Mr. Justice Frankfurter undoubtedly had himself in mind in his warning about Woodrow Wilson. This may be seen too in his recent reminder that "This Court has not hesitated to sustain the rights of private individuals when it found Congress was acting outside its legislative role."[30]

Congress does not need the testimony of witnesses against themselves in order to determine the need for new legislation. The necessity of such legislation can be determined more rationally and fairly by the expert testimony of government officials, bar associations, voluntary witnesses and other competent observers. Congress does not require the guidance of those whom it simultaneously denounces as criminal. Until the Kefauver Committee began its investigations, so often judicially criticized,[31] it was unheard of to call putative criminals to testify in support of legislation directed against them.

Nor will S. 16 aid committees to determine whether the laws are being

---

dictum that all powers have their limitations, Hudson Water Co. v. McCarter, 209 U. S. 349, 355 (1908). Senator McCarthy has several times cited the Rumely case as authority for a broad interpretation of President Wilson's comments. See Sen. Rep. No. 881, 83d Cong., 2d Sess. 4 (1953), although, as indicated, it holds the exact contrary.

[29] Landis, Constitutional Limitations on the Congressional Power of Investigation, 40 Harv. L. Rev. 153 (1926); Frankfurter, Hands off the Investigations, 38 New Republic 329 (1924). It is a rare government brief that omits their citation.

[30] Tenney v. Brandhove, 341 U. S. 367, 377 (1951).

[31] Virtually all the contempt citations resulting from the hearings of the Special Committee to Investigate Organized Crime in Interstate Commerce, popularly known as the Kefauver Committee, have resulted in acquittals of the witnesses, often with criticism of the Committee: Bowers v. United States, 202 F. 2d 447 (D. C. Cir. 1953); Aiuppa v. United States, 201 F. 2d 287 (6th Cir. 1952); Poretto v. United States, 196 F. 2d 392 (5th Cir. 1952); Marcello v. United States, 196 F. 2d 437 (5th Cir. 1952); United States v. DiCarlo, 102 F. Supp. 697 (N. D. Ohio 1952); United States v. Kleinman, 107 F. Supp. 407 (D. D. C. 1952). But see United States v. Costello, 198 F. 2d 200 (2d Cir. 1952); United States v. Orman, 207 F. 2d 148 (3d Cir. 1953); United States v. Pechart, 103 F. Supp. 417 (N. D. Cal. 1952).

administered properly. No one has ever made this flat contention, although the validity of the bill depends upon such a necessity. But if the argument were made, it could be easily disproved. For one thing, most of the recent investigations of teachers, doctors, lawyers and trade union leaders have nothing to do with government operations. They are openly directed at ridding the colleges of supposedly radical teachers, at affecting union elections, at embarrassing the witnesses. Moreover, investigation even of government employees is not facilitated by compelling an individual to confirm the accusations of prior witnesses as to his political views and associations; yet this is the essence of today's investigations.[32]

Senator McCarran has revealed the non-legislative function that his bill is intended to serve. It "has no special application to Communists but would *eliminate* [sic] this problem as well as their claims of privilege . . . "[33] and would "help combat the Communist conspiracy."[34] The breadth of this conspiracy is apparent from the definitions recently employed by Attorney-General Brownell and Senator McCarthy.

Two Attorney-Generals have made similar admissions: "[I]mmunity granted to conspirators of lesser importance might result in obtaining needed testimony against the top criminals";[35] and "Subversives and criminals have been quick to rely upon this provision which was written into our Constitution to protect law-abiding citizens against tyranny and despotism."[36]

Thus the bill is not in furtherance of a *bona fide* legislative function but is intended rather to expand the existing index of political dissenters and to facilitate criminal prosecutions. It would permit legislators to "depart with impunity from their legislative functions, sit as kangaroo courts, and try men for their loyalty and their political beliefs."[37]

Now either these dissenters or "subversives" are criminals or they are not. If they are being interrogated for evidence of crime, then Congress is engaging in extra-legal business. The Attorney-General virtually admits error when he says:[38]

---

[32] The most active congressional committees take the position that the witness is called because they already have knowledge concerning his political activities.

[33] Sen. Rep. No. 717, 82 Cong., 1st Sess. 5 (1951) [Emphasis supplied].

[34] 99 Cong. Rec. 4579 (1953).

[35] McGrath, J. Howard, Address before the Conference on Criminal Law Enforcement, Mar. 2, 1951.

[36] Brownell, Herbert, Jr., Immunity from Prosecution versus Privilege Against Self-Incrimination, Address before The Law Club of Chicago, Chicago, Ill., Nov. 6, 1953.

[37] Douglas, J., dissenting in Tenney v. Brandhove, 341 U. S. 367 (1951), where the Court held that a suit could not lie against a California legislative committee under the Civil Rights statutes.

> . . . if Congress is to legislate wisely with respect to subversion, and other crime and corruption, it must not be obstructed from learning who are its leaders, organizers and members; the nature and scope of their activities; the character and number of their adherents.

We had thought that Congress had already legislated "wisely" on "subversion"; certainly, there is no lack of existing law on any aspect of this subject. It is a rare criminal prosecution these days, under the existing anti-sedition statutes, in which the government does not prevail.

The fundamental objection to the Brownell-McCarran thesis is that the details of a crime are relevant not to legislation but to the prosecution of crime. That is exclusively a grand jury function under our tripartite system of government.

The revelation of crime by congressional committees is especially improper because it deprives the accused of important procedural rights inherent in our accusatorial system. The grand jury historically functions in secrecy to afford protection against improper accusations of crime, an objective which is nullified by today's congressional investigations.

On the other hand, if the dissenters are not criminals—and our entire tradition holds that dissent from the prevailing political philosophy is not a crime—then clearly we have an invasion of the rights guaranteed by the first amendment to the Constitution.[39]

Quite aside from these constitutional principles, the right to compel testimony depends upon whether it is necessary for the functioning of Congress. Testimony of this involuntary type, merely expanding the subversive index and causing retribution to the witnesses, their families and friends, does not meet this test. Moreover, while Congress has an inherent power to inquire, it does not have an inherent power to grant immunity. In Chief Judge Cardozo's words:[40]

> . . . a power to suspend the criminal law by the tender of immunity is not an im-

---

[38] Brownell, Herbert, Jr., Remedy for Abuse of Constitutional Privilege Against Self-Incrimination, an Address before the National Press Club, Washington, D. C., Oct. 14, 1953.

[39] It is well to remind ourselves that "[t]he right to pass laws, necessarily implies the right to obtain information upon any matter which may become the subject of a law." People ex rel. Karlin v. Culkin, 248 N. Y. 465, 478, 162 N. E. 487, 492 (1928), quoting from Briggs v. MacKellar, 2 Abb. Pr. 30 (N. Y. 1855).

[40] Matter of Doyle, 257 N. Y. 244, 260-261, 177 N. E. 489, 495 (1931). The case held that a legislative act duly signed by the government would be required to grant immunity, not that immunity could never be granted at all.

> plied or inherent incident of a power to investigate. It may be necessary for fruitful results in a particular instance, but it is not so generally indispensable as to attach itself automatically to the mere power to inquire.

We may go further, as did Senator Cooper, and express "grave doubt that the granting of immunity should be exercised at all by Congressional committees."[41] Legislative procedures, unlike judicial, cannot adequately protect a witness who is compelled to testify. As Senator Cooper went on to say:[42]

> The granting of immunity ought to be under definite safeguards. It is usually in a court of record, and under a code of procedure governing the court or quasi-judicial body granting immunity. A judge or presiding officer guards the interests both of the Government and of the witness. It is evident that if congressional committees do not have all these safeguards none of these incidents would be present, and none to the degree that we recognize and want in a system of justice of law.

The witness appearing before a grand jury cannot even be *cited* for contempt, much less tried and convicted, until a judge has heard the question and answer and ruled on it. This takes place in a secret session, an additional protection to the witness. A congressional committee proceeding affords the witness neither privacy nor judicial guidance. The witness before a quasi-judicial administrative agency has other forms of protection which are discussed below.

IMMUNITY POWERS SHOULD BE STRICTLY LIMITED

The power to grant immunity should never exist on a wholesale basis, particularly in the legislative area. Congress has operated since its inception (except for a short period, 1857 to 1862) without a general immunity statute.[43] The investigations of the Truman Defense Committee, the La Follette Civil Liberties Committee and those involving Teapot Dome and Pearl Harbor show how satisfactorily Congress has functioned without the extraordinary power to give immunity.

The proponents of the legislation have a heavy burden to sustain. They must show why our Congress needs the extraordinary power to inquire into private affairs and compel incriminating testimony, a power without which this nation has well survived.[44]

---

[41] 99 Cong. Rec. 8349 (1953).

[42] Ibid.

[43] The complete immunity law, 11 Stat. 155 (1857), was replaced by one giving partial immunity, 12 Stat. 333 (1862), R. S. 859 (1875).

[44] Chancellor Hardwicke well stated the test two centuries ago: "This necessity is indeed now urged, but surely it ought to be shown that the present circumstances of affairs differ

The vast majority of our states have not found that power necessary to the legislative process.[45] Their legislative committees usually operate without this immunity power; where given, it is sometimes even limited to a particular investigation.[46]

True, a congressional committee's investigation may occasionally lead to a criminal trial. In such cases, it should be picked up by a grand jury. If the matter critically involves the administration of government, a legitimate interest of Congress, special authority to give immunity in that investigation can always be sought.[47]

This is the way the matter has historically been handled. In England, a pardon has sometimes been given to a witness in a criminal trial whose testimony was deemed necessary to the prosecution.[48] Parliamentary investigators have sought power to grant immunity in a number of celebrated cases beginning with Bishop Atterbury's trial in 1723.[49] In each,

---

from those of any former age, before it can with any propriety be asserted, that measures are now necessary, which no other distresses, however urgent, or provocations, however flagrant, have hitherto produced. It ought to be proved, that wickedness had discovered some new shelter from justice, before new engines are invented to force it from its retreat, and new powers applied to drag it out to punishment.

"The nation has subsisted, my lords, so many centuries, has often recovered from the lingering desease of inward corruption, and repelled the shocks of outward violence; it has often been endangered by corrupt counsels, and wicked machinations, and surmounted them by the force of its established laws, without the assistance of temporary expedients; at least without any expedients like this, which neither law nor justice can support, and which would in itself be a more atrocious grievance than those, if they were real, which it is intended to punish, and might produce far greater evils than those which are imputed to him against whom it is projected." 12 Cobbett, Parliamentary History of England 694-695 (1742).

[45] 8 Wigmore, Evidence § 2281, n. 11 (3d ed. 1940).

[46] See, e.g., Miss. St. Legislature Committee to Investigate evasion of gasoline taxes, Miss. Laws 1944, c. 224; S. Car. Acts 1945, no. 227, 44 Stat. at Large p. 544 (Legislative Committee to Study Coastal Fisheries Law).

[47] This was sought to be done in New York, although unsuccessfully because by resolution, not statute. Matter of Doyle, 257 N. Y. 244, 177 N. E. 489 (1931). Even with administrative agencies "the power to grant immunity is one which is very rarely exercised and even when it is the grant of immunity is extended only to minor participants in a scheme after it has been demonstrated that their testimony is an absolute prerequisite to the successful completion of an invesigation [sic]." Letter of Donald C. Cook, Chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission, to Sen. Harley Kilgore, dated May 14, 1953, 99 Cong. Rec. 8343 (1953).

[48] 3 Wigmore, Evidence § 2280a (3d ed. 1940). R. v. Boyes, 1 B. & S. 311, 325, 121 Eng. Rep. 731, 736 (Q. B. 1861), is the leading case, but see Burdick v. United States, 236 U. S. 79 (1915), holding that a pardon may be refused.

[49] Bishop Atterbury's Trial, 16 How. St. Tr. 324, 603 (1725); 2 Hallam 455; 8 Parl.

there was a full dress debate on the practical need for and political desirability of the immunity grant. The debates in the House of Lords in 1742 on the bill to give immunity to witnesses against Robert Walpole and in 1806 regarding witnesses against Lord Melville make stirring reading even today. They illustrate our point that immunity legislation should be particular, not general.

Today's tendency is to cut down on wholesale immunity grants even in the non-legislative field.[50] Most of our state immunity statutes, involving testimony before grand juries, relate to specific crimes, not to crime generally. The power of a federal administrative agency to compel testimony and to grant immunity appears in the statute creating that agency, not in the Administrative Procedure Act or any other generally applicable statute. The New York State Crime Commission has proposed *restrictions* upon existing immunity statutes in New York.[51] Governor Dewey of New York, in commenting upon S. 16, noted that "the granting of immunity is an extraordinary power which should in all cases be carefully restricted."[52]

Our American experience with such wholesale legislation has been unsatisfactory. In 1857 a federal statute gave full immunity to witnesses before congressional committees.[53] The occasion for the bill was a newspaper reporter's refusal to testify in support of his charges of congressional bribery. The statute, in Senator Trumbull's words, "holds out an inducement for the worst criminals to appear before our investigating committees."[54] Embezzlers of two million dollars of government bonds

---

History 195, 267, 298; Green, Short History of England 699 (1879); Earl of Macclesfield's case, 16 How. St. Tr. 921, 1147 (1725). On the Bill to Indemnify Evidence against Robert Earl of Orford (Walpole), see 12 Cobbett, Parliamentary History of England 625-734 (1742).

[50] See, e.g., Report of New York State Law Revision Commission, N. Y. Leg. Doc. No. 65 (I) (1942); N. Y. Leg. Doc. No. 65 (B) (1943). Mr. Justice Frankfurter, dissenting in United States v. Monia, 317 U. S. 424, 434 (1943), says: "Indeed, so sensitive has Congress been against immunizing crime that it has not entrusted prosecutors generally with the power to relieve witnesses from prosecution in exchange for the incriminating evidence against others."

[51] New York State Crime Commission, 3d Report, May 4, 1953.

[52] Letter of Governor Thomas E. Dewey to Sen. Harley Kilgore, dated May 13, 1953, 99 Cong. Rec. 8343 (1953).

[53] 11 Stat. 156 (1857).

[54] Cong. Globe, 37th Cong., 2d Sess. 428 (1862). Similar views were expressed by Mr. Lovejoy who introduced the bill to repeal the second section of the Act of 1857 (id. at 228), by Rep. Wilson reporting the bill on Jan. 16, 1862, for the Committee on the Judiciary (id. at 364), and by Sen. Wade who introduced a similar bill (id. at 387). See also Eberling, Congressional Investigations 320-323 (1928).

and other criminals were protected from criminal prosecution by their testimony. As a result, in 1862, the statute was amended to narrow the privilege to the point where it was held insufficient constitutionally.[55] In 1876 an attempt was made to return to the 1857 law by a bill similar to the current McCarran bill. It was adversely reported by the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, which said that upon "principles of constitutional considerations, and of expediency involved in questions of this character, the bill seems to be open to many valid objections."[56]

S. 16 avoids much of the danger of the 1857 law, but does not eliminate it. Congressional committees and Attorney-Generals, by their very nature, play politics and make deals; the present Attorney-General's handling of the *White* case was certainly less than judicial.[57] In seeking for himself exclusive power to grant immunity, the Attorney-General warns us of the "undue pressures" to which a Congress possessing that power might be subjected.[58] Do not the same considerations apply to Attorney-Generals? In February, 1952, Congress rejected President Truman's proposal to give immunity power to Newbold Morris, Special Assistant to the Attorney-General.[59] Whatever its limitations, the judiciary remains the safest repository of the immunity power. If such power is to be exercised by anyone, it is preferable that the courts determine when and where it is in the public interest to grant immunity.[60]

The Attorney-General properly objects to exercise by Congress of an immunity power which is directly related to the prosecution of crime. The objection of Congress to participation by the Attorney-General in its functions is equally reasonable. The correctness of both positions arises from the fact that criminal prosecutions are not the stuff of legislative action.

---

[55] 12 Stat. 333 (1862). The decision was made with respect to a parallel section, R. S 860 (1875), applying to evidence in a "judicial proceeding." Counselman v. Hitchcock, 142 U. S. 547 (1892). The statutory history is discussed in United States v. Bryan, 339 U. S. 323 (1950).

[56] Sen. Rep. No. 253, 44th Cong., 1st Sess. (1876). The bill had passed the House, 44th Cong., 1st Sess., 14 Cong. Rec. 1571 (1876) upon a favorable report of its Judiciary Committee, H. Rep. 2572 (1876).

[57] See, e.g., James Reston, Washington, New York Times, Nov. 15, 1953; Statement of Attorney-General Brownell, Department of Justice release, Nov. 9, 1953.

[58] Brownell, Herbert, Jr., Immunity from Prosecution versus Privilege against Self-Incrimination, Address before the Law Club of Chicago, Chicago, Ill., Nov. 6, 1953.

[59] New York Times, Feb. 15, 1952, pp. 1, 10; Feb. 20, 1952, p. 1; Feb. 21, 1952; Editorial, Baltimore Sun, Feb. 18, 1952.

[60] "Where a claim of privilege is made by a witness in judicial proceedings the judge has an opportunity to weigh the desirability of obtaining evidence against the undesirability of granting immunity, particularly if he has specific issues before him to aid in his judgment." Letter of Donald Richberg to Sen. Harley Kilgore, 99 Cong. Rec. A2879 (1953).

Two related constitutional problems arise from this duality of function: the validity of legislative pardons, and the validity of delegation to a committee of the power to grant such pardons.

The validity of legislative pardons is somewhat doubtful in view of the decisions that only the executive can grant pardons. This was the ground urged by the Senate Judiciary Committee in successfully opposing the 1876 immunity bill.[61] The English method of special acts of indemnity was regarded as avoiding this problem, probably because the executive participated in the particular act of Parliament.

It is however true that in *Matter of Doyle*[62] Chief Judge Cardozo declared a legislative resolution to be an unsatisfactory basis for a grant of immunity precisely because amnesty is a *legislative* act requiring the executive's participation. Further, while the federal cases involving legislative committees do not discuss the point, the validity of similar statutes involving testimony before grand juries and administrative agencies has been constantly upheld.[63] One can of course draw distinctions: in cases involving grand juries and administrative agencies a judicial order is required before a witness can be compelled to testify even with the protection of an immunity statute. It is doubtful, however, that this distinction is substantial enough to distinguish congressional committee hearings from the other proceedings in the respect now under discussion.

The second constitutional problem arises from the delegation of authority to a legislative committee to grant a pardon. The situation was different under the 1857 law, where the mere testimony of the witness before the committee automatically gave him immunity. Under the McCarran bill, as well as under the proposed 1876 law, the committee must rule upon the claim of privilege and decide whether to grant the witness immunity. Assuming that Congress could declare that a witness by the mere act of appearing can secure immunity, can it vest this discretionary power in a committee without setting forth controlling standards?[64]

The Supreme Court has never passed on the constitutionality of a statute giving legislative committees the power to grant immunity. The early cases, *Counselman v. Hitchcock*[65] and *Brown v. Walker*,[66] respectively rejecting and upholding immunity laws, involved grand jury proceedings. Even in the latter case, four judges believed the law unconstitutional. The more recent cases, such as *United States v. Bryan,*[67] involving congressional committees, assumed the validity of a well drafted immunity law covering committee witnesses but had no occasion to decide the issue because of the defects in the 1862 law.

---

[61] See n. 56, supra.

[62] 257 N. Y. 244, 177 N. E. 489 (1931).

[63] See n. 68, infra, and Hale v. Henkel, 201 U. S. 43 (1906).

[64] Cf. Panama Refining Co. v. Ryan, 293 U. S. 388 (1935).

[65] 142 U. S. 547 (1892).

[66] 161 U. S. 591 (1896).

For the reasons set forth below the writer believes that no immunity law can constitutionally require a witness to testify. But assuming that such a law could validly compel testimony before a grand jury or administrative agency,[68] it does not follow that a congressional committee can exercise similar compulsion.

Since the proponents of the bill argue that many of our administrative agencies possess the power to give immunity,[69] it is well to note four differences between them and Congress: (1) The administrative agency has a jurisdiction narrowly limited by its organic statute, while congressional committees have an open field. (2) The witness before an administrative agency can learn the subject of the agency investigation by reading the complaint or similar paper upon which it is based, with the result that he is able to judge the pertinency of questions. (3) His refusal to testify before the agency cannot by itself alone cause his imprisonment or indictment. The agency must apply for and secure a court order requiring him to testify, and he can be heard in opposition to the application and contempt proceedings. If the agency is clearly acting beyond its jurisdiction, it cannot compel testimony. (4) Finally, like grand juries and courts, administrative agencies are engaged in law enforcement and may reasonably investigate criminal matters whereas Congress may not ordinarily do so.

The proponents of this immunity bill repeat Lord Argyle's argument on Lord Orford's bill in 1742 that "The public hath a right to the evidence of every individual of the society."[70] The answer was given by Lord Chancellor Hardwicke in the same debate: "The public is indeed entitled to the evidence of every man, but not to every method of coming at that evidence."[71] "The public has not a right to require from any man that he should betray himself, because every man may plead that he is exempted from that demand by the public faith."[72]

---

[67] 339 U. S. 323 (1950).

[68] Recent cases not involving congressional committees do make this assumption. United States v. Monia, 317 U. S. 424 (1943); Shapiro v. United States, 335 U. S. 1 (1948); Smith v. United States, 337 U. S. 137 (1949).

[69] Shapiro v. United States, n. 68, supra, cites many of these statutes.

[70] 12 Cobbett, Parliamentary History of England 648 (footnote quotation from the Secker Manuscript) (1742).

[71] Id. at 652.

But if the government ever has a right to such evidence, it is grounded upon its necessity to the administration of justice which can exist only in the judicial forum.

IMMUNITY STATUTES AND PROSECUTIONS FOR PERJURY

From 1742 to date the opponents of immunity statutes have urged that such laws provide a temptation to perjury. Chancellor Hardwicke, discussing the Orford bill, said: "This Bill indemnifies all the rogues in the three kingdoms if they will come in for a particular purpose. I had rather suffer by such a Bill than vote for it."[73] Senator MacDougal in 1862 made the same point;[74] so did Senator Lehman and others more recently in opposing S. 16.[75]

It is true that the leading government informers in congressional hearings and Smith Act trials need no immunity statute to make them talk. Although confessing to serious crimes, none of them has been or will be prosecuted. As to them, the perjury-incentive argument is not persuasive.

However, there are many persons who will become involuntary informers under the proposed bill unless they are prepared to face contempt proceedings. They know the kind of evidence which is desired by some of the committees. Under congressional pressure, with loose rules of examination prevailing, a weak person may be led into speculation, exaggeration and even lies concerning the political views and associations of his friends. For above his head lies the threat of federal prosecution for contempt if the committee believes that he is withholding information and for perjury if it doubts his veracity.[76]

Recent hearings of the McCarthy Committee, particularly in executive sessions, include a degree of bullying inconceivable in court, where the testimony fails to satisfy the examiner; this has occasionally brought the witness to the desired objective, particularly where he is asked for his opinions of others.

---

[72] 12 Cobbett, Parliamentary History of England 694 (1742).

[73] Id. at 653 (footnote quotation from the Secker Manuscript). See also id. at 696.

[74] He said: "[I]t was to avoid the temptation to perjury that the rule in question was established early in the English Law. You bring a witness before your committee, or you bring him upon a stand in court, and you involve his personal liberty or his personal reponsibility in his answers to questions, what is that but an invitation for him to see how he may avoid the truth, or may swear falsely?" Cong. Globe, 37th Cong., 2d Sess. 430 (1862).

[75] Senator Lehman at 99 Cong. Rec. 8345 (1953).

[76] Aiuppa v. United States, 201 F. 2d 287, 300 (6th Cir. 1952), reversing 102 F. Supp. 609 (N. D. Ohio 1952).

But there is a greater risk than perjury by the malevolent or the frightened. It is the prosecution of the innocent for perjury. That is a danger familiar to students of political history. Witnesses will be compelled to answer questions concerning the political views and associations of themselves and others. The questions are boundless in subject matter, form and time. They require the witness to speculate, to answer hypothetical questions and to draw conclusions covering decades of experience at the risk of punishment. Indeed, these interrogations, as was said recently of loyalty questionnaires "are a perjury trap in which an entirely loyal and innocent person can . . . get caught disastrously."[77] Dean Griswold of Harvard Law School has decribed one aspect of the practical danger[78] and this writer has elsewhere suggested that the problem may be a constitutional one.[79]

Witnesses are asked whether they *could* have stolen classified material had they desired to; whether they had ever "discussed" classified data with unauthorized persons; whether they should not be electrocuted for espionage. Another was threatened with a perjury prosecution because he had no opinion as to whether his sister-in-law had committed espionage. Senator McCarthy has publicly viewed his investigations as a means of convicting witnesses of contempt or perjury in the absence of evidence of substantive crime.[80]

We have recently had a number of perjury prosecutions in the political area. Some have been based upon distant trivialities.[81] In others, convictions have resulted from circumstantial evidence. Harry Bridges' views on China trade were deemed relevant in his trial for perjury on the issue of Communist Party membership.[82] William Remington's first conviction was based entirely upon circumstantial evidence.[83] Sylvia Neff's conviction was based upon such matters as the collection of dues for Henry Wallace which a prosecution witness said were really Communist Party dues.[84]

---

[77] Millis, Arms and Men, New York Herald-Tribune, March 4, 1953, p. 18, col. 7. See also editorial, Light on the Fifth Amendment, The Christian Science Monitor, Feb. 15, 1954, p. 18, col. 2, where it was said: "For many an innocent man has gone to prison and even to the scaffold of whom not a few have been convicted 'out of their own mouths'—by admissions, perhaps, which diligent prosecutors have fitted convincingly into patterns of other evidence." These references illustrate a belated lay recognition of what judges and lawyers have always known. See People ex rel. Taylor v. Forbes, 143 N. Y. 219, 38 N. E. 303 (1894).

[78] Erwin N. Griswold, Dean, Harvard Law School, Address to Massachusetts Bar Ass'n, reprinted in 18 Harvard Law School Record, No. 12, Feb. 11, 1954. The privilege is a "barrier interposed between the individual and the power of the government." Matter of Doyle, 257 N. Y. 244, 250, 177 N. E. 489, 491 (1931).

[79] Boudin, The Constitutional Privilege in Operation, 12 Lawyers Guild Rev. 128, 135, n. 101.

[80] 100 Cong. Rec. 1051 (Feb. 2, 1954). See Sen. Rep. No. 881, 83d Cong., 2d Sess. 6 (1954).

[81] See, e.g., United States v. Lattimore, 112 F. Supp. 507, 522 (D. D. C. 1953).

This is not a new situation. Seven centuries ago Henry III prosecuted the Bishops of Lincoln and Worcester because they required men to take the oath *ex officio*.[85] This oath was objectionable, says one commentator, owing to "the danger of perjury by forcing them to answer on oath in regard to the secret and private actions and opinions of others wherein they might easily be mistaken."[86] Coke subsequently argued "that no free men should be compelled to answer regarding secret thoughts." In words applicable to our contemporary hearings he said that "laymen for the most part are generally illiterate, wherefore they may easily be inveigled and entrapped in heresy and matters of faith."[87]

In supporting immunity bills the Attorney-General admits that "There are other persons who refuse to answer because they feel that their recollections of events long past are feeble, and that falsehoods even on trivial or irrelevant matters may subject them to a charge of perjury."[88] The admission makes inexplicable his conclusion that an immunity statute " . . . serves to remove the dangers mentioned for the innocent . . . "[89] For perjury prosecutions are expressly excepted from the immunity provisions of the proposed law.[90]

The perjury issue aside, there is no doubt that the use of informers, voluntary and otherwise, would be materially increased by the passage of the bill. Enough has been written on the subject of political informers to make obvious the undesirability of this mode of "proof".[91] Their use is contrary to principles of decency and our Anglo-American tradition of fair play. They are notoriously untruthful. Whatever their utility in other fields, they should not be used in political cases where ideas rather than concrete acts are at issue. For here the possibilities of undetected perjury are too great, and the rewards are too high.

---

[82] Bridges v. United States, 199 F. 2d 811, 839, n. 9 (9th Cir. 1952), reversed, 346 U. S. 209 (1953).

[83] United States v. Remington, 191 F. 2d 246 (2d Cir. 1951), cert. denied, 343 U. S. 907 (1952).

[84] United States v. Neff, 211 F. 2d — (3d Cir. 1954), reversing the earlier unreported decision of the United States District Court in New Jersey.

[85] Maguire, Attack of the Common Lawyers on the Oath Ex Officio as Administered in the Ecclesiastical Courts in England (Essays in History and Political Theory in honor of Charles Howard McIlwain) 206 (1936).

[86] Id. at 226, citing Jenners' Case, Stowe Mss., 424 f. 159b.

[87] Of oaths before an Ecclesiastical Judge Ex Officio, 12 Coke Rep. 26-27 (1826).

[88] Brownell, Immunity from Prosecution versus Privilege Against Self-Incrimination, Address before the Law Club of Chicago, Chicago, Ill., Nov. 6, 1953.

[89] Ibid.

[90] "No person shall be exempt from prosecution or punishment for perjury or contempt committed in so testifying." S. 16, 83d Cong., 1st Sess. (1953).

If the Smith Act trials are an indication of what may be expected at congressional hearings, S. 16 would require testimony against one's friends and relatives who joined, often at their instigation, in what once were accepted as lawful activities and organizations. As Ambassador Lodge recently said: "We do not want a nation of informers" but "a nation made up of citizens with integrity."[92]

THE DEFECTS IN THE IMMUNITY GRANTED BY S. 16

The immunity bill promises more than it can give. It fails to give true immunity in three principal areas: federal, state and private.

Immunity and Federal Disabilities

The Internal Security Act,[93] federal executive orders, and current loyalty procedures, prohibit the employment of so-called radicals in government or defense facilities. Employment as a longshoreman or in the privately owned merchant marine is subject to governmental screening.[94]

The McCarran Act requires the registration of persons connected with groups found by the Subversive Activities Control Board to be "Communist organizations" and makes it unlawful for them to be employed by the Federal Government, to apply for or use a passport, and requires registration of individuals with the Attorney-General. Material, mail or broadcasts by "Communist organizations" must plainly indicate that the source is "a Communist organization". The President by declaring the existence of "an internal security emergency" can intern anyone as to whom there is reasonable ground to believe that such person will probably engage in, or probably will conspire with others to engage in acts of espionage or sabotage.

---

[91] See Donnally, Judicial Control of Informants, Spies, Stool Pigeons, and Agents Provocateurs, 60 Yale L. J. 1090 (1951), for the most thorough discussion of the decisions; and Donner, "The Informer," The Nation, April 10, 1954, for the ablest view of the realities. Also see In the Matter of ———, an Attorney, 86 N. Y. 563, 574 (1881), a leading case in which it was said: "Informants have always been a despicable race, yet the law finds itself obliged to use them."

[92] New York Post, Jan. 6, 1954, p. 29, col. 5.

[93] 64 Stat. 987 (1950), 50 U. S. C. §§ 741 et seq. (Supp. V, 1952).

[94] 64 Stat. 428 (1950), 50 U. S. C. § 191 (Supp. V, 1952).

It is inconceivable that the government would license political dissenters to operate radio stations, would give them government contracts, or permit their employment in governmental jobs, defense plants, or other industries whose employment is controlled by it. The President's recent proposal to deprive of citizenship persons convicted of Smith Act violations permits of ready extension to persons compelled to make such admissions before congressional committees.

Obviously, S. 16 is not intended to permit admitted "Communists" to have defense contracts, secure passports, retain citizenship rights and remain outside concentration camps in the event of a national emergency declaration. All of these very substantial disabilities will continue to exist in the case of one compelled to testify. Therefore, true immunity is not intended nor can it be given by S. 16. It could be argued, of course, that these disabilities may exist upon the basis of government information or may arise from the witness' assertion of his constitutional privilege. Without conceding the legality of the disabilities in either case, their existence does not mitigate the forfeiture arising from the compulsory disclosure or show that true immunity is given.

Immunity from State Prosecution

S. 16, would not, or course, grant immunity against state and municipal prosecutions. It is doubtful that Congress could grant such immunity; the weight of authority is against the existence of such a power.[95] It is true that the recent case of *Adams v. State of Maryland*[96] held that 18 U. S. C. § 3486 bars the use of testimony before a Congressional committee as evidence in a state criminal proceeding against the witness; but the case did not touch on the problem whether Congress could forbid state prosecution on account of "any matter, transaction or thing" concerning which a witness may testify. Theoretically at least, a state is still free to prosecute a witness before a Congressional committee for crimes which he reveals in the course of his testimony, as long as that testimony is not introduced in the state criminal proceeding.

---

[95] Brown v. Walker, 161 U. S. 591 (1896), is the only decision which holds that Congress has such a power; and on this point, the strong dissent is more persuasive. The succeeding cases, such as United States v. Murdock, 284 U. S. 141 (1931), certainly proceed on the assumption that the minority was correct. See the views of John W. Davis, 99 Cong. Rec. 8343 (1953), of former Solicitor General Philip B. Perlman, id. at 8344, and of Senator Wayne Morse, id. at 8354.

[96] 74 S. Ct. 442 (March 8, 1954).

Even if Congress has the power to grant witnesses before its committees immunity from state prosecution, it has been held that Congress does not have to exercise this power in order to enact a valid immunity statute. Although such eminent authorities as Chief Justice Marshall[97] and Mr. Justice Holmes[98] have written opinions which sustained the exercise of the privilege because of the danger of incrimination under state laws, later cases have interpreted federal constitutional law the other way.[99]

The result of the current doctrine, under which immunity from punishment by the sovereign which compels the testimony is constitutionally sufficient, is to place the witness in an intolerable situation where the same act is both a federal and a state crime. This is frequently the case in the matter of subversive activities. Although the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania recently held that the Smith Act superseded the local sedition law, this decision was based upon the language of the particular statute involved in the prosecution.[100] It leaves related laws in Pennsylvania and similar ones in other states untouched. This includes statutes and ordinances requiring registration and teachers oath laws, to mention only a few. In this field, the principle that federal and state authorities may not co-operate with one another in such a way that one compels incriminatory testimony and the other punishes the crime should receive wide application.[101] This is all the more true in view of the extent of federal-state collaboration and of the breadth and vagueness of the concept of "subversive activities". Since each acts as the other's agent in this area, neither should have the right to compel disclosure of incriminating material in aid of the other's case.[102]

---

[97] United States v. Saline Bank, 1 Pet. 100 (1828).

[98] Ballman v. Fagin, 200 U. S. 186 (1906).

[99] Hale v. Hankel, 201 U. S. 43 (1906); United States v. Murdock, 284 U. S. 141 (1931); Jack v. Kansas, 199 U. S. 372 (1905), and Feldman v. United States, 322 U. S. 487 (1944), make it clear that a state may compel testimony of an incriminatory nature even though it cannot protect the witness against federal prosecution, and that the Federal Government is not precluded from prosecution even though the witness has revealed his crime under the compulsion of a state immunity statute. The more enlightened decisions of the state courts, particularly those of Michigan, support the doctrine of Marshall and Holmes that immunity from one sovereign is not enough. See Grant, Immunity from Compulsory Self-Incrimination in a Federal System of Government, 9 Temple L. Q. 57, 194 (1934-1935); Boudin The Constitutional Privilege in Operation, 12 Lawyers Guild Rev. 128 (1952). The same view is implicit in Chief Judge Cardozo's opinion in Matter of Doyle, 257 N. Y. 244, 267, 177 N. E. 489, 497 (1931), where he says: "We put aside as remote and unsubstantial the supposed penalty of exposure to prosecution for the making of false tax returns to State or Federal officers."

[100] Commonwealth v. Nelson, no. 94, S. Ct. Pa. (Jan. 25, 1954).

[101] See United States v. Di Carlo, 102 F. Supp. 597 (N. D. Ohio 1952), in which a federal

S. 16 does not seek to give the witness immunity against state prosecution. Probably, it could not; certainly, as the decisions now read, it does not have to. The result is that S. 16 will compel the witness to incriminate himself under state law.

Immunity from Private Sanctions

Privately imposed disabilities include expulsion from labor unions, loss of employment, discrimination in housing and schooling, and public opprobrium.[103]

These sanctions are not generally regarded in the United States as reason for invoking the constitutional privilege.[104] However, the English equity courts, in the 18th century, allowed witnesses to be silent where admissions of papacy would result in property loss,[105] or where ecclesiastical censure would follow,[106] or where a parliamentary seat was at stake.[107] In 1806 Parliament was considering a bill "to indemnify"

---

district judge acquitted a witness before the Kefauver committee, which was investigating state crime, of a contempt charge.

[102] Cf. Byars v. United States, 273 U. S. 28 (1927); Sutherland v. United States, 92 F. 2d 305 (4th Cir. 1937).

[103] The Matter of Peters (New York Housing Authority), N. Y. L. J., March 9, 1954, p. 10, col. 4. In this case, the Appellate Division (N. Y.) 2d Dept., upheld a federal statute [66 Stat. 393, 403 (1952), 42 U. S. C. § 1411c (1952)] which requires as a condition of occupancy in federally aided projects that the tenant furnish a certificate of nonmembership in any organization designated as subversive by the United States Attorney-General.

[104] Typical: "The exemption can only be based upon the liability to such penalties or forfeitures as may be the subject of a penal or criminal proceeding." United States v. La Bourgogne, 104 Fed. 823, 824 (S. D. N. Y. 1900). See also United States v. Ulrici, 3 Dillion 532, 534, 28 Fed. Cas. 328, No. 16,594 (C. C. E. D. Mo. 1875).

[105] Harrison v. Southcote and Morehead, 2 Ves. sen. 389, 394, 28 Eng. Rep. 249, 252 (Ch. 1751), where Chancellor Hardwicke relied upon "that general rule established with great justice and tenderness for the law of England, that none shall be obliged to discover what may tend to subject him to a penalty, or that which is in the nature of a penalty." Smith v. Read, 1 Atk. 527, 26 Eng. Rep. 332 (Ch. 1736) was a bill to discover.

[106] Finch v. Finch, 2 Ves. sen. 49, 28 Eng. Rep. 315 (Ch. 1752), and Brownsword v. Edward, 2 Ves. sen. 243, 28 Eng. Rep. 157 (Ch. 1751).

[107] Honeywood v. Selwin, 3 Atk. 276, 26 Eng. Rep. 961 (Ch. 1744). At common law one need not give testimony that would subject him to forfeiture of office. Glynn v. Houston, 1 Keen 329, 48 Eng. Rep. 333 (Ch. 1836); Burrowes et al. v. The High Commission Court, 3 Bulstr. 48, 81 Eng. Rep. 42 (K. B. 1616), cited in Bram v. United States, 168

witnesses on the impeachment of Lord Melville. It is significant that the issue of whether it must give immunity against *civil* suit was referred to the judges, who divided on it. Mr. Justice Grose, for example, said that evidence would not be required "against his own pecuniary interest and perhaps to his utter ruin."[108]

In more recent years the New York Court of Appeals held that a lawyer's disbarment was a forfeiture within the meaning of the constitutional privilege.[109] But subsequently Chief Judge Cardozo speaking for a unanimous court affirmed the disbarment of a lawyer despite his claim to immunity because of his testimony at a criminal trial.[110] Cardozo distinguished between "penalties and forfeitures" as used in immunity laws and as used in equity proceedings. One must question this distinction, at least as applied to the case, since both the constitutional privilege and the equity rule have a common source, opposition to the oath *ex officio*.[111] It was an equity discovery proceeding in which Lord Chancellor Hard-

---

U. S. 532, 545 (1897). Nor was testimony required with respect to violations of a statute against simony which forfeited ecclesiastical livings or rights of presentation. Parkhurst v. Lowton, 1 Mer. 391, 35 Eng. Rep. 718 (Ch. 1816); Bishop of London v. Fytche, 1 Bro. C. C. 96, 28 Eng. Rep. 1008 (Ch. 1781). See also cases involving removal as postmaster, Nye v. Daniels, 75 Vt. 81, 53 Atl. 150 (1902); removal from government office, United States v. Collins, 25 Fed. Cas. 545, No. 14837 (C. C. S. D. Ga. 1873); and loss of franchise as citizen of London, Mayor of London v. Ainsley, 1 Anst. 158, 145 Eng. Rep. 831 (Exch. 1793).

[108] 6 Parl. Deb. 237 (Cobbett's 1806); Mr. Justice Rooke said that one was "not bound to answer questions which must prejudice his pecuniary interest." Id. at 239. These, of course, were extreme positions to which a majority of the judges would not subscribe.

[109] Matter of Kaffenburgh, 186 N. Y. 49, 80 N. E. 570 (1907). Similarly, Matter of Nathanial Cohen, 155 App. Div. 900 (1st Dept. 1906), opinion withheld from publication.

[110] Matter of Rouss, 221 N. Y. 81, 116 N. E. 782 (1917). The court held that disbarment was not a penalty or forfeiture within the meaning of N. Y. Penal Law § 584 and that "to bring him within the protection of the Constitution, the disclosure asked of him must expose him to punishment for crime." 221 N. Y. at 86, 116 N. E. at 784. The Chief Judge held that "the forfeiture and penalties which the state undertakes to remit cannot be the forfeitures and penalties which equity refused to aid; and this for the simple reason that the state would be powerless to remit them effectively." 221 N. Y. at 89, 116 N. E. at 785. He cited the rule of equity that permitted a witness to remain silent where his estate might be forfeited which he held could not have been within the contemplation of the New York Legislature since it had no power to prevent the forfeiture. His conclusion was that "the forfeitures permitted are forfeitures imposed by the sovereign power as part of the punishment of crime. . . . Punishment of crime may for this purpose include recovery from the offender of penalties and forfeitures through the form of civil actions. . . . But punishment there must be." 221 N. Y. at 90, 116 N. E. at 786.

[111] See Boudin, The Constitutional Privilege in Action, 12 Lawyers Guild Rev. 128 (1952).

wicke warned against "setting up the oath *ex officio*; which then the parliament in the time of Charles I would in vain have taken away . . . "[112] The statute to which he referred[113] abolished the Court of High Commission, which used the oath *ex officio,* and was the first legislative step in the development of our constitutional privilege. Moreover, it was an American equity discovery proceeding, *United States v. Saline Bank,*[114] which was one of our first leading cases on the Fifth Amendment. Chief Judge Cardozo was properly concerned with the matter at hand: whether an attorney who testified as to his criminal conduct could claim immunity from disbarment. His decision could well rest upon a different principle —that good character is always a condition of continued membership at the Bar.[115]

Where the effect of political heresy is as serious as it is today, the dissenter is undoubtedly subject to a penalty or forfeiture, treating those terms realistically. To be excluded from employment in government, in private defense plants and in the entertainment industry, to mention but a few, approaches coventry. It eliminates vast areas in which men have hitherto supported themselves and their families. In particular, the Supreme Court's conception of trade unions as public utilities, thus required to file non-Communist affidavits in return for governmental favors,[116] turns the loss of union membership into a powerful federal sanction.

---

[112] Brownsword v. Edwards, 2 Ves. sen. 243, 245, 28 Eng. Rep. 157, 158 (Ch. 1751). Similarly in Finch v. Finch, 2 Ves. sen. 49, 28 Eng. Rep. 315, 316 (Ch. 1752), holding that the defendant was not bound to answer what may subject him to ecclesiastical censure, that court repeated: "As to the first objection to it, that it will subject him to ecclesiastical censures, and that the court will not compel him to answer on oath, which is like an oath ex officio, that is not true. . . . "

[113] 16 Car. I, c. 11, s. 4 (1640), as confirmed by 13 Car. 2, stat. 1, c. 12, s. 4 (1661), provided that no person exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction should "tender . . . to any person whatsoever . . . any oath whereby such person . . . may be charged or compelled to confesse or accuse or to purge him . . . selfe of any criminall matter or thing whereby he may be liable to any censure or punishment. . . . "

[114] 1 Pet. 100 (U. S. 1828).

[115] Judge Cardozo did establish that the privilege under the Constitution and the privilege in equity did not have precisely the same dimensions. This he did by showing that equity would not compel a discovery where loss of an estate would result. See n. 108, supra. Undoubtedly, such a loss would not be a basis for asserting the constitutional privilege, but it is equally true that the example is an extreme one. We are told of course, first, that equity will not enforce a forfeiture where an action at law is available; second, that a discovery will be withheld from penal actions. 2 Pomeroy, A Treatise on Equity Jurisprudence § 459 (5th ed., Symonds, 1941). But this neither explains the precise reasons for the rules nor removes the moral reasons which seem to lie beneath both the equity rule and the constitutional privilege. In Smith v. Read, n. 103, supra, a discovery proceeding, both self-accusation [the privilege] and the forfeiture [the equity rule] are treated as common ground: "I think the defendant is not bound to discover, for there is no rule more established in equity, than that a person shall not be obliged to discover what will subject him to a penalty, or anything in the nature of a penalty.

"Under the rule, a man is not obliged to accuse himself, is implied, [sic] that he is not bound to discover a disability of himself; and there is no difference between a forfeiture of a thing vested, and a disability to take, inflicted as a penalty; and the Eleventh and Twelfth of Will. 3 is a penalty statute." (Hardwicke, C. J.).

One might also take note of the mother judicially deprived of her children in matrimonial litigation because of her political views.[117] She can hardly be persuaded that she has not been subjected by judicial order to a penalty or forfeiture beyond that of mere imprisonment.

These problems arise from the political character of congressional investigations which preclude secrecy and invite retaliation against the witnesses. In England, witnesses are guarded against such private sanctions:[118]

> Persons summoned to give evidence are carefully protected against any evil effects from their fulfilling their duty to speak the truth. A special act of Parliament . . . threatens fine and imprisonment to anyone who threatens, punishes, damnifies, or injures any person for giving evidence to a committee (or a royal commission) or an account of the evidence given by him.

In the *Cummings* and *Garland* cases,[119] the Supreme Court regarded the loss of employment as punishment and declared the post-Civil War test oath statutes to be bills of attainder. In our own day, the Court took similar action in *United States v. Lovett*:[120]

> . . . the fact that the punishment is inflicted through the instrumentality of an Act specifically cutting off the pay of certain named individuals found guilty of disloyalty, makes it no less galling or effective than if it had been done by an Act which designated the conduct as criminal.

It is true that in *Brown v. Walker*[121] the Court held that the privilege did not protect the witness against disgrace and humiliation. Four judges dissented from this decision. In any event, as shown here, the penalties of today, including loss of employment, are far more onerous than those upon which the dissenters rested.

---

[116] American Communications Ass'n v. Douds, 339 U. S. 382 (1950).

[117] Breathed Sr. v. Breathed Jr. (Super. Ct. L. A.), Calif. National Guardian, Jan. 30, 1952, p. 5, is an example of several such cases.

[118] 2 Redlich, The Procedure of the House of Commons, 192-193 (1908).

[119] Cummings v. State of Missouri, 4 Wall. 277 (U. S. 1866); Ex Parte Garland, 4 Wall. 333 (U. S. 1866).

[120] 328 U. S. 303, 316 (1946).

[121] 161 U. S. 591 (1896).

THE NEED OF CHANGE IN THE STATUTES REGULATING COMMITTEE PROCEDURE

This increase in congressional committee powers is proposed at a time when some committees are regarded by a substantial and respectable portion of the people as acting unconstitutionally, disregarding their respective statutory jurisdictions, and tormenting, entrapping and defaming witnesses. For several years, bills have been introduced to limit the powers of committees and protect more adequately the rights of witnesses.[122] These proposals include the right of counsel, to cross-examine witnesses, to reject the lead role in a television drama, to know the evidence against oneself and to be permitted to respond to it.

Former Attorney-General Biddle, upon being asked his opinion of S. 16, suggested the need for an improvement in congressional procedures.[123] Professor Paul Freund has urged that such a law be made a condition precedent to immunity legislation.[124] Professor Lindsay Rogers, bearing in mind the defects of our congressional investigations, has made the more fundamental suggestion that we follow the English practice of investigation by commissions rather than by congressional committees.[125] It may incidentally be doubted that any responsible group of private citizens sitting on a commission would need or request the immunity power.

There is little likelihood that these long-pending proposals will become law or that they would materially improve the situation. They will be disregarded, just as committees have disregarded the jurisdictional limitations imposed by statute, only to receive their 1954 appropriations from a compliant Senate.[126] Also, the committees presently claim to have given witnesses the right to counsel, to confront their accusers, and other similar rights.[127] Such a disregard of the realities will not vanish with the passage of a statute giving procedural due process.

But the bills, even if passed and enforced, would not meet the issue, since they are predicated upon the theory that the witnesses are defendants in a criminal prosecution. The evil of the investigations is that our constitutional system does not contemplate criminal prosecutions by congressional committees. Procedural due process cannot afford the witness the substantive protection to which he is entitled under our accusatorial system.

---

[122] See, e.g., H. R. 4123, 83d Cong., 1st Sess. (1953); H. R. 6899, 83d Cong., 2d Sess. (1954); H. Res. 29, 83d Cong., 1st Sess. (1953); S. Res. 83, 83d Cong., 1st Sess. (1953).

[123] 99 Cong. Rec. 8343 (1953).

[124] Id. at 8344.

[125] Id. at 8345.

[126] 100 Cong. Rec. 1046-1064 (Feb. 2, 1954).

[127] Annual Report of the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations of the Committee on Government Operations, Sen. Rep. No. 881, 83d Cong., 2d Sess. 8 et seq. (1953).

Dean Griswold of Harvard Law School correctly suggested that Congress might "help the present situation . . . by enacting that no answer by a witness to any question would constitute a waiver by him of his privilege under the fifth amendment."[128] As he went on to say: "[M]any witnesses are led to refuse to answer any questions at all, or any questions which might be thought to be in a vulnerable area, because they fear that if they answer a single question, apparently harmless in itself, they will thereby have waived the privilege." This kind of approach would both give Congress information and protect the rights of witnesses. There, however, appears to be no possibility that such reasonable legislation will be introduced.

Of course, legislation is needed to counter the current investigating methods of Congress. Congressmen who in committee hearings make unsupported charges of espionage or other crimes should be liable to civil and criminal action; so, too, with those who physically expel witnesses and counsel from the hearings.[129] Committees who summon witnesses to deprive them of their constitutional rights should not be immune from suits under the Civil Rights Act.[130] The committees should be held by judicial decree to their jurisdictional lines instead of subjecting the witnesses to the hazards of criminal prosecution. Improvements in congressional procedure, however, are not a justification for immunity legislation.

---

[128] 99 Cong. Rec. 8345 (1953).

[129] The use of force to silence and expel witnesses and counsel has occurred most frequently in the case of the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations. One is reminded of the refusal of Reuben M. Whitney in 1837 to appear before the House Committee on Commerce investigating the Bank of the United States. Brought before the House he explained his refusal stating inter alia his fear of violence, an earlier disagreement with the committee having led to the use of weapons. 13 Reg. Deb. 1739 (1837). The House eventually excused him. Id. at 1879.

[130] This would require an amendment of the present statute in view of the Supreme Court's decision in Tenney v. Brandhove, 341 U. S. 367 (1951). While that case involved a state legislative committee, the statute in terms relates to all conspiracies against the exercise of federal constitutional rights. See 8 U. S. C. § 47(3) (1946).

THE MORAL AND POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY BEHIND THE PRIVILEGE

Our argument up to this point has had a technical flavor: the failure of the proposed Act to afford complete immunity to the extent guaranteed by the Fifth Amendment, since the testimony of the witnesses before the Federal Government may lead to prosecution by the states and to many other impediments.

But there is a basic principle involved, a principle both of political philosophy and of morals. Ours is an accusatorial system grounded upon the presumption of innocence and the requirement that the *government* prove the crime. The practical reason for the system is obvious. Where the burden is shifted to the citizen, prosecuting officials tend to rely unduly upon the extortion of evidence from defendants. "The immediate and potential evils of compulsory self-disclosure transcend any difficulties that the exercise of the privilege may impose on society in the detection and prosecution of crime."[131]

But the moral basis of the privilege is more important: a revulsion against compelling persons to injure themselves. "The essential and inherent cruelty of compelling a man to expose his own guilt is obvious to everyone, and needs no illustration."[132] Senator George, in opposing S. 16, has correctly said:[133]

> . . . that underlying our whole concept of jurisprudence is the personal right of a witness, not only to refuse to testify or to answer a question which would tend to incriminate him, but it is also the right of the witness to refuse to testify when his testimony would necessarily bring into public contempt and disrepute the members of his immediate family. It is a much broader right than the mere right of the defendant himself to escape punishment for a criminal offense.

Senator Hoey added:[134]

> I am opposed to the entire bill. I believe we are going right in the face of the Constitution. The Constitution of the United States provides that no person shall be required to testify against himself. We are undertaking to say that a committee of the Congress can do what the courts cannot do. The courts can grant immunity, but they cannot force a witness to testify against himself. We are granting to a committee of the Congress the power to take away the constitutional guaranties and rights to the protection which the Constitution gives us. We are saying, "When you come before a committee and we grant you immunity, you have got to testify." The Constitution says a man does not have to do that. I do not believe Congress ought to pass a measure such as the one which is before us.

---

[131] United States v. White, 322 U. S. 694, 698 (1944).

[132] Field, J., dissenting in Brown v. Walker, 161 U. S. 591, 637 (1896).

[133] 99 Cong. Rec. 4742 (1953).

[134] 99 Cong. Rec. 8352 (1953).

The practical insufficiency of the immunity bill is not as important as the philosophic desirability of the privilege under our form of government.

Those who argue that the constitutional privilege is outmoded disregard the equivalence of the inquisitions which gave rise to it and those of today. The reiteration of Cardozo's remark in the *Palko* case[135] that we would survive without it overlooks his express reservations, his views about the grand jury system and other accepted institutions and that the privilege remains by common consent in our Constitution. If it is outmoded, it should be eliminated from the Constitution by direct amendatory action, not eroded by legislative enactment, any more than by the "subtle encroachments of judicial opinion"[136] against which we were recently warned.

The Attorney-General's suggestion that the privilege was a defense against torture[137] is historically incorrect. It illustrates Judge Magruder's reminder that "our forefathers when they wrote this provision into the First Amendment of the Constitution had in mind a lot of history which has been largely forgotten today."[138] The oath itself was regarded as a form of torture. The privilege was a defense against both physical compulsion and the moral compulsion that an oath to a vengeful God commands of a pious soul.[139] Hence Governor Bradford's ministers' warning that a magistrate "may not extracte a confession—by any violente means, whether it be by an oath imposed or by any punishment inflicted."[140]

The Attorney-General and other proponents of the legislation have led themselves into squarely contradictory positions. First, they argue that the assertion of the Fifth Amendment is an admission of guilt requiring sanctions; hence, Executive Order No. 10491, permitting the exercise of the privilege to be taken into consideration in the determination of the compliance of an employee with the security requirements for federal employment.[141] Then, they argue that the privilege was intended to protect "innocent persons", not conspirators, and that its use by the latter requires its replacement by an immunity grant.[142] The truth is that the privilege was intended to protect everyone. The Attorney-General gilds the lily when he refers to the Puritans as "innocent persons"[143] when they were quite otherwise under 17th century English law.

---

[135] Palko v. Connecticut, 302 U. S. 319 (1937).

[136] Magruder, C. J., in Maffie v. United States, 209 F. 2d 225, 227 (1st Cir. 1954).

[137] Brownell, Remedy for Abuse of Constitutional Privilege against Self-Incrimination, p. 6, National Press Club, Oct. 14, 1953.

[138] See n. 134, supra.

[139] Senator Bayard was therefore quite right historically when he said that "yet it is of far greater and higher importance not to permit a man to be subjected to the torture of being obliged to give evidence against himself . . . " 59 Cong. Globe, 37th Cong., 2d Sess. 430 (1862). In Omychund v. Barker, 1 Atk. 22, 48, 26 Eng. Rep. 15, 32 (1744), Hardwicke said that the oath was an "appeal to the Supreme Being, as think him the rewarder of truth, and the avenger of falsehoods." See also R. v. White, 1 Leach Cr. L., 4th Ed. 430, 168 Eng. Rep. 317 (K. B. 1786).

[140] Bradford, History of Plymouth Plantation, Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. ser. 4, Vol. 3, pp. 390-397 (1912). From this and other material, Pittman correctly says, "it is apparent that the Puritan mind placed the ecclesiastical oath in the category of 'tortures' just as it did the rack, the boot, and the thumbscrew." Pittman, The Colonial and Constitutional History of the Privilege Against Self-Incrimination in America, 21 Va. L. Rev. 763, 779 (1935).

His view that the privilege has been "abused" is predicated upon the large number of witnesses who have asserted it.[144] Is it not more reasonable to regard the widespread use as a function of the increasing misuse of the congressional power? The privilege, after all, is the "result of the long struggle between the opposing forces of the spirit of individual liberty on the one hand and the collective power of the State on the other."[145] As this collective power becomes more threatening, it increasingly calls into operation the privilege against self-incrimination.

The Attorney-General has said that "it is little wonder that law-abiding citizens frequently are heard to say that subversives and other wrongdoers are unduly coddled by existing law."[146] Passing over the use of the term "subversive" by our chief law officer, one must question popular passions as a rational basis for legislation. Indeed the privilege has been most necessary when the government inquisition of minorities is supported, as it so often is, by the general public. It is then that we perceive the essence of the constitutional privilege—"the dignity and intrinsic importance of the individual man."[147]

---

[141] Described in Sen. Rep. No. 881, 83d Cong., 2d Sess. (1953).

[142] Brownell, Immunity from Prosecution versus the Privilege Against Self-Incrimination, an Address before the Law Club of Chicago, Chicago, Ill., Nov. 6, 1953.

[143] Id. at 2.

[144] Id. at 1.

[145] Erwin N. Griswold, Dean, Harvard Law School, address to Massachusetts Bar Ass'n reprinted in 18 Harvard Law School Record, No. 2, Feb. 11, 1954. The privilege is a "barrier interposed between the individual and the power of the government." Matter of Doyle, 257 N. Y. 244, 177 N. E. 489, 491 (1931).

[146] Brownell, Remedy for Abuse of Constitutional Privilege Against Self-Incrimination, an Address before the National Press Club, Washington, D. C., Oct. 14, 1953.

[147] See n. 145, supra.

CONCLUSION

We conclude then that the proposed immunity legislation is not necessary for the exercise by Congress of its legitimate functions. It is intended, rather, to aid in the current drive against heterodoxy. It gives a fictitious immunity by making the witness testify against himself, and then bringing upon his head the many sanctions, penalties and disabilities which a powerful society can impose upon its minorities. Most important, it destroys a constitutional privilege, inherent in our governmental system and predicated upon the dignity of the individual.

James T. Wright
ATTORNEY AND COUNSELLOR AT LAW
2003 12TH ST., N. W.
WASHINGTON 9, D. C.
ADAMS 2-4761

WILLIS C. PAYTON
VIRGINIA ASSOCIATE
PERCY B. BRINKLEY
MARYLAND ASSOCIATE

November 22, 1955

Mr. William Patterson
6 East 17th Street
New York, N. Y.

Re: Paul Robeson

Dear Pat:

Enclosed please find a very cordial greeting and statement from Mr. Boudin.

It has become perfectly obvious to me that the state of affairs involved in this case is absolutely nauseating and I cannot conceive of people of intelligence acting in such a peculiar vein. When I undertook to participate in this case, as important as the issues are, it never occurred to me that this "sort of thing" would be involved.

Viewing the record briefly, it is my recollection that as early as September 28, 1955, I inquired concerning my continued status in this case, and it was not until November 16, 1955 when any clarification was had. I think that this is unpardonable. Moreover, its inconceivable to me that you or Mr. Boudin would expect me to advance costs for litigation. It is clear that this is highly impractical as well as unethical. Talking about serving notice, unless the costs in the amount of $78.50, plus our understanding as to payment of my fee, is received immediately, I shall have no alternative but to withdraw from this case and notify Mr. Boudin accordingly.

And quoting a great legal mind, "I am sorry that I have to write this way but I cannot carry out my responsibility as counsel if this sort of thing continues".

Very truly yours,

Jim

James T. Wright

JTW:w
Encl.

P.S. George Murphy stopped by and I showed him Boudin's letter. He expressed utter amazement at the unqualified arrogance and said that he would write.

JTW

WU 4178 (R 9-54)

THE WESTERN UNION TELEGRAPH COMPANY

RECEIPT

1955 NOV 22 PM 3 50

N S H
69 FIFTH AVENUE

OFFICE DATE 19

RECEIVED FROM WILLKAM L PATTERSON

ADDRESS 6 E 17 ST WA 4 6856

SEVENTY EIGHT AND 50/100- - - - - Dollars $ 78.50

☐ Account for the month of 19

☐ Telegraphic Money Order
☐ Telegram or Cable
☐ Deposit on Collect Telegram Returnable after 24 hours
☐ Account No.
FOR REMITTANCE

TO JAMES T WRIGHT
Address 2003 12 ST NW WASHDC
Place

MONEY	Chgs	$ 95
ORDER	Tolls	$ 95
CHARGES	Tax	$ 10
PAID	TOTAL	$ 2.00

THE WESTERN UNION TELEGRAPH COMPANY
BY

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

(45)

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS
DL=Day Letter
NL=Night Letter
LT=International Letter Telegram

55

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

1955 NOV 23 PM 3 46

NU138 14 COLLECT=WASHINGTON DC 23 304PME=
WILLIAM L PATTERSON=
6 EAST 17 ST=

105

70 8 6068

RECORD ON APPEAL IN ROBESON CASE FILED TODAY ADVISE BOUDIN IF YOU DESIRE=

JAMES T WRIGHT

11

SENDER WAITING
WESTERN UNION
Answer by WIRE
SENDER WAITING

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

James T. Wright
ATTORNEY AND COUNSELLOR AT LAW
2003 12TH ST., N. W.
WASHINGTON 9, D. C.
ADAMS 2-4761

WILLIS C. PAYTON
VIRGINIA ASSOCIATE
PERCY B. BRINKLEY
MARYLAND ASSOCIATE

September 28, 1955

Mr. Lloyd Brown
139 W. 125th St., Suite 6
New York 27, N. Y.

Re: Robeson v. Dulles
Civil Action No.169-55

Dear Mr. Brown:

As you may know Mr. Boudin and I have completed all of the preliminary legal work subsequent to our last hearing in District Court, which places the above-named case in posture for appeal.

My financial arrangements in this matter were contemplated only on the administrative and trial level and if my further services in this case are desired, the further assessment of legal fees must be made. I have seriously considered this matter and its myriad complications. Accordingly, I herewith submit a statement in the amount of $1,000.00 for appellate work in this case with a substantial retainer and the balance in convenient installments to be completed on or before the hearing date in the Court of Appeals.

I have written to Mr. Boudin advising him on this matter affacting my continuation as Washington counsel, and in order to fully clarify this matter, your prompt consideration and reply are requested.

There is also a balance of $12.00 due as advanced costs and Mr. Robeson had promised me an autographed photo.

With kind personal regards, I am

Very truly yours,

James T. Wright

James T. Wright

JTW:ocw

James T. Wright

pd 750

408 West 130 St.
New York 27, N.Y.

October 18, 1955

Mr. James T. Wright
2003 12th St., N.W.
Washington 9, D.C.

Dear Mr. Wright:

I deeply regret the delay in answering your letter of September 28 in reference to your further work on Mr. Robeson's passport case. I had hoped that before now we here could have discussed the matter and come to a decision about the terms you suggested, and so I put off writing until I had some definite word for you.

No decision on the matter has as yet been made, but I can assure you that within a few days a reply will be sent you.

Nor have I forgotten your request for the promised autographed photo, and as soon as visitors are permitted to see Mr. Robeson in the hospital I shall have him take care of the matter.

Sincerely yours,

Lloyd L. Brown

James T. Wright
ATTORNEY AND COUNSELLOR AT LAW
2003 12TH ST., N. W.
WASHINGTON 9, D. C.
ADAMS 2-4761

WILLIS C. PAYTON
VIRGINIA ASSOCIATE
PERCY B. BRINKLEY
MARYLAND ASSOCIATE

October 13, 1955

Mr. Paul Robeson
139 W. 125th St., Suite 6
New York 27, N. Y.

Re: Robeson v. Dulles
Civil Action No.169-55

Dear Mr. Robeson:

On September 28, 1955, I wrote to Mr. Brown raising the question of my further retention in the above-named matter, as my commitment carried me only through the administrative and District Court levels.

I have, together with Mr. Boudin, as of this date, perfected all technical matters placing this matter in the proper posture for an appeal. Pursuant to my telephone conversation with Mr. Boudin today, I am preparing and expect to file tomorrow, the appropriate notices for appeal, which will complete all phases in the lower Court.

In view of the time element, it is highly important that my status in this case be promptly clarified, the terms of which have been set forth in my earlier letter.

Please advise me.

Very truly yours,

James T. Wright
James T. Wright

JTW:ocw

Suite 6, 139 West 125th St., New York 27, N.Y.

August 26, 1955

Mr. James T. Wright
2003 12th St., NW
Washington 9, D.C.

Dear Mr. Wright:

Enclosed please find a check in the amount of $250.00 for payment of your fee due from Mr. Robeson.

I do not have at hand your recent letter on that subject, but I recall that there was an additional small sum for extra expenses. That payment will be sent you within a few days.

With best wishes from us all,

Sincerely yours,

Lloyd L. Brown
for Mr. Robeson

Mr. James T. Wright
2003 12th St., N.W.
Washington D.C.
Adams 2-4761

PAUL ROBESON

139 West 125 St.
New York 27, N. Y.
January 28, 1955

Mr. James T. Wright
2003 12th St., N.W.
Washington 9, D. C.

Dear Mr. Wright:

We are enclosing check for $250.00, payment of second installment of legal fees.

Sincerely,

John Gray

JG:rb
encl.

James T. Wright
ATTORNEY AND COUNSELLOR AT LAW
2003 12TH ST., N. W.
WASHINGTON 9, D. C.
ADAMS 2-4761

WILLIS C. PAYTON
VIRGINIA ASSOCIATE
PERCY B. BRINKLEY
MARYLAND ASSOCIATE

January 26, 1955

Mr. John Gray
139 W. 125th St.
New York 27, N. Y.

Re: Robeson v. Dulles
Civil Action No. 169-55

Dear Mr. Gray:

In accordance with the fee agreement entered into on December 1, 1954, your attention is invited to the past due installment in the amount of $250.00, due on January 15, 1955.

A remittance by return mail will be greatly appreciated.

Very truly yours,

James T Wright

James T. Wright

JTW:ocg

James T. Wright
ATTORNEY AND COUNSELLOR AT LAW
2003 12TH ST., N. W.
WASHINGTON 9, D. C.
ADAMS 2-4761

WILLIS C. PAYTON
VIRGINIA ASSOCIATE
PERCY B. BRINKLEY
MARYLAND ASSOCIATE

January 18, 1955

Mr. John Gray
139 W. 125th St.
New York 27, N. Y.

Re: Paul Robeson, Passport Application

Dear Mr. Gray:

Your attention is called to yours of December 1, 1954, in reference to the above-named matter and the fee agreement thereto.

A remittance at your earliest will be greatly appreciated.

Very truly yours,

James T Wright

James T. Wright

JTW:c

139 West 125th Street
New York, N.Y.
December 6, 1954

Mr. James T. Wright
2003 12th Street N.W.
Washington 9, D.C.

Dear Mr. Wright:

Thanks for your letter of December 3, 1954.

In accordance with your acceptance of the fee payment plan, we are enclosing check for two hundred and fifty dollars ($250.00).

Will you please notify Mr. Boudin of your agreement so that he may proceed with the case.

Very truly yours,

John Gray
Secretary

encl.
jg/vg

James T. Wright
ATTORNEY AND COUNSELLOR AT LAW
2003 12TH ST., N. W.
WASHINGTON 9, D. C.
ADAMS 2-4761

WILLIS C. PAYTON
VIRGINIA ASSOCIATE
PERCY B. BRINKLEY
MARYLAND ASSOCIATE

December 3, 1954

Mr. John Gray
139 W. 125th St.
New York 27, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Gray:

Thank you for your letter of December 1, 1954.

The contents were noted and I am prepared to accept the fee payment plan suggested by you.

Accordingly, your prompt remittance of the initial payment will be greatly appreciated.

Very truly yours,

James T. Wright

James T. Wright

JTW:ocg

Dec. 1, 1954

Mr. James T. Wright
2003 12th St. N.W.
Washington 9, D.C.

Dear Mr. Wright:

Your letter of November 26, was received and contents carefully noted.

We are happy to know that you are prepared to enter the Robeson case in consideration of a fee of $750.00.

Because of limited finances available at the moment we wish to propose one change in the terms of payment of fee. We wish it to be made in three payments. We are prepared to pay immediately $250.00 as a retainer, an additional $250.00 on January 15, 1955, and the balance on or before trial date. If these terms are acceptable to you we are ready to forward check upon reply.

Sincerely yours,

John Gray

James T. Wright
ATTORNEY AND COUNSELLOR AT LAW
2003 12TH ST., N. W.
WASHINGTON 9, D. C.
ADAMS 2-4761

WILLIS C. PAYTON
VIRGINIA ASSOCIATE
PERCY B. BRINKLEY
MARYLAND ASSOCIATE

November 26, 1954

Mr. John Gray
Suite 6
139 W 125th St.
New York, N. W.

Re: Robeson Passport Litigation

Dear Mr. Gray:

On Tuesday, November 23, 1954, I had an opportunity to confer with Leonard Boudin concerning the above-named matter, and we were able to work out a modus operandi in so far as our legal services are concerned. This however, is all predicated upon our working out satisfactory financial arrangements of which I will apprise him.

I have fully considered the matter and I am prepared to formally enter the case in consideration of a fee of $750.00, half of which is payable immediately as a retainer and the balance payable on or before the trial date.

It is to be understood, however, that this fee covers any and all legal work including research, interviews and Court appearances at the District Court level only. In the event of an appeal, should that prove necessary, further arrangements will be made accordingly.

Please advise me.

Very truly yours,

James T. Wright

James T. Wright

JTW:ocg

James T. Wright
ATTORNEY AND COUNSELLOR AT LAW
2003 12TH ST., N. W.
WASHINGTON 9, D. C.
ADAMS 2-4761

WILLIS C. PAYTON
VIRGINIA ASSOCIATE
PERCY B. BRINKLEY
MARYLAND ASSOCIATE

November 30, 1955

Mr. William L. Patterson
6 East 17th St.
New York 3, N. Y.

Re: Robeson v. Dulles
C. A. No. 169-55

Dear Pat:

I was extremely disappointed in your failure to honor your committment of the payment of the $500.00 fee within the ten (10) day period as agreed. The whole purpose of this reduction as per my letter of September 28, 1955 was to curtain some of my pressing obligations which are extremely urgent otherwise there would have been no point to it at all, as I am convenienced that the original fee was entirely reasonable.

This has created an extremely embarrassing situation for me, and while I can understand your difficulties, I see little point in making committments which can not be honored - much to my disadvantage as well as inconvenience.

I shall expect your check by return mail.

Very truly yours,

Jim

James T. Wright

JTW:w

Wedmesday

Dear Pat:

I picked up the enclosed by mistake at Friedman's office today.

About that bill for money I spent for lawyer's fee: the letter I sent Mr. Wright making that payment is in the file of correspondence with Paul's lawyers that I gave you. However, since you asked for a bill, and since I'd like to be paid, see below.

Yours,

Lloyd

February 1, 1956

Mr. Wm. L. Patterson
23 W. 26 St.
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Patterson:

The sum of Two Hundred Fifty Dollars ($250.00) is due me as repayment for that sum which I paid to Mr. James T. Wright, counsel for Mr. Robeson, on August 26, 1955.

Yours truly,

Lloyd L Brown

Lloyd L. Brown
408 W. 130 St.
New York 27, N.Y.

Home:
5525 B St S.E.
Ludlow 4-2937

James T. Wright
ATTORNEY AND COUNSELLOR AT LAW
2003 12TH ST., N. W.
WASHINGTON 9, D. C.
ADAMS 2-4761

WILLIS C. PAYTON
VIRGINIA ASSOCIATE
PERCY B. BRINKLEY
MARYLAND ASSOCIATE

October 12, 1954

Mr. John Gray
Suite 6
139 West 125th St.
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Gray:

Reference is made to yours of September 30, 1954, for which I thank you.

My delay in answering was occasioned by intense preparation for a case in the Supreme Court which was to have been argued today, but has been continued indefinitely until a full bench can hear it.

I am interested in the case you mentioned, and if we can make satisfactory arrangements regarding the fee and division of responsibility, I shall be pleased to participate.

Very truly yours,

James T. Wright

James T. Wright

JTW:c

Sept. 30, 1954

Mr. James T. Wright
2003 12th St., N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Wright:

Paul Robeson is considering taking court action on the denial of the government to issue him a passport. He has been in contact with Leonard Boudin, 25 Broad Street, New York, the lawyer who is handling several passport cases through the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. Mr. Robeson is considering associating his case with other passport cases now being handled by E. C. L. C. due to their experiences in such cases.

Mr. Robeson is interested in having Negro counsel associated with his case. Mr. Boudin is also in need of counsel in Washington to assist him.

We are asking if you are available and interested in this case. If so, will you please communicate with us in order that we may then discuss division of responsibility and fee.

Sincerely yours,

John Gray
Secretary to Paul Robeson

JG/lt

James T. Wright
ATTORNEY AND COUNSELLOR AT LAW
2003 12TH ST., N. W.
WASHINGTON 9, D. C.
ADAMS 2-4761

WILLIS C. PAYTON
VIRGINIA ASSOCIATE
PERCY B. BRINKLEY
MARYLAND ASSOCIATE

December 12, 1955

Mr. William L. Patterson
6 East 17th Street
New York 3, New York

Re: ROBESON v. DULLES

Dear Pat:

Thank you for your letter of December 7th in connection with the above named case, the contents of which I have duly noted.

Your prompt remittance will, of course, be greatly appreciated.

Regarding the adjustment in the fee, it was understanding that the time factor was the major consideration which influenced my thinking primarily as I was satisfied in my own mind as to the fairness of the original figure suggested for the work and importance of this case. As you know many factors enter into the question of fixing a fee such as time, research, preparation, skill, experience, the extent to which the committment takes from other work, the extent to which the particular case affects other potential activities of counsel by reason of public opinion and pressures.

I do not wish to labor the point but I further mention it to completely clarify my position as I believe my letter of confirmation set forth our understanding which bears me out. Be that as it may, I shall be able to retrieve my position if I hear from you promptly.

Very truly yours,

Jim

James T. Wright

James T. Wright
ATTORNEY AND COUNSELLOR AT LAW
2003 12TH ST., N. W.
WASHINGTON 9, D. C.
ADAMS 2-4761

WILLIS C. PAYTON
VIRGINIA ASSOCIATE
PERCY B. BRINKLEY
MARYLAND ASSOCIATE

November 16, 1955

Mr. William L. Patterson
6 East 17th Street
New York 3, N. Y.

Re: Robeson v. Dulles

Dear Pat:

Confirming our telephone conversation of Monday, November 11, 1955, in connection with my further participation as associate counsel in the above-named matter, it is agreed that in consideration of $500.00, I will continue in the case now before the Court of Appeals.

It is my further understanding that this fee will be paid in full within ten days.

Please be advised also that there is now due me $17.00, which I have advanced as Court costs and there will also be other Court fees, including the preparation of the record on appeal in the amount of $36.50; filing fee in the Court of Appeals $25.00 and the costs of the preparation of the transcript of record, the bill for which will be sent directly to Mr. Boudin.

The money for Court costs is of course needed at once as it is our plan to docket the case in the Court of Appeals not later than early next week.

Very truly yours,

Jim

James T. Wright

JTW:ocw

941-63rd. Street
Oakland, California
August 9, 1954

Mr. John Gray, Manager,
Suite 6
139 West 125th Street,
New York 27, New York

Dear John:

Please find enclosed an eight dollar money from the East Bay Chapter of the National Negro Labor Council to the Committee to restore Robeson's passport.

Please send material to help us further in establishing the Committee. If there are any suggestions, please send them along.

Loretta, Matt, Clarence and myself send a gay hello to you, Mr. Robeson, and Mr. Booth.

Sincerely yours,

Mary Helen Jones
Mary Helen Jones

P. S. If money order is made out incorrectly, will be glad to correct it. M. H. J.

The Provisional Committee
TO RESTORE PAUL ROBESON'S PASSPORT
• • •
2286 SEVENTH AVENUE • NEW YORK 30, NEW YORK • AUDUBON 6-6465

MARGARET MCCADEN, *Secretary*

Dear Friend:

For more than one year Paul Robeson has been imprisoned within the geographical boundaries of the United States.

In violation of our constitutional guarantees of freedom of speech and the right to own and procure property, the State Department has cancelled Paul Robeson's right to travel abroad to fulfill the numerous requests for him to sing and speak.

Recently, representatives of various peace organizations, cultural, civil rights, and labor groups, as well as individuals, came together and formed The Provisional Committee to Restore Paul Robeson's Passport.

This committee believes that the denial of Mr. Robeson's right to travel abroad is a threat to the freedom and security of all Americans in all walks of life. Consequently, we are in the process of organizing a national campaign around the Case of Paul Robeson's Passport.

The enclosed Fact Sheet, available in bundle orders @ 1¢ per copy, and the pamphlet: LIFT EVERY VOICE for Paul Robeson, by Lloyd Brown, available in bundle orders @ 3¢ per copy, represent the steps we have already taken in order to bring the facts of the case to the attention of the American people.

FINANCIAL SUPPORT IS NEEDED IMMEDIATELY AS OUR COMMITTEE HAS NO RESOURCES EXCEPT THOSE PROVIDED BY FRIENDS AND SUPPORTING ORGANIZATIONS. WE ASK, THEREFORE, THAT YOU:

1) Make a substantial contribution to support the work of the committee.
2) Order copies of the Fact Sheet and copies of the pamphlet for your membership and for general distribution

We are confident that you will want to share in the opportunity to help restore to Paul Robeson his right to function fully as an artist, a great leader of the American people and the world peace movement.

Please keep us informed of what actions you take in support of this campaign. We look forward to hearing from you soon.

Fraternally yours,

Margaret McCaden

Margaret McCaden, Secretary

December 14, 1951
Enclosures

copies to:
Ruth Jett
Thomas Richardson
Douglas Glasgow
Halois Moorhead
Joe Joseph
William Patterson
Revels Cayton
Nat Ross
Pearl Laws
James Malloy
Vicky Garvin
Tom Sullivan

Sept. 18, 1951

Mr. David Alman
American Peace Crusade
125 West 72 St.
New York, N.Y.

Dear Dave:

On Thursday afternoon, Sept. 20, from 4-6 p.m. a small group of friends of Paul Robeson are gathering with him at the office of FREEDOM to discuss the planning of actions which may be taken to protest the State Department revocation of Mr. Robeson's passport.

As you know, the passport was invalidated more than a year ago, and an appeal which has been filed by Robeson's attorneys will be heard in the fall term of the U.S. Circuit Court in Washington. During the past year no significant actions have been organized among the American people on this case and I am sure that you will agree that our failure to have done so is one of the glaring weaknesses of our common struggle for peace, democracy and cultural freedom.

We hope that you will attend this meeting therefore as a representative of your organization and as a friend of Paul so that we may have the benefit of your advice and participation from the very outset.

Sincerely yours,

Louis E. Burnham
Editor

[1955]

To— Mr. R's Passport Dept.—

Paul says Mr R. thinks he should apply for passport to World Youth Festival in Warsaw & also World Peace Council meeting in Helsinki— Both Fast & DuBois have applied. He thinks a letter should go from Lawyer on these matters.

COMMITTEE TO RESTORE PAUL ROBESON'S PASSPORT

139 West 125th St., Suite 6, New York 27, N .Y.

Attached is my contribution of $________________ for this campaign

I pledge to raise $________________ for this campaign

☐ I want to become a member of the committee.

☐ Please send me further information about the campaign.

Name____

Address______________________________________

____

Telephone No. ____________________________________

SEPT. 11, 1954

Dear Sirs:

Please send me your bulletins and statements on the Robeson campaign.

Yours truly,
M. B. Rovner
352 W. Hazeltine Ave.
Kenmore 17, N. Y.

Friday

Dear John-

Yours is the first letter I must write - I feel so badly - lousy organisation - that I didn't see you before I left.At least we should have made the telephone serve our purposes. However to get to the point - I did manage to chew over a bit with a couple of friends - the problem that you and I had discussed axbit - and I am well satisfied that we here should continue as we had planned and unless I hear from you that your chewings have brought different results we will go ahead as scheduled before I stopped to look around. I will complete a draft of a statement this weekend and get it off to you for suggestions etc.

Would you have time in the next week to talk with Boudin and tell him generally what we have in mind and ask him to send me anything he feels would be pertinent for our work here. Specifically we need more background material on the history of passports and visas - I don't mean the current problems so much as how the system originated and what its original purposes were designed to be. As to the current abuses - is there available a resume of recent denial of right of entry to foreign artists scientists etc. - as well as a resume of known recent passport denials as in the case of Paul - Judge Clark - Otto Nathan etc. Send me everything you can spare relating to Paul of course - and any calendar that you expect in relation to his case and the others being handled by Boudin.

More soon - and my very best to you and of course to Paul.

Adelaide

ESSENTIAL REQUIREMENTS TO OBTAIN A PASSPORT

1. Proof of citizenship.
    - (a) Birth Certificate bearing impression seal of issuing Board of Health and filing date; or,
    - (b) Naturalization Certificate.

    Neither necessary if applicant has had a previous American passport.

2. Two recently taken photographs, 2½ to 3 inches square.

3. Letter from business concern or organization represented, stating where, when, why and for how long going. Persons proceeding abroad for personal reasons should write their own letter giving these details. No letter is required if proceeding to countries in the Western Hemisphere.

4. Identifying Witness, American Citizen over 21 who has known the applicant for at least two years. Witness may be a relative. No witness is required if applicant can present at the time of making application a previous American passport containing an identifiable photo of applicant.

5. Fee - $10.00, Cash. Checks not acceptable.

DSL-604
4-7-52

GPO 83-30342

ROBESON PASSPORT CASE COMMITTEE

139 West 125th Street, Suite 6

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Copy

November 9, 1954

Mr. Jiri Nosek
Czechoslovakian Delegation
United Nations, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Nosek,
and Members of the Third Committee:

The Committee to Restore Paul Robeson's Passport feels very strongly that the denial of a passport to Mr. Robeson and to others, because of their political convictions, is a violation of Human Rights as laid down in paragrap 2, Article 13, of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

We note that your Committee is now engaged in a review of the Human Rights documents. In the course of the debates -- now and in the past -- delegates have repeatedly raised the issue of specific violations of Human Rights in different parts of the world.

Our Committee, therefore, takes the liberty of calling your attention, as Chairman, and the attention of the Members of your Committee, to the enclosed Fact Sheet concerning the history of the Robeson Passport Case, and will be most grateful if you will study it at your convenience.

Our Committee believes that the violation contained in this Memorandum of complaint constitutes a double violation in the element of personal persecution inherent therein. The reference to Mr. Robeson's interest in Colonial Peoples of his own race goes to the very heart of the decision by the majority of the Members of the United Nations listing Self Determination as a Human Right.

Our Committee sincerely believes that the Third Committee might well discuss this case history fruitfully.

We have also brought this matter to the attention of the Chairman of the Commission on Human Rights, to the Chairman and Members of the SubCommission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, and particularly to the attention of Mr. Jose D. Ingles, who was appointed by the SubCommission (at its 6th Session) to make a special study of "Discrimination in the matter of Emigration, Immigration and Travel."

We enclose herewith copies of the letters and the Fact Sheet above mentioned.

Very respectfully yours,

(signed) Charles White
Chairman Pro tem
Robeson Passport Case Committee

ROBESON PASSPORT CASE COMMITTEE
139 West 125th Street, Suite 6
NEW YORK, N. Y.

Copy

November 9, 1954

Mr. Jose D. Ingles
Philippine Delegation
United Nations, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Ingles:

The Committee to Restore Paul Robeson's Passport notes that you, as a member of the SubCommission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, were appointed Rapporteur to make a study of "Discrimination in the Matter of Emigration, Immigration and Travel."

This Committee would like to call your attention, as Rapporteur for this study, to a few of the relevant details concerning the denial of a passport to Mr. Robeson. We feel that this case, and similar cases, seem to come well within your special field of study. We, therefore, take the liberty of enclosing herewith some factual information about the case history, and will be most grateful if you will study it at your convenience.

It is the feeling of our Committee that the Robeson Case, involving as it does a famous artist of international repute, whose talents are deeply appreciated by millions of people everywhere, constitutes an important case history for your research, and might well be raised in the full debate of the SubCommission.

Because we feel very strongly that the denial of the passport is a direct violation of a Human Right (as set forth in paragraph 2, Article 13, of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights) we are also calling this matter to the attention of the Chairman of the Commission on Human Rights, the Chairman and Members of the current Third Committee, and, of course, to the Chairman and Members of your SubCommission.

We are enclosing herewith copies of the letters above mentioned and the Fact Sheet concerning the Robeson Case.

Very respectfully yours,

(signed) Charles White
Chairman Pro tem
Robeson Passport Case Committee

ROBESON PASSPORT CASE COMMITTEE
139 West 125th Street, Suite 6
NEW YORK, N. Y.

Copy

November 9, 1954

Mr. Max Sorensen
Danish Delegation
United Nations, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Sorensen,
and Members of the SubCommission
on Prevention of Discrimination
and Protection of Minorities:

The Committee to Restore Paul Robeson's Passport notes that your SubCommission, at its 6th Session, discussed the matter of Freedom of Movement as a Human Right, and appointed one of your Members, Mr. Jose D. Ingles, to make a special study of "Discrimination in the Matter of Emigration, Immigration and Travel."

Our Committee feels very strongly that the denial of a passport to Mr. Robeson, and to others, because of their political convictions, is a violation of a Human Right (as laid down in paragraph 2, Article 13, of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights), and this particular matter seems to come well within Mr. Ingles' field of study.

We have, therefore, taken the liberty of sending to Mr. Ingles the relevant factual material concerning this case for his consideration.

We have also called the attention of the Chairman of the Commission on Human Rights, and the Chairman and Members of the Third Committee now in session, to this matter.

We enclose herewith copies of the letters and Fact Sheet above mentioned, for your information.

Very respectfully yours,

(signed) Charles White
Chairman Pro tem
Robeson Passport Case Committee

ROBESON PASSPORT CASE COMMITTEE
139 West 125th Street, Suite 6
NEW YORK, N. Y.

Copy

November 9, 1954

Dr. Mahmoud Azmi
Egyptian Delegation
United Nations, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Azmi:
Chairman of The Commission On Human Rights:

The Committee to Restore Paul Robeson's Passport feels very strongly that the denial of a passport to Mr. Robeson, and to others because of their political convictions, is a violation of a Human Right as laid down in paragraph 2, Article 13, of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

In the enclosed Fact Sheet, the allusion (under point 8) to Mr. Robeson's interest on behalf of the independence of the Colonial Peoples is particularly illuminating, when one remembers that a majority of the Members in various organizations of the United Nations have upheld the principle of Self Determination as a Human Right.

Our Committee is aware that the right of Individual Petition to your Commission has not yet been established, but it is our hope that in this instance -- as in previous ones -- the raising of the issue in the discussion of the Commission will constitute an important moral factor.

We wish to inform you, as Chairman of the Commission on Human Rights, that we have brought this matter to the attention of the Chairman and Members of the Third Committee now in session, for their consideration. We have also brought it to the attention of the Chairman and Members of the SubCommission On the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, and particularly to the attention of Mr. Jose D. Ingles, who was appointed by the SubCommission (at its 6th session) to make a special study of "Discrimination in the Matter of Emigration, Immigration and Travel."

We are enclosing herewith copies of the letters above mentioned and the Fact Sheet about the Robeson Passport Case. We will be most grateful if you will study this material at your convenience.

Very respectfully yours,

(signed) Charles White
Chairman Pro tem
Robeson Passport Case Committee

139 West 125 Street
New York, New York
December 21, 1954

Mrs. Mary Green
946 Carlson Blvd.
Richmond 6, California

Dear Mrs. Green:

Your letter of December 12 was received. We are glad to know of the interest there in the Robeson Passport Case. To date, very little material has been issued. We are now planning a mass mailing of a statement to the State Department and a fact sheet on the case. Copies are enclosed. Your committee may desire to reproduce these for mass distribution. We urge that as many organizations as possible sign the statement, in addition to individuals.

Would it be possible also to issue a petition embodying the main idea of the statement to be circularized at all gatherings at which Paul will appear while in California?

The case is now ready for the courts and will be filed in the very near future.

All other information regarding the trip and the materials issued thus far were sent to Mary Helen. Please check with her.

Please keep in touch with us on developments there.

Sincerely yours,

John Gray

December 12, 1954

Committee to Restore Paul Robeson's Passport
Suite 6
139 W 125th Street
New York 27, N.Y.

Dear Sirs:

We are in the midst of organizing some people to work for the restoration of Paul Robeson's Passport, and would like to get any suggestions or information which you may have available.

Also, we would like to know of any printed material which you may have of an informative nature that we may get copies of, or have reprints made.

Not being entirely clear on all the legal aspects involved, we would greatly appreciate something along this line.

Please answer as fast as you can as we are very anxious to get something moving.

Sincerely yours,

Mary Green

Mary Green
946 Carlson Blvd.
Richmond 6, Calif.

139 West 125th Street
Suite 6
New York, N.Y.

December 9, 1954

Mr. Harold Levine
Mt. Airy Road
Croton-On-Hudson, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Levine:

Mrs. Marvel Cooke suggested that we contact you and that you might be able to help us.

We are interested in raising funds with which to pay legal fees and campaign promotion expenses in the Paul Robeson passport case. Do you think it possible to arrange "An Evening With Paul Robeson" in your area, to which a number of people who could contribute twenty-five dollars or more would be invited? A large private home would be desirable.

The program might consist of a few songs by Mr. Robeson followed by remarks by him on the significance of the passport fight.

Any cooperation that you can give on this matter will be greatly appreciated. I shall be happy to meet with you for further discussion.

Sincerely yours,

John Gray
Secretary

jg/vg

The Provisional Committee
TO RESTORE PAUL ROBESON'S PASSPORT
• • •
2286 SEVENTH AVENUE • NEW YORK 30, NEW YORK • AUDUBON 6-6465

MARGARET MCCADEN, *Secretary*

September 26, 1951

Mr. Joe Joseph
National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions
49 West 44th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

Dear Joe:

On behalf of the group of friends which met with Paul Robeson to discuss the launching of public protests around his passport case, I have spoken with Miss Margaret McCadden about assuming full or part time responsibility in establishing a public committee and initiating some of the projects we discussed. Miss McCadden is interested but would like to discuss the matter with the entire committee. I hope therefore that you will be able to be present at a meeting in this office on Tuesday morning, October 2, at 10 o'clock.

You will be interested to know also that the CRC and the American Peace Crusade have agreed to prepare amicus briefs which will be addressed to persons particularly interested in the cultural, civil rights, and peace aspects of the case. Lloyd L. Brown is proceeding with the preparation of a sixteen-page pamphlet we hope to have a draft ready by Tuesday.

A number of us promised to raise some funds in order to profide the sum of $1,000.00 which is essential to getting the campaign started. I trust that we will have some favorable reports on efforts made in this direction at our next meeting. I look forward to seeing you on Tuesday morning.

Sincerely,

Louis E. Burnham

139 West 125 Street
New York 27, New York
December 21, 1954

Mr. Coleman A. Young
Executive Secretary
National Negro Labor Council
410 East Warren Avenue
Detroit, Michigan

Dear Coleman:

Your letter of December 16 addressed to Lou was referred to me.

We are glad to know of the interest of the youth group in the Passport Case. We are now planning a mass mailing of a statement to the State Department and a fact sheet on the case. Copies are enclosed.

Could the youth be interested in reproducing these for mass distribution? We urge that as many organizations as possible sign the statement, in addition to individuals.

The petition idea is a very good one. The main ideas of the statement could be embodied in the petition.

The case is now ready for the courts and will be filed in the very near future.

Please keep in touch with us on developments there.

Now, in answer to you on the California trip. Paul is to be in California from February 15 through March 11. This is definite now. I'm sure Lou will communicate with you further on this.

Take it easy, man, but take it!

Sincerely,

John Grey

ok

September 22, 1951

Mrs. Adele Jerome
National Council of Arts Sciences and Professions
49 West 44th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Adele:

ok

This will remind you that the steering committee of the informal group which met to discuss actions on the Paul Robeson passport case will meet on Monday, September 24, 3 P. M. at the office of FREEDOM, 53 West 125th Street. We look forward to seeing you at that time.

Sincerely,

Louis E. Burnham,
Editor, FREEDOM

September 22, 1951

Rev. Richard Morford
Nat'l Council for American-Soviet Friendship
114 East 32nd Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dick:

This will remind you that the steering committee of the informal group which met to discuss actions on the Paul Robeson passport case will meet on Monday, September 24, 3 P. M. at the office of FREEDOM, 53 West 125th Street. We look forward to seeing you at that time.

Sincerely,

Louis E. Burnham,
Editor, FREEDOM

Mr.

September 22, 1951

Mr. Douglas Glasgow
125 West 72nd Street
New York 27, N. Y.

Dear Douglas:

This will remind you that the steering committee of the informal group which met to discuss actions on the Paul Robeson passport case will meet on Monday, September 24, 3 P. M. at the office of FREEDOM, 53 West 125th Street. We look forward to seeing you at that time.

Sincerely,

Louis E. Burnham,
Editor, FREEDOM

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

September 22, 1951

Mr. Lloyd Brown
Masses and Mainstream
832 Broadway
New York, N. Y.

Dear Lloyd:

This will remind you that the steering committee of the informal group which met to discuss actions on the Paul Robeson passport case will meet on Monday, September 24, 3 P. M. at the office of FREEDOM, 53 West 125th Street. We look forward to seeing you at that time.

Sincerely,

Louis E. Burnham,
Editor, FREEDOM

September 22, 1951

Mr. Thomas Richardson
American Peace Crusade
125 West 72nd Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Tommy:

This will remind you that the steering committee of the informal group which met to discuss actions on the Paul Robeson passport case will meet on Monday, September 24, 3 P. M. at the office of FREEDOM, 53 West 125th Street. We look forward to seeing you at that time.

Sincerely,

Louis E. Burnham,
Editor, FREEDOM

September 22, 1951

Miss Ruth Jett
Committee for the Negro in the Arts
261 West 125th Street
New York 27, N. Y.

Dear Ruth:

This will remind you that the steering committee of the informal group which met to discuss actions on the Paul Robeson passport case will meet on Monday, September 24, 3 P. M. at the office of FREEDOM, 53 West 125th Street. We look forward to seeing you at that time.

Sincerely,

Louis E. Burnham,
Editor, FREEDOM

September 22, 1951

Mrs. Victoria Garvin
Greater New York Labor Council
53 West 125th Street
New York 27, N. Y.

Dear Vicki:

This will remind you that the steering committee of the informal group which met to discuss actions on the Paul Robeson passport case will meet on Monday, September 24, 3 P. M. at the office of FREEDOM, 53 West 125th Street. We look forward to seeing you at that time.

Sincerely,

Louis E. Burnham,
Editor, FREEDOM

September 22, 1951

Mr. Nat Ross
Civil Rights Congress
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

Dear Nat;

This will remind you that the steering committee of the informal group which met to discuss actions on the Paul Robeson passport case will meet on Monday, September 24, 3 P. M. at the office of FREEDOM, 53 West 125th Street. We look forward to seeing you at that time.

Sincerely,

Louis E. Burnham,
Editor, FREEDOM

September 26, 1951

Mrs. Viola Scott
270 St. Nicholas Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Vi:

On behalf of the group of friends which met with Paul Robeson to discuss the launching of public protests around his passport case, I have spoken with Miss Margaret McCadden about assuming full or part time responsibility in establishing a public committee and initiating some of the projects we discussed. Miss McCadden is interested but would like to discuss the matter with the entire committee. I hope therefore, that you will be able to be present at a meeting in this office on Tuesday morning, October 2, at 10 o'clock.

You will be interested to know also that the ASP, CRC and the American Peace Crusade have agreed to prepare amicus briefs which will be addressed to persons particularly interested in the cultural, civil rights, and peace aspects of the case. Lloyd L. Brown is proceeding with the preparation of a sixteen-page pamphlet and we hope to have a draft ready by Tuesday.

A number of us promised to raise some funds in order to provide the sum of $1,000.00 which is essential to getting the campaign started. I trust that we will have some favorable reports on efforts made in this direction at our next meeting. I look forward to seeing you on Tuesday morning.

Sincerely,

Louis E. Burnham

September 4, 1951

Mr. Thomas Richardson
American Peace Crusade
125 West 72nd Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Tommy:

Enclosed you will find communication to Paul requesting his appearance in a series of concerts in Britain. There is also a communication from Israel requesting a series of concerts but at the present time it is in the files of the Council on African Affairs. I will forward it to you just as soon as we are able to get it from them. You will perhaps recall the Scottish miners had also recently asked him to sing in the coal fields of Scotland.

I hope the enclosure will be useful to you in preparing whatever protest the American Peace Crusade may be planning to make regarding the continued denial of a passport to Paul. As you know, an appeal has been filed in this case and will be heard in the fall. We hope that peace groups throughout the country can be persuaded to correspond with President Truman and Attorney General McGrath asking that the passport be restored.

Sincerely,

Louis E. Burnham

PAUL ROBESON

139 West 125th Street
Suite 6
New York, N.Y.

December 9, 1954

Mr. Harold Levine
Mt. Airy Road
Croton-On-Hudson, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Levine:

Mrs. Marvel Cooke suggested that we contact you and that you might be able to help us.

We are interested in raising funds with which to pay legal fees and campaign promotion expenses in the Paul Robeson passport case. Do you think it possible to arrange "An Evening With Paul Robeson" in your area, to which a number of people who could contribute twenty-five dollars or more would be invited? A large private home would be desirable.

The program might consist of a few songs by Mr. Robeson followed by remarks by him on the significance of the passport fight.

Any cooperation that you can give on this matter will be greatly appreciated. I shall be happy to meet with you for further discussion.

Sincerely yours,

John Gray

John Gray
Secretary

Telephone number
Mo 6-8700

jg/vg

STATEMENT TO JOHN FOSTER DULLES, SECRETARY OF STATE

Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:

We appeal to you to grant a passport to Mr. Paul Robeson.

We believe that the action of the State Department in restricting Mr. Robeson's right to travel abroad since 1950 is an unwarranted infringement upon the constitutional rights of an American citizen.

By this action Mr. Robeson has been denied the opportunity to earn a living by fulfilling numerous professional engagements abroad. Furthermore, his freedom of speech, travel and association have been greatly impaired.

Our support for Mr. Robeson's right to exercise these constitutional prerogatives need not be taken to imply concurrence with any or all of his political views. What seems to us important is to uphold the imperishable principle on which our nation was founded: that _no_ citizen's fundamental rights shall be proscribed by officials of government solely on the basis that they object to his views on social questions.

In the denial of these rights to Mr. Robeson we recognize a threat to the rights of all Americans. In addition, since Mr. Robeson is viewed by millions of people in other countries as a leader in the centuries-long struggles of his people for full equality, the Department's continued refusal to grant him a passport can only serve to damage our influence and reputation in the eyes of the world.

In our own national interests as well as in the interests of free cultural expression throughout the world, we strongly urge that you give this matter your timely and favorable consideration.

Signed ______________________________

(Letter We Hope You Will Sign)

Suite 6
139 West 125th Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Friend:

We invite you to join us and several hundred other Americans in urging the State Department to restore Mr. Paul Robeson's right to travel abroad.

As you probably know, Mr. Robeson's passport was voided by the State Department in 1950. Subsequent applications for renewal - to fulfill concert and theatrical engagements abroad - have all been denied.

In a brief submitted before the Court of Appeals in 1952, the Government explained its denial of Mr. Robeson's passport on the basis of his

> "frank admission that he had been for years extremely active politically in behalf of the independence of the colonial peoples of Africa."

We question the right of our Government to deprive Mr. Robeson or any other citizen of his constitutional rights because of his views on social questions; and we are especially concerned that support of the liberation struggles of the African peoples is viewed by our State Department as ground for such action.

In depriving Mr. Robeson of his passport, the State Department not only abridges his constitutional rights, it also denies him an opportunity to earn a living by practicing his profession abroad; and deprives millions of people throughout the world of the opportunity to see and hear one of America's foremost artists.

We believe that the principles involved in this case are basic to the liberties of our countrymen generally, and that our views should be presented formally to the State Department. If you agree with us, we hope you will authorize the signing of your name to the enclosed letter to be sent to Secretary of State John Foster Dulles. A response form and return envelope are enclosed.

If you prefer to send your own statement directly to Mr. Dulles, please do so and let us have a copy. Let us have any suggestions you care to make in furthering the restoration of Mr. Robeson's passport.

Sincerely yours,

encl.

STATEMENT TO JOHN FOSTER DULLES, SECRETARY OF STATE

Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:

We appeal to you to grant a passport to Mr. Paul Robeson.

We believe that the action of the State Department in restricting Mr. Robeson's right to travel abroad since 1950 is an unwarranted infringement upon the constitutional rights of an American citizen.

By this action Mr. Robeson has been denied the opportunity to earn a living by fulfilling numerous professional engagements abroad. Furthermore, his freedom of speech, travel and association have been greatly impaired.

Our support for Mr. Robeson's right to exercise these constitutional prerogatives need not be taken to imply concurrence with any or all of his political views. What seems to us important is to uphold the imperishable principle on which our nation was founded: that no citizen's fundamental rights shall be proscribed by officials of government solely on the basis that they object to his views on social questions.

In the denial of these rights to Mr. Robeson we recognize a threat to the rights of all Americans. In addition, since Mr. Robeson is viewed by millions of people in other countries as a leader in the centuries-long struggles of his people for full equality, the Department's continued refusal to grant him a passport can only serve to damage our influence and reputation in the eyes of the world.

In our own national interests as well as in the interests of free cultural expression throughout the world, we strongly urge that you give this matter your timely and favorable consideration.

Signed ______________________________

(Letter We Hope You Will Sign)

Suite 6
139 West 125th Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Friend:

We invite you to join us and several hundred other Americans in urging the State Department to restore Mr. Paul Robeson's right to travel abroad.

As you probably know, Mr. Robeson's passport was voided by the State Department in 1950. Subsequent applications for renewal - to fulfill concert and theatrical engagements abroad - have all been denied.

In a brief submitted before the Court of Appeals in 1952, the Government explained its denial of Mr. Robeson's passport on the basis of his

> "frank admission that he had been for years extremely active politically in behalf of the independence of the colonial peoples of Africa."

We question the right of our Government to deprive Mr. Robeson or any other citizen of his constitutional rights because of his views on social questions; and we are especially concerned that support of the liberation struggles of the African peoples is viewed by our State Department as ground for such action.

In depriving Mr. Robeson of his passport, the State Department not only abridges his constitutional rights, it also denies him an opportunity to earn a living by practicing his profession abroad; and deprives millions of people throughout the world of the opportunity to see and hear one of America's foremost artists.

We believe that the principles involved in this case are basic to the liberties of our countrymen generally, and that our views should be presented formally to the State Department. If you agree with us, we hope you will authorize the signing of your name to the enclosed letter to be sent to Secretary of State John Foster Dulles. A response form and return envelope are enclosed.

If you prefer to send your own statement directly to Mr. Dulles, please do so and let us have a copy. Let us have any suggestions you care to make in furthering the restoration of Mr. Robeson's passport.

Sincerely yours,

(Rev.) Kenneth Hughes

encl.

Aug. 16, 1955, U.S. Attorney Leo A. Rover gave as reason why Robeson must sign non-Communist affidavit before his passport application can be acted on:

"During the concert tours of foreign countries he (Robeson) repeatedly criticized the conditions of Negroes in the United States."

Robeson says: "Instead of persecuting me for criticizing the conditions of the Negro people in America, the U.S. Attorney ought to be down in Mississippi prosecuting those who have unleashed against our people a reign of terror."

CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS

SUITE 200 • 6 EAST 17th STREET • NEW YORK 3, N. Y. • WAtkins 4-6856

WILLIAM L. PATTERSON
National Executive Secretary

September 26, 1955

Mr. Roscoe Dunjee
Publisher
Black Dispatch
Oklahoma City, Okla.

Dear friend Dunjee,

I should like to get your signature on the attached letter ~~in order to raise~~ as an aid in raising the level of the struggle to secure the restoration of Paul Robeson's passport rights. It is my opinion that the passport fight becomes ~~XXXXX with~~ as a result of the Till murder ~~of Emmett Till the more~~ a more vital~~ly~~ feature of the whole struggle official respect for human dignity and the rights of our people.

When signed, your letter will then be sent to several hundred leading figures in the country who~~m~~ I am satisfied will most readily join hands with you.

Can you give this your immediate attention.

Sincerely

P S - The names of any sponsors whom you would like to have included can be coupled with your reply.

CIVIL RIGHTS CONGRESS

SUITE 200 • 6 EAST 17th STREET • NEW YORK 3, N. Y. • WAtkins 4-6856

WILLIAM L. PATTERSON
National Executive Secretary

September 26.1955

Dear friend:

I enclose a copy of an open letter addressed to the Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, protesting against the Department's adamant denial of a passport to Paul Robeson whose renown needs no emphasis here. The letter also protests the Order instructing all immigration officials to prevent Mr.Robeson's leaving our continental confines, except to go to Canada.

A denial of travel rights to one affects us all. One arbitrary refusal, not defendable by Constitutional mandate, and who knows who will be victimized next. Something must be done. ~~Court actions protesting several such infringements of this Constitutional right are now on the calendar. But the Robeson case is amazingly unique~~.

The Robeson case began five years ago. The State Department refused then to permit Robeson to travel abroad, holding that his views on certain political issues were contrary to its own and constituted a danger to national security. (This idea is foreign to our concepts of freedom of speech). The extraordinary thing, however, is that the Department later, in a legal document, predicated its ~~denial of travel rights to this man~~ refusal on the grounds that Robeson: ~~he~~

> "... has been for years extremely active politically in behalf of the independence of the colonial peoples of Africa."

The political implications of this declaration are astounding. The Department thus compounds the earlier violation of the First Amendment ~~of the Bill of Rights by this untenable action~~. Mr. Robeson's concert engagements in this country have been seriously curtailed, now it is made impossible for him to accept the many offers from abroad.

The Department ~~seems to~~ recognizes the merit of this criticism Withdrawing its admission of refusal it alleges instead that Robeson has never completed his passport application, not having signed an anti-Communist affidavit it now presents. Such an affidavit has behind it no legal justification. Robeson, in refusing to sign, charges that through such a demand the Department s~~till~~ further exceeds its authority and imposes still more onerous conditions on travel rights.

My opinion is that an extraordinarily difficult problem demands the most strenuous efforts if a favorable solution is to be secured. We can begin with a firm request that the State Department be instructed to reverse itself be made to Mr. Dulles and the President. Its position in the Robeson case does a disservice at home and abroad.

Will you join with a select group in making this request.

STATEMENT TO JOHN FOSTER DULLES, SECRETARY OF STATE

Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:

We appeal to you to grant a passport to Mr. Paul Robeson.

We believe that the action of the State Department in restricting Mr. Robeson's right to travel abroad since 1950 is an unwarranted infringement upon the constitutional rights of an American citizen.

By this action Mr. Robeson has been denied the opportunity to earn a living by fulfilling numerous professional engagements abroad. Furthermore, his freedom of speech, travel and association have been greatly impaired.

Our support for Mr. Robeson's right to exercise these constitutional prerogatives need not be taken to imply concurrence with any or all of his political views. What seems to us important is to uphold the imperishable principle on which our nation was founded: that no citizen's fundamental rights shall be proscribed by officials of government solely on the basis that they object to his views on social questions.

In the denial of these rights to Mr. Robeson we recognize a threat to the rights of all Americans. In addition, since Mr. Robeson is viewed by millions of people in other countries as a leader in the centuries-long struggles of his people for full equality, the Department's continued refusal to grant him a passport can only serve to damage our influence and reputation in the eyes of the world.

In our own national interests as well as in the interests of free cultural expression throughout the world, we strongly urge that you give this matter your timely and favorable consideration.

Signed Earl B Dickerson

Suite 6
139 West 125th Street
New York 27, N. Y.
December 14, 1954

Mr. Corliss Lamont
450 Riverside Drive
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Lamont:

We want to send out a letter asking people to join us in urging the State Department to restore Paul's right to travel abroad, and practise his profession.

Enclosed you will find the letter which we hope you will sign with us, the fact sheet explaining the case, and the statement we plan to forward to the State Department. Please feel free to make any suggestions or changes in any of the material enclosed.

Will you sign the letter with us? The "us" I hope will be: Mr. Elmer Benson, Rev. Shelton Hale Bishop, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Judge Jane Bolin, Prof. G. Murray Branch, Dr. Lucien Brown, Mrs. Lucille Chance, Mr. Earl Dickerson, Judge Hubert Delaney, Mr. Duke Ellington, Mr. James Hicks, Rev. Charles Hill, Rev. Kenneth De P. Hughes, Miss Mahalia Jackson, Mrs. Nettie Carter Jackson, Mrs. James Weldon Johnson, Mr. Carey McWilliams, Dr. C.B. Powell, Mr. Willard Ransom, Mr. J. A. Rogers, Mrs. Modjeska Simkins, Rev. Willard Uphause, Mr. Clarence Camerson White, and Mr. Charles White.

We will be eager and anxious to hear from you.

Sincerely,

Eslanda Goode Robeson

EGR/g
Encl.3

(Letter We Hope You Will Sign)

Suite 6
139 West 125th Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Friend:

We invite you to join us and several hundred other Americans in urging the State Department to restore Mr. Paul Robeson's right to travel abroad.

As you probably know, Mr. Robeson's passport was voided by the State Department in 1950. Subsequent applications for renewal - to fulfill concert and theatrical engagements abroad - have all been denied.

In a brief submitted before the Court of Appeals in 1952, the Government explained its denial of Mr. Robeson's passport on the basis of his

> "frank admission that he had been for years extremely active politically in behalf of the independence of the colonial peoples of Africa."

We question the right of our Government to deprive Mr. Robeson or any other citizen of his constitutional rights because of his views on social questions; and we are especially concerned that support of the liberation struggles of the African peoples is viewed by our State Department as ground for such action.

In depriving Mr. Robeson of his passport, the State Department not only abridges his constitutional rights, it also denies him an opportunity to earn a living by practicing his profession abroad; and deprives millions of people throughout the world of the opportunity to see and hear one of America's foremost artists.

We believe that the principles involved in this case are basic to the liberties of our countrymen generally, and that our views should be presented formally to the State Department. If you agree with us, we hope you will authorize the signing of your name to the enclosed letter to be sent to Secretary of State John Foster Dulles. A response form and return envelope are enclosed.

If you prefer to send your own statement directly to Mr. Dulles, please do so and let us have a copy. Let us have any suggestions you care to make in furthering the restoration of Mr. Robeson's passport.

Sincerely yours,

encl.

STATEMENT TO JOHN FOSTER DULLES, SECRETARY OF STATE

Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:

We appeal to you to grant a passport to Mr. Paul Robeson.

We believe that the action of the State Department in restricting Mr. Robeson's right to travel abroad since 1950 is an unwarranted infringement upon the constitutional rights of an American citizen.

By this action Mr. Robeson has been denied the opportunity to earn a living by fulfilling numerous professional engagements abroad. Furthermore, his freedom of speech, travel and association have been greatly impaired.

Our support for Mr. Robeson's right to exercise these constitutional prerogatives need not be taken to imply concurrence with any or all of his political views. What seems to us important is to uphold the imperishable principle on which our nation was founded: that no citizen's fundamental rights shall be proscribed by officials of government solely on the basis that they object to his views on social questions.

In the denial of these rights to Mr. Robeson we recognize a threat to the rights of all Americans. In addition, since Mr. Robeson is viewed by millions of people in other countries as a leader in the centuries-long struggles of his people for full equality, the Department's continued refusal to grant him a passport can only serve to damage our influence and reputation in the eyes of the world.

In our own national interests as well as in the interests of free cultural expression throughout the world, we strongly urge that you give this matter your timely and favorable consideration.

Signed ______________________________

Copy

ROBESON PASSPORT CASE COMMITTEE
139 West 125th Street, Suite 6
NEW YORK, N. Y.

November 9, 1954

Mr. Jose D. Ingles
Philippine Delegation
United Nations, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Ingles:

The Committee to Restore Paul Robeson's Passport notes that you, as a member of the SubCommission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, were appointed Rapporteur to make a study of "Discrimination in the Matter of Emigration, Immigration and Travel."

This Committee would like to call your attention, as Rapporteur for this study, to a few of the relevant details concerning the denial of a passport to Mr. Robeson. We feel that this case, and similar cases, seem to come well within your special field of study. We, therefore, take the liberty of enclosing herewith some factual information about the case history, and will be most grateful if you will study it at your convenience.

It is the feeling of our Committee that the Robeson Case, involving as it does a famous artist of international repute, whose talents are deeply appreciated by millions of people everywhere, constitutes an important case history for your research, and might well be raised in the full debate of the SubCommission.

Because we feel very strongly that the denial of the passport is a direct violation of a Human Right (as set forth in paragraph 2, Article 13, of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights) we are also calling this matter to the attention of the Chairman of the Commission on Human Rights, the Chairman and Members of the current Third Committee, and, of course, to the Chairman and Members of your SubCommission.

We are enclosing herewith copies of the letters above mentioned and the Fact Sheet concerning the Robeson Case.

Very respectfully yours,

(signed) Charles White
Chairman Pro tem
Robeson Passport Case Committee

ROBESON PASSPORT CASE COMMITTEE
139 West 125th Street, Suite 6
NEW YORK, N. Y.

Copy

November 9, 1954

Mr. Max Sorensen
Danish Delegation
United Nations, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Sorensen,
and Members of the SubCommission
on Prevention of Discrimination
and Protection of Minorities:

The Committee to Restore Paul Robeson's Passport notes that your SubCommission, at its 6th Session, discussed the matter of Freedom of Movement as a Human Right, and appointed one of your Members, Mr. Jose D. Ingles, to make a special study of "Discrimination in the Matter of Emigration, Immigration and Travel."

Our Committee feels very strongly that the denial of a passport to Mr. Robeson, and to others, because of their political convictions, is a violation of a Human Right (as laid down in paragraph 2, Article 13, of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights), and this particular matter seems to come well within Mr. Ingles' field of study.

We have, therefore, taken the liberty of sending to Mr. Ingles the relevant factual material concerning this case for his consideration.

We have also called the attention of the Chairman of the Commission on Human Rights, and the Chairman and Members of the Third Committee now in session, to this matter.

We enclose herewith copies of the letters and Fact Sheet above mentioned, for your information.

Very respectfully yours,

(signed) Charles White
Chairman Pro tem
Robeson Passport Case Committee

ROBESON PASSPORT CASE COMMITTEE

139 West 125th Street, Suite 6

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Copy

November 9, 1954

Mr. Jiri Nosek
Czechoslovakian Delegation
United Nations, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Nosek,
and Members of the Third Committee:

The Committee to Restore Paul Robeson's Passport feels very strongly that the denial of a passport to Mr. Robeson and to others, because of their political convictions, is a violation of Human Rights as laid down in paragrap 2, Article 13, of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

We note that your Committee is now engaged in a review of the Human Rights documents. In the course of the debates -- now and in the past -- delegates have repeatedly raised the issue of specific violations of Human Rights in different parts of the world.

Our Committee, therefore, takes the liberty of calling your attention, as Chairman, and the attention of the Members of your Committee, to the enclosed Fact Sheet concerning the history of the Robeson Passport Case, and will be most grateful if you will study it at your convenience.

Our Committee believes that the violation contained in this Memorandum of complaint constitutes a double violation in the element of personal persecution inherent therein. The reference to Mr. Robeson's interest in Colonial Peoples of his own race goes to the very heart of the decision by the majority of the Members of the United Nations listing Self Determination as a Human Right.

Our Committee sincerely believes that the Third Committee might well discuss this case history fruitfully.

We have also brought this matter to the attention of the Chairman of the Commission on Human Rights, to the Chairman and Members of the SubCommission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, and particularly to the attention of Mr. Jose D. Ingles, who was appointed by the SubCommission (at its 6th Session) to make a special study of "Discrimination in the matter of Emigration, Immigration and Travel."

We enclose herewith copies of the letters and the Fact Sheet above mentioned.

Very respectfully yours,

(signed) Charles White
Chairman Pro tem
Robeson Passport Case Committee

ROBESON PASSPORT CASE COMMITTEE

139 West 125th Street, Suite 6

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Copy

November 9, 1954

Dr. Mahmoud Azmi
Egyptian Delegation
United Nations, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Azmi:
Chairman of The Commission On Human Rights:

The Committee to Restore Paul Robeson's Passport feels very strongly that the denial of a passport to Mr. Robeson, and to others because of their political convictions, is a violation of a Human Right as laid down in paragraph 2, Article 13, of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

In the enclosed Fact Sheet, the allusion (under point 8) to Mr. Robeson's interest on behalf of the independence of the Colonial Peoples is particularly illuminating, when one remembers that a majority of the Members in various organizations of the United Nations have upheld the principle of Self Determination as a Human Right.

Our Committee is aware that the right of Individual Petition to your Commission has not yet been established, but it is our hope that in this instance -- as in previous ones -- the raising of the issue in the discussion of the Commission will constitute an important moral factor.

We wish to inform you, as Chairman of the Commission on Human Rights, that we have brought this matter to the attention of the Chairman and Members of the Third Committee now in session, for their consideration. We have also brought it to the attention of the Chairman and Members of the SubCommission On the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, and particularly to the attention of Mr. Jose D. Ingles, who was appointed by the SubCommission (at its 6th session) to make a special study of "Discrimination in the Matter of Emigration, Immigration and Travel."

We are enclosing herewith copies of the letters above mentioned and the Fact Sheet about the Robeson Passport Case. We will be most grateful if you will study this material at your convenience.

Very respectfully yours,

(signed) Charles White
Chairman Pro tem
Robeson Passport Case Committee

FACT SHEET ON THE PAUL ROBESON PASSPORT CASE

(1) On July 28, 1950, two agents of the State Department called on Mr. Robeson and demanded that he turn in his lawfully held passport. On the advice of his attorneys, Mr. Robeson refused to do so.

(2) On August 4, 1950, the State Department announced to the press that it had cancelled Mr. Robeson's passport and had informed all United States border officials to detain Mr. Robeson should he attempt to leave the country.

At the time his passport was revoked, Robeson had made arrangements for a trip to Europe to attend several meetings and to fulfill concert and speaking engagements at Prague, Czechoslovakia, and Nice, France, and to make a singing and speaking tour of Scandinavia, and give several concerts in Italy and the British Isles.

Mr. Robeson has owned a passport continuously since 1922 when he first went abroad at the beginning of his theatre and concert career. Never before has a question arisen as to its renewal, or the issuance of a new passport to him.

(3) In response to written inquiries made by Mr. Robeson through his attorneys, representatives of the State Department stated on August 7, 1950, that the action taken by it was in accordance with "discretionary powers" of the Secretary of State.

(4) After this interview, attorneys for Mr. Robeson instituted suit on December 19, 1950, in the United States District Court at Washington, D.C. petitioning the Courts to correct this unwarranted violation of Mr. Robeson's rights and privileges by the Administrative branch of the Government.

The suit contended that:

(a) The State Department's action deprived Mr. Robeson of the constitutional rights of freedom of speech, thought, assembly, petition and association guaranteed by the First Amendment.

(b) The State Department's action deprived Mr. Robeson of the constitutional right to own and procure property guaranteed by the Fifth Amendment.

(5) The first constitutional violation of Mr. Robeson's rights as a citizen by the Administrative branch of the government is clear. If a citizen is to be permitted to travel abroad only when he echoes views pleasant to the State Department or any other government

agency, his right of freedom of movement and of speech are severely restricted.

The second constitutional violation, that of Mr. Robeson's property right, is based on the cancellation of scheduled concert appearances because of the State Department's action. This constitutes a denial of Mr. Robeson's right to earn his living by practicing his profession.

(6) On April 20, 1951, the United States District Court refused to order Mr. Robeson to surrender his passport to the State Department.

(7) On January 31, 1952, Mr. Robeson was arbitrarily prevented from leaving the United States to go to Canada, even though no passport is necessary for crossing the United States-Canadian border.

(8) The United States Government's brief submitted for the Court of Appeals hearing in February, 1952, on the case of the withholding of Paul Robeson's passport contained the following statement:

> ".....Furthermore, even if the complaint had alleged, which it does not, that the passport was cancelled solely because of appellant's recognized status as a spokesman for large sections of Negro Americans, we submit that this would not amount to an abuse of discretion in view of appellant's frank admission that HE HAS BEEN FOR YEARS EXTREMELY ACTIVE POLITICALLY IN BEHALF OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE COLONIAL PEOPLES OF AFRICA (supra, p.2). Though this may be a highly laudable aim, the diplomatic embarrassment that could arise from the presence abroad of such a political meddler, travelling under the protection of an American passport, is easily imaginable ....."

(9) On January 30, 1953, Paul Robeson applied for a passport. Passport denied.

On July 29, 1953, Paul Robeson again applied for a passport in response to an invitation from the Leslie Linder Productions in London to play the starring role of "Othello." Mr. Linder had requested a Work Permit for Mr. Robeson from the British Actors' Equity Association. The Association, through its General Secretary Gordon Sandison, replied:

> "It was the unanimous opinion of the Council that Mr. Robeson's status is such that we cannot raise any objection to his appearance in this country. Indeed the Council

expressed its satisfaction at the prospect of seeing Mr. Robeson play this part, in which he has previously made so striking an appearance. We would welcome his appearance in this country."

(10) On July 2, 1954, Mr. Robeson applied for a passport to fulfill concert and stage appearances in Great Britain, Scandinavia, France and Israel. On July 27, 1954, this passport application was denied.

* * * * * * * * * *

We, the members of the Robeson Passport Case Committee, have been moved to bring this case to the United Nations by the accumulating contracts and invitations for Mr. Robeson's appearance abroad on the concert platform, and in the theatre, opera and films. Mr. Robeson has just now been invited to address the Congress of Soviet Writers, and wishes very much to accept this invitation.

Expressions of protest and deep concern over Mr. Robeson's virtual imprisonment in the United States keep pouring in, by cable and letters, to our office. The general sense of this correspondence is that denial of Mr. Robeson's right to travel and to work at his profession is also a denial of the right of millions of people all over the world to see and hear him express his universally acclaimed art. Mr. Robeson's travel abroad would be in the interest of cultural exchange and friendly peaceful international relations.

Discussion and action on this case would make it possible for many other artists, scientists and educators who are now similarly restrained, to also travel abroad.

The Robeson Passport Case Committee will be happy to submit documentation of the foreign correspondence and for the Fact Sheet for your study.

Charles White
Chairman Pro Tem
ROBESON PASSPORT CASE COMMITTEE

EMERGENCY CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE
421 SEVENTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 1, N.Y. • OXFORD 5-2863

JOHN M. PICKERING
Chairman
MRS. ELINOR F. KIRSTEIN
Treasurer
CLARK FOREMAN
Director

May 10, 1954

Mr. Paul Robeson
Suite 6, 139 West 125th St.
New York 27, N.Y.

Dear Paul:

The State Department has at last appointed the Appeals Board for passports and the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee is determined to continue its work for the re-establishment of the right to travel abroad regardless of one's political opinion. We have had one fund-raising affair already and intend to go ahead with the raising of necessary funds for the research and general legal costs. We hope that this will make it possible for many victims of the State Department's illegal policy to take their cases to the courts.

On Tuesday, May 18th, between 11:30 and 1:30, there will be several people here in our office who, like yourself, have been denied passports and want to do something about it. I would be very glad if you would come in at that time so that we might discuss what further steps you care to take.

Yours sincerely,

Clark

Clark Foreman
Director

cf:sfr

STOP THE INQUISITION!!!

NO AMERICAN IS NOW SAFE FROM THE THREAT OF McCARTHYISM

Generals, teachers, Cabinet Members, workers and businessmen - anyone may be called before the inquisition, smeared and ruined without evidence, trial or justification whatever.

BUT AN AROUSED POPULACE CAN PUT A STOP TO IT

* * * * * * *

THE EMERGENCY CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE INVITES YOU TO STAND UP FOR YOUR RIGHTS AT A MEETING

Friday, May 14, at 8:30 p.m. prompt
McAlpin Hotel Ballroom, Sixth Avenue and 34th Street

HARVEY O'CONNOR will preside

SPEAKERS WILL INCLUDE:

Dr. Corliss Lamont of Columbia University, who has defied McCarthy's illegitimate questions.

Julius Emspak, General Sec'y.-Treas. of UE, the first to get the First Amendment before the Supreme Court as a protection against the current inquisition. His vindication may be announced soon.

Royal W. France, civil liberties lawyer, who has represented teachers, ministers and others before courts and Congressional committees.

TICKETS $1.00, including tax. Please help by selling tickets to your friends.

Emergency Civil Liberties Committee
421 Seventh Avenue, New York 1, New York

Please send ____ tickets for which enclosed find $______

Name________________________

Address_____________________

Boudin
Dig 4-5564

Fri. Sept. 10, 10 A.M, 1 Block & Wall St,
25 Broad St. Rm 643

August 3, 1954

Re Passport Actions of Emergency Civil Liberties Committee

Called the office for Clark Forman--he is away in Maine for the month and I was referred to Leonard Boudin who is handling their legal actions. The following is the gist of my conversation with Mr. Boudin:

He is at presenting handling the following actions:

1) One case is the enjoining the revocation of a passport--the Weissman case--which action is still pending.
2) Another case is based on denial of passport. This action is in the District Court of the District of Columbia.
3) This is an appeals Board Case--Sept. 9 argument.
4) A case in which application for a passport has been made and in event of denial action will be taken.

In ten days there will be two legal actions instituted. On Sept. 30 the third action will ensue covering 7-10 people.

On Sept 15 the Committee will have a Luncheon with Tom Emerson in which the passport discussion will be held.

It is his feeling that the case of Paul Robeson should be joined to these actions for several reasons:

1) Strongly opposed to having the case pass from one counsel to another. (He was approached by Thelma Dale about 6 months ago where he recommended joint action. Recently Roda Laks came to him and he told her the same.)
2) Feels that the legal action should embrace all points and should avoid going before the courts on one or just some points.
3) The public relations actions can be better coordinated--less confusion.
4) The expense--he estimates that court action will be $10,000

His recommendation is that Mr. Robeson should confer with the committee--that he would like to see his suit joined with the others--that he would like to see Mr. R. at the Sept. 15 luncheon speaking with Mr. Emerson.

WILLIAM L. PATTERSON

6 East 17th Street
New York 3, N.Y.

November 17, 1955

Dear Friend:

I enclose the drafts of an open letter to the Hon. John Foster Dulles, our Secretary of State, and a petition.

The evil effects of the practice of denying travel rights because of political dissent are obvious. Yet, many Americans of varying political positions now suffer under this ban. Many voices have spoken out against this violation of our democratic principles. What is now needed, we believe, is a more coordinated effort to impress the government with the necessity to end this unjust practice.

We propose that the enclosed petition signed by a select group of individuals be used to launch a signature drive for the open letter. If funds are available, we believe the open letter should be published in a number of leading papers.

Will you join as one of such a select body to initiate this petition? Your name can be very helpful in ending another form of attack upon constitutional liberties.

Very sincerely yours,

William L. Patterson
William L. Patterson

WLP/rr

Sorry this got "moved under"
Send me a second copy of material.
If you care to do so
RNBald

NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO DEFEND NEGRO LEADERSHIP

ROOM 21 • 1660 FULTON STREET • BROOKLYN 13, N. Y.
PResident 8-2057

December 2, 1954

Dear Paul:

We want you to be present and take part in the Reception on December 18th. It is planned as a warm intimate affair, and I know you'll say a word about Ben, Essie and Claudia.

Best personal regards,

Jim

Jim

SALUTE TO PAUL ROBESON — TICKET DISTRIBUTION

NAME	ORGANIZATION	QUANTITY	NUMBERS
JOE DE CHAMPS	Loc. #140 - Furniture	10	1-10
LEO LUBIN		20	11-30
ALICE JEROME		5	31-35
ARTHUR KATZ		10	36-45
MABEL THOMPSON		5	46-50
DR. M. K.		10	51-60
DR. B. S.		10	61-70
LEAH LUTZKY	F.T.U.L., #1283	10	71-80
FRANCES LUBIN		20	81-100
MARION LIGGONS		20	101-20
C. KNOWLES (AUDREY HARRIS)		10	121-130
ESTHER RAND	U.E.R.M.W.A.(Off.Staff)	10	131-140
LLOYD BROWN		10	141-50
MARVEL COOKE	A. S. P.	25	151-175
MORFORD	N.C.A.S.F.	100	176-275
ALEC JONES	C.F.P.F.B.	100	276-375
JOHN H. JONES		{ 5 10	376-380 2150-2159
FRANCES LUBIN		50	381-430
MARGARET MC CADEN		20	431-450
FRANCES SMITH		25	451-475
JOHN GRAY		25	476-500
HUNTON	C.A.A.	200	501-700
GEORGE WOODS	Red Rooster	20	701-720
JESSICA SMITH		50	721-770
DOLLIE MASON		50	771-820 X
IRMA KASNER		100	901-1000
JAMES FORD		100	1001-1100
Eddie Nelson	~~C.A.A.~~ I.W.O.	500	1100-1600

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

FREEDOM ASSOCIATES SPECIAL ACCOUNT -- Statement Jan. 1 to Sept. 30, 1954

INCOME

For Concert Experiences	4453.00	
Planning Comm. Salute--Services JG	450.00	
Sale of Pix	114.00	
Contribution	100.00	
Miscellaneous	60.34	
Total Income for 1954		5177.34
Bank Balance 1/1/54		1631.34
Total		6808.68

DISBURSEMENTS

Wages		1216.20	
Expense Account (JG)		700.00	
Fees to Artists:			
Alan Booth	908.57		
Paul Robeson	500.00	1408.57	
Travel Expenses		1591.48	
Negro History Greeting Card		65.00	
Robeson Birthday Party		75.14	
Withholding and SS		163.54	
Telephone		33.93	
Clerical, Misc. and Petty Cash Expense		445.31	
Loans to Freedom		1100.00	
Total Disbursements			6799.17
Balance on hand 9/30			9.51

Outstanding expenses
and expenses

Wages/July 16 through Sept. 30 (10 wks.)	750.00	
Withholding and SS (2 quarters)	270.92	1020.92
Net Operating deficit		$1011.41

FREEDOM ASSOCIATES SPECIAL ACCOUNT -- Statement May to Dec. 31, 1953

INCOME			
Proceeds from Concerts		5924.86	
Loans		8500.00	
Refund Travel Expense		293.49	14,718.35
DISBURSEMENTS			
Advance trips:			
Circle Tour 5/53	1058.88		
Boston 6/53	62.23		
South 6/53	114.54	1235.65	
Concert Tours:			
1st Tour (West Coast)	2771.29		
2nd Tour (Border)	728.46	3499.75	
(Transportation not included)*			
Other Concerts:			
Reg. Hill (11/53)	270.48		
NNLC (12/53)	181.25	451.73	
Salaries (including exp.)			
B. Alves	892.65		
J. Gray	2670.00	3562.65	
Fees:			
Paul Robeson	1160.00		
Allan Booth	2010.16	3170.16	
Taxes:			
Fed. Withholding & SS	303.74		
NYS UI	63.47		
1st Unitarian Liability	168.96	536.17	
Office Expense:			
Typewriter	75.97		
Telephone	195.50		
Petty Cash & Misc.	284.47	555.94	
Miscellaneous:			
Loan	30.00		
Misc. Travel	79.34		
Freedom Subs	47.80	157.14	
Total Disbursements			13,169.19
		Net Income	1,549.16
		In Bank 12/31	1,631.34
		Over	$ 82.18

Outstanding Liabilities:

* 3 Air Travel Tix (West Coast) paid PR	1117.62
2 Air Travel Tix (St. Louis paid by PR	246.00
	$1363.62

FINANCIAL REPORT OF BORDER CONCERT TRIP

August 18, 1954

INCOME:

Canadian Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers Union		
Advance payment	$511.25	
Payment after concert	306.75	$818.00
Seattle Concert payment		200.00
Sale of prints		43.00
TOTAL INCOME		$1061.00

DISBURSEMENTS:

Transportation (3 round trip tix to Seattle)	$996.27	
Miscellaneous travelling expenses	103.29	
Rental of piano (Seattle)	35.00	
Artist Fee (Alan Booth)	90.00	
John Gray (1 week's wages and expenses)	67.20	
TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS		$1291.76
DEFICIT		$ 230.76
Contribution of Planning Committee for Salute for promotional expenses furthering passport campaign		230.76
		--- --

APPEARANCES 1954

Jan. 24 -- Attended Church Services, Galilee Baptist Church, Newark
31 -- Concert - Galilee Baptist Church, Newark
Feb. 12 --- New York, NNLC Negro History Program
19 -- Youth Rally, LYL Convention, New York
22 -- Anti-McCarthy Meeting, Chauteau Gardens, New York
24 -- ALP, Garment Center, Negro History Week Program, New York
28 -- Newark Negro Labor Council Conference
Mar. 5 -- Jefferson School Dinner, New York
7 -- Honored Guest, Rendall Memorial Church, New York
12 -- Guatemala Meeting, New York
19 -- ALP, Parkchester Rally against Jim Crow, Bronx
Apr. 3 -- Philadelphia Freiheit Concert, Town Hall
4 -- Attend AME Zion Church, Philadelphia
10 -- Freiheit, Carnegie Hall, New York
8 -- Paul's Birthday Party, New York
16 -- ASP Dance Savoy Ballroom, New York
22 -- Howard Fast Peace Prize Affair, New York
23 -- Meeting with Quaker Peace forces, Philadelphia
24 -- Council on African Affairs Conference, New York
28 -- John Abt Dinner by PP, New York
30 -- Private Concert Westchester to help NNLC
May 1 -- May Day appearance, New York
8 -- University of Chicago Concert
21 -- Concert at AME Zion Conference to help school in Africa, Washington
26 -- Salute to Paul Robeson, New York
June 6 -- Mother Zion concert, New York
10 -- Amnesty Comm. Rally, New York
29 -- Tribute to Ben Davis, New York

July vacation

Aug. 1 -- Border concert
6 -- Seattle concert
Sept.19 -- Attended Church, Antioch Baptist, Corona, LI
23 -- ALP State Convention
24 -- Street corner meeting, NNLC - RR Drive -- New York
25-26- Attended and spoke to National Convention, NNLC

"Once there was an American Negro who contented the Western Hemisphere so long as he was a happy-go-lucky baritone singing 'darkie' songs. But there came a day when the deep tones of this son of sunny Africa lost their once unbeatable mellow."

Thus begins an editorial in the West African Pilot, widely circulated newspaper on the African Continent, which goes on to express the people's resentment against the refusal of the United States to grant to the world-renowned Paul Robeson his rights to travel and sing as he has done in the past.

A "cultural salute" to Mr. Robeson will be given to launch the campaign for the restoration of his passport at the Renaissance Casino, 138th Street and 7th Avenue, on Wednesday, May 26th at 8 p.m., under the auspices of the Committee to Restore Paul Robeson's Passport, with headquarters at 139 W. 125th Street.

Known and loved throughout the world, Robeson is probably best loved by the millions of oppressed peoples on the Continent of Africa. There is no better expression of their concern over his right to travel than the editorial, begun above, which continues as follows:

"That was only the day after Mr. Paul Robeson turned his genius away from entertaining a world which deprived millions of the people of his race of the elementary rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, to join in the crusade for Africa's redemption.

"Almost immediately, Robeson was lodged with the United States as a Communist, since, it would appear, no other philosophy, not even democracy, is capable of inspiring the love of patriotism and liberty in an oppressed people. . . .

"The United States Government in its brief stated: 'If the compalint had alledged, which it does not, that the passport was cancelled solely because of the appellant's recognized status as a spokesman for the large sections of Negro Americans, we submit that this would not amount to an abuse of discretion in view of the appellant's frank admission that he has been for years exremely active politically in behalf of the independence of the colonial peoples of Africa.'

"If speculation of this type should justify the restriction of Robeson's movement, where in the world is the iron curtain more firmly entrenched? We wonder! "

Taking part in the cultural salute , in addition to Mr. Robeson, will be Leon Bibb, Alan Booth, Nadyne Brewer, Lawrence Brown, Alice Childress, Laura Duncan, Peggy Kisseloff, Tony Kraber, Margaret McCaden, Beulah Richardson, Earl Robinson, Betty Sanders, Pete Seeger, Frances Walker and Charles White.

#####

a rough suggestion for Resolution that might be ~~intended~~ introduced at the Rally — to Actors Equity Council:—

We ~~the~~ two thousand people assembled in the Renaissance Casino in a cultural salute to Paul Robeson urge ~~his~~ parent union — Actors Equity Association — to go on record — as did British Actors Equity — that Paul Robeson be permitted to perform wherever his great talent has been invited in or outside the U.S. — and that his passport be restored to him.

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

RESOLUTION

Adopted at the

Cultural Salute to Paul Robeson
Renaissance Casino - New York
May 26, 1954 - at 8:00 P. M.

Mr. John Foster Dulles
United States State Department
Washington, D. C.

We call upon you to restore Paul Robeson's passport.

In all parts of the world millions upon millions of people waith with outstretched arms for the arrival in their midst of the greatest artist and international figure our nation has produced in modern times. We regard it a blot upon the proud banner of our country's democratic traditions that Paul Robeson should be denied the opportunity to practice his art and share the friendship of uncounted multitudes of men and women in Africa, Asia, Europe, Latin America and Canada, the Caribbeans and all the islands of the seas, who know and love him as a great singer and actor and an outstanding champion of human brotherhood and world peace.

By the same token we believe that, as the peoples of the world strive heroically for peace, the restoration of Paul Robeson's privilege to travel abroad would be an encouraging and long-awaited signal of the desire of our government to foster international friendship and cultural exchange as an indispensable foundation of peaceful intercourse among nations. He would be, in Africa, in Asia, in Europe, in the other Americas - as he is here in our midsts - the American people's most powerful advocate and symbol of good will, brotherhood, racial equality, and peace.

We have therefore resolved to bring the question of the restoration of Mr. Robeson's passport to the attention of all the people of this nation and the people of the world. It is in this spirit that we call upon you, in the interest of our nation's good name and our standing among lovers of culture and peace in all parts of the globe, to accede to our urgent request that Paul Robeson shall have again the privilege which he enjoyed for 22 years without interruption, the untrammelled right to travel abroad.

30-30-30-30-30-30-30-30

PLANNING COMMITTEE
For
A CULTURAL SALUTE TO PAUL ROBESON

139 West 125th Street, Suite 6 -- New York 27, N. Y. -- MOnument 6-8700

May 3, 1954

Dear Friends:

A Cultural Salute to Paul Robeson, to be held on May 26, at the Renaissance Casino, 138th and Seventh Ave., opens a nation-wide campaign to restore his passport.

Joining in this tribute to our nation's most loved and renowned artist will be many artists and hundreds of men and women of every walk of life who have found Paul Robeson always at their side in their struggles for human dignity, security and peace. Particularly, in the ranks of labor is the announcement of this affair being greeted enthusiastically as an opportunity to pay tribute in a concrete way to Paul Robeson -- namely, by helping to develop a campaign for the restoration of his passport so that people throughout the world may be able again to hear this greatest of people's artists.

We, therefore, feel confident that the membership of your organization will want to participate in this event and enclose an order blank for blocks of tickets and for boxes. We will appreciate your early response so that we can get the tickets to you for distribution as quickly as possible and also reserve whatever boxes you may wish.

Fraternally yours,
Howard Fast
Charles White
Maude Green, Secretary

For the Committee

(Partial list of participants in the Cultural Salute to Paul Robeson

American String Quartet
Leon Bibb
Alan Booth
Nadyne Brewer
Lawrence Brown
Alice Childress
Marion Cumbo
Laura Duncan
David Johnson
Peggy Kisseloff
Tony Kraber
Margaret McCaden
Chauncey Northern
Beulah Richardson
Earl Robinson
Betty Sanders
Pete Seeger
Frances Walker
Felix Weir
Charles White

ORDER BLANK
For
CULTURAL SALUTE TO PAUL ROBESON
May 26, Renaissance Casino, 138th & 7th Ave.

Committee to Restore Paul Robeson's Passport
139 West 125th Street Suite 6
New York 27, New York

Please send us _____ tickets for the Cultural Salute to Paul Robeson.

Also reserve the following box(es) for this affair for our organization.

$100 box ____________

$ 50 box ____________

$ 25 box ____________

Name of Organization____________________

Address____________________

Ordered by____________________
(Signature) (Title)

CULTURAL SALUTE TO PAUL ROBESON
On the Occasion of Launching the Campaign to Restore His Passport
(May 26, 1954, at the Renaissance Casino)

Budget:

Chairs (Rental)	$60.00	
Printing (Invitations)	50.00	(Labor Donated)
Postage	115.00	
Advertising	100.00	
Stationery	25.00	
Telephone	25.00	
Refreshments	100.00	
Publicity--posters, throw-aways	50.00	
Misc.	125.00	
		$650.00
Hall		160.00
Promotional Person (Part time or full time -- $50.00 $75.00 per week)		300.00
		$1,110.00

Income:

Tickets -- 1000 @ $1	$1000.00	
Patrons -- 100 @ $5	500.00	
Boxes -- 10 @ $100	1000.00	
" -- 20 @ $25	500.00	
Collection	2000.00	
		$5000.00

IMMEDIATE PROMOTIONAL STEPS

1) Prepare list and send out 1000 letters for patrons -- local or national.
2) Luncheon or tea, other form (social), to get women's committee to work on wealthy box holders ($100 and $25).
3) Trade union gathering (luncheon or other form) to get (a) mass distribution of tickets in trade unions and (b) boxes.
4) Harlem gathering to mobilize forces for mass sale of tickets.
5) Gathering of Harlem leaders.
6) Press Conference for Negro and progressive press on launching of passport campaign, with May 26 the first milestone. Should be informative on background of case and steps to be taken in campaign.

The Committee to Restore Paul Robeson's Passport
139 West 125th Street, Suite 6
New York 27, New York
Phone: MO 6-8700

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE: April 30, 1954

Paul Robeson, the world-renowned Negro singer and actor, will be feted at a Cultural Salute to be given him by stars of stage, screen and radio May 26 at the Renaissance Casino, 138th Street and Seventh Avenue.

The Salute will open a campaign to restore Robeson's passport. The State Department, for the past four years, has denied Robeson a passport to meet his singing commitments throughout the world.

Scores of singers and actors, some of whom have performed with Robeson throughout the nation, will pay their tributes to the famed Negro star at the reception.

#

The Committee to Restore Paul Robeson's Passport
139 West 125th Street, Suite 6
New York 27, New York
Phone: MO 6-8700

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE: April 30, 1954

Paul Robeson, the world-renowned Negro singer and actor, will be feted at a Cultural Salute to be given him by stars of stage, screen and radio May 26 at the Renaissance Casino, 138th Street and Seventh Avenue.

The Salute will open a campaign to restore Robeson's passport. The State Department, for the past four years, has denied Robeson a passport to meet his singing commitments throughout the world.

Scores of singers and actors, some of whom have performed with Robeson throughout the nation, will pay their tributes to the famed Negro star at the reception.

#

Committees —

Publicity —

Contact —

Program + Arrangements —

Ticket —

Rec #172

June 4, 1954

Miss Maude Greene
Salute to Paul Robeson Comm.
139 W. 125th Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Miss Greene:

Enclosed you will find a check for twenty-five dollars ($25.00) from the Ukrainian Defense Committee for the box purchased for the Salute to Paul Robeson.

We want you to know that we have never been happier and proud to participate in any affair than this splendid tribute to a great artist, great American and very great man. Rest assured that progressive Ukrainian Americans will fully participate in the fight to regain for Paul Robeson his full rights as an American citizen. He, more than any other individual in this country, is fully entitled to these rights.

Sincerely yours,

Frank H. Ilchuk

Frank H. Ilchuk, secretary
Ukrainian Defense Committee

Planning Committee for a
CULTURAL SALUTE
to PAUL ROBESON
139 West 125th Street • SUITE 6 • New York 27, N. Y. • MOnument 6-8700

Dear Friend:

On May 26 there is to be an event in New York City of world wide import. It is a Cultural Salute to Paul Robeson launching a campaign to restore his passport. This means not only his right to travel but also the continuance of his great cultural contributions as a renowned artist which can today help to advance the free cultural exchange between nations so vital to the cause of world brotherhood and peace.

Joining in this tribute will be not only artists and thousands of men and women from every section of the United States, but peoples of all lands--Africa, Asia, Europe, the Americas--who, too, acclaim Paul Robeson as the great people's artist always to be found on the side of the people in their struggles for human dignity and peace.

We feel that you, too will want to aid in insuring the success of this Cultural Salute. We invite you then:

To send a personal greeting to Mr. Robeson to be incorporated with those that will come from over the world.

Further, we hope that you will become a patron of the Cultural Salute to Mr. Robeson, forwarding a contribution of five dollars or more toward the legal, publicity and other expenses entailed in the campaign for the restoration of his passport.

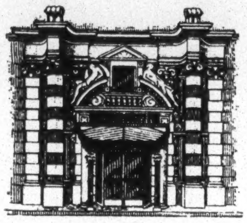
Enclosed is $5
Rec't 30

Arthur and Annie Stein
131, Westminster Rd.
Brooklyn, 18. N.Y.

Sincerely yours.
W. E. B. Du Bois
Howard Fast
For the Committee

P.S.: Kindly forward greetings to the above address and make checks payable to Maude Greene, Secretary-Treasurer.

WISCONSIN 7-0200



Hotel Gregorian

42 WEST 35TH STREET
NEAR 5TH AVENUE
New York 1, N.Y.

MONROE SEIFER
MANAGER

May 21, 1954

Dear Maude Greene:

It is a splendid idea to launch a campaign to restore Paul Robeson's passport by means of a cultural salute to him. I have written a personal greeting, but do not feel satisfied with it - I hope to re-write and mail it to you next week.

The check includes the price of a ticket and a contribution of $4.00.

Please mail the ticket to the address above.

I hope for a great success for this event.

Sincerely
E. H. Tyndale.

Rec
#61

MINNIE R. CARTER, *Chairman*
WILLIAM KERNER, *Executive Director*
BETTY WINTER, *Secretary*

northern california peace council

935 MARKET STREET • SAN FRANCISCO 3, CALIFORNIA • EXBROOK 2-5295

May 24, 1954

SALUTE TO PAUL ROBESON!

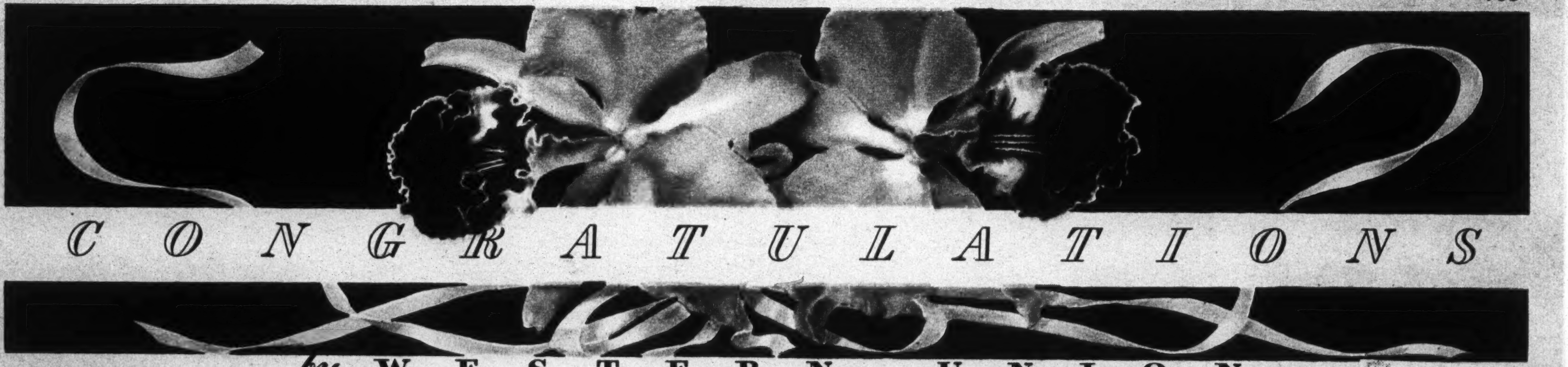
The Northern California Peace Council salutes you, Paul Robeson, in the campaign to secure your passport.

Your voice must again be heard throughout the world. Much success.

Minnie R. Carter
Chairman

Betty Winter
Secretary

NORTHERN CALIFORNIA PEACE COUNCIL



by WESTERN UNION

1954 MAY 26 PM 7 50 (45)

NBG207 CGN PD=CHICAGO ILL 26 610PMC=

CULTURAL SALUTE PAUL ROBESON=
139 WEST 125 ST SUITE 6=

=WE EXTEND GREETINGS AND BEST WISHES TO YOU ON THIS EVENINGS GRAND OCCASION=

=CHARLES AND IDE WILSON=

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

FX-1201

SYMBOLS
DL=Day Letter
NL=Night Letter
=Int'l Letter Telegram
T=Int'l Victory Ltr.

=(37)=

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

NBG172 PD=LOS ANGELES CALIF 26 1147AMP=

27
1954 MAY 26 PM 4 44

PAUL ROBESON=Care Margaret McCaden
SUITE 6 135 WEST 125 ST=

IT IS WITH THE GREATEST JOY THAT I GREET YOU ON THE OCCASION OF LAUNCHING THE CAMPAIGN TO RESTORE YOUR PASSPORT THE REMOVAL OF YOUR PASSPORT HAS BEEN AN INSULT TO OUR PEOPLE AND ALL THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD WHO FIGHT FOR HUMAN DIGNITY I HOPE FOR A SPEEDY RESTORATION OF YOUR PASSPORT AS A VICTORY FOR OUR PEOPLE FOR CULTURAL EXCHANGE FOR PEACE YOUR FRIEND=

MARIE BOWDEN

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Rec #66
2140-47

450 Riverside Drive
New York 27, N. Y.

May 22, 1954

Dear Maude,

Mrs. Samuel Rosen wrote me a note about taking a box for the Paul Robeson evening of tribute to him. We do not feel that we can take a whole box, but we are glad to take half of a $100.00 box, and I enclose a check for $50.00 for this purpose. Or, if you'd rather just apply it to a few good seats somewhere, not necessarily in a box, that is all right with me. Please do as you think best about this.

8 seats

My husband is away on a speaking trip, but I shall try to come (there are two or three conflicting things that evening), and I should like to give two of the seats to a friend of ours, Mrs. Helen MacMartin.

If you will let me know how many seats the check covers I will probably be able to find someone to use any that are left. Thank you!

Sincerely yours,

Margaret I. Lamont

Univ. 4-5476

CONVEY MY GREETINGS AND BEST WISHES TO PAUL,
FREDM..

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

MUrray Hill 4-3734 • NEW YORK 10

May 25, 1954

ns Paul Robeson's Passport
est 125 th Street
York

of the Committee:

e I received from
oday, he asked me
greetings and best
o." It gives me
great pleasure to enclose this
message.

Sincerely,
Susan Warren

23 WEST 26th STREET • MUrray Hill 4-3734 • NEW YORK 10

May 25, 1954

Committee to Restore Paul Robeson's Passport
Suite 6, 139 West 125th Street
New York 27, New York

To the Chairman of the Committee:

In a wire I received from Frederick Field, today, he asked me to "convey his greetings and best wishes to Paul." It gives me great pleasure to enclose this message.

Sincerely,

Susan Warren

Rec#57 500

700 Steamboat Road
Greenwich, Conn.

May 20, 1954.

I salute Paul Robeson as as great a man as he is an artist.

All people except lunatics & criminals should travel freely thruout this green earth. When I was a child there were no passports. Let us return to those more liberal days.

Nora Stanton Barney

2145 N. Corlies St.
Phila. 32, Pa.

May 17, 1954.

Committee to Restore
Paul Robeson's Passport
Suite 6
139 W. 125th St.
New York 27, N.Y.

Dear Friends:

Thanks for the invitation. We have a carload of people who will participate in the Salute.

I am taking the liberty of sending you a number of people from Philadelphia who might attend if they received an invitation.

Mr. William Roberts - 101 N. 52nd St., Phila., Pa.
Mr. & Mrs. Lenerte Roberts- 1213 N. 58th St., Phila.
Reverend J. Pius Barbour- 1614 W. 2nd St., Chester, Pa.
Edward W. Robinson, Jr.- 1532 N. 55th St., Phila.
James Brown - 2231 N. Park Ave., Phila.
Rev. W.C. Williamson - 5218 Race St., Phila.
Fred Frazier - 1818 W. Stiles St., Phila.
Mr. Alton Finck-c/o Dressers & Dyers- Local 196
13 N. 13th St., Phila.
Rev. William H. Gray, Jr.- 1511 N. 16th St., Phila.
David Neifeld - 431 W. Durham St., Phila.
Mr. & Mrs. Jos. Shatz - 3215 W. Diamond St., Phila.

Sincerely yours,
John L. Holton
John L. Holton

#138

greetings to Paul Robeson,
Ambassador for Peace.
Philadelphia Women
for Peace will support
you wholeheartedly
in your efforts
to secure a visa

in order to carry the message
from peace-loving Americans
all over the world.

Planning Committee for a
CULTURAL SALUTE
to PAUL ROBESON
139 West 125th Street • SUITE 6 • New York 27, N. Y. • MOnument 6-8700

Dear Friend:

On May 26 there is to be an event in New York City of world wide import. It is a Cultural Salute to Paul Robeson launching a campaign to restore his passport. This means not only his right to travel but also the continuance of his great cultural contributions as a renowned artist which can today help to advance the free cultural exchange between nations so vital to the cause of world brotherhood and peace.

Joining in this tribute will be not only artists and thousands of men and women from every section of the United States, but peoples of all lands--Africa, Asia, Europe, the Americas--who, too, acclaim Paul Robeson as the great people's artist always to be found on the side of the people in their struggles for human dignity and peace.

We feel that you, too will want to aid in insuring the success of this Cultural Salute. We invite you then:

> To send a personal greeting to Mr. Robeson to be incorporated with those that will come from over the world.
>
> Further, we hope that you will become a patron of the Cultural Salute to Mr. Robeson, forwarding a contribution of five dollars or more toward the legal, publicity and other expenses entailed in the campaign for the restoration of his passport.

Sincerely yours.
W. E. B. Du Bois
Howard Fast
For the Committee

P.S.: Kindly forward greetings to the above address and make checks payable to Maude Greene, Secretary-Treasurer.

Labor donated

You and Your Friends are Invited to a Cultural Salute

to

PAUL ROBESON

on the occasion of the launching of the campaign for his passport to sing again around the world

Cultural Tributes to Paul Robeson by... Leon Bibb, Alan Booth, Nadyne Brewer, Lawrence Brown, Alice Childress, Laura Duncan, Peggy Kisseloff, Tony Kraber, Margaret McCaden, Beulah Richardson, Earl Robinson, Betty Sanders, Pete Seeger, Frances Walker, Charles White....

...and the songs and response of Paul Robeson

Wednesday, May 26, 1954

Renaissance Casino *138th St. at 7th Ave.*

From 8 to 11 p.m. *Admission: $1 plus 10c tax*

Auspices: Committee To Restore Paul Robeson's Passport

MARCUS I. GOLDMAN
1234 REBECCA DRIVE
HOLLIN HILLS, ALEXANDRIA, VA.
SOUTH 5-4243

22 May 1954

Mr. Paul Robeson

Dear Paul,

I welcome the opportunity of this tribute to you as an artist to salute you as one of the noblest Americans and a great people's leader.

Perhaps, through this effort, you can regain for all of us some of our inherent liberties

Faithfully yours
Marcus I Goldman

Rec. #67

ST LOUIS CHAPTER
NATIONAL NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL

4356A FINNEY AVE. NEWSTEAD 5058

JAMES MOORE, PRESIDENT
GEORGE GRIFFIN, VICE-PRESIDENT

EQUAL RIGHTS FOR ALL
NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL
NLC

HERSHEL WALKER, EXECUTIVE - SECRETARY
WESLEY HORNSBY, SGT.-AT-ARMS

MRS. JOHNNIE PERRY, SECRETARY-TREASURER

May 25,1954
St.Louis Mo.

Greeting to Mr. Robeson and the entire planning committee that is working so hard to restore Mr.Robeson passport this is a token of our love to the greatest American alive today.

Sincerely yours.

Hershel & Scythe Walker
Hershel & Scythe Walker

1382 Arlington

Rec # 115
J.G.

JOHN HOWARD LAWSON
948 ELYRIA DRIVE
LOS ANGELES 65, CALIFORNIA

May 17, 1954

Committee to Restore Paul Robeson's Passport.

Dear Friends:

I enclose a greeting for the rally on May 26th.

John Howard Lawson

A GREETING TO PAUL ROBESON

To all peace-loving men and women, your name is a symbol of friendship and good will. To all who love culture and cherish art, you stand as one of the world's greatest and most loved artists. To all patriotic Americans, you represent what is best and most noble in our land.

Your right to travel is not merely a personal right--although that is important. It is essential to all of us, to people everywhere, that your presence and your voice be heard across the world. Your right to travel is an integral part of the fight for peace and democracy. Your mighty voice and your generous presence are an assurance to the world that the real America-- the America of the people-- speaks for freedom and for the future.

John Howard Lawson

GOOD MORNING!
Someone's BIRTHDAY or ANNIVERSARY TODAY?
TELEGRAPH YOUR GREETINGS

WESTERN UNION

FX-1201

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS
DL=Day Letter
NL=Night Letter
LT=Int'l Letter Telegram
VLT=Int'l Victory Ltr.

ay letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

O.LLB498 NL PD= TDO ALAMEDA CALIF 24= 1954 MAY 25 AM 2 11

PLANNING COMMITTEE FOR A CULTURAL SALUTE=

M ✓ PAUL ROBESON 139 WEST 125TH ST NYK=

THE EAST BAY CHAPTER OF THE NATIONAL NEGRO LABOR COUNCIL GREETS THE GREAT PEOPLES ARTIST AND LEADER PAUL ROBESON WE ARE HAPPY TO JOIN IN THE CULTURAL SALUTE LAUNCHING THE CAMPAIGN TO RESTORE THE PASSPORT OF BROTHER ROBESON. OUR CONTRIBUTION WILL FOLLOW=

CLARENCE L DAVIS JR PRESIDENT 619B GIBBS AVE
ALAMEDA CALIF .

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Alameda California

The East Bay Chapter of the National Negro Labor Council Greets the great people's artist and leader, Paul Robeson. We are happy to join ~~th~~ in the cultural salute launching the campaign to restore the passport of Brother Robeson. Our contribution will follow.

CLARENCE L DAVIS JR PRESIDENT

1116 ARCADIAN WAY
PALISADE, NEW JERSEY

May 23. 52

Salute to Paul Robeson: great artist of a people, a nation, and a growing world wide culture; ambassador of peace, goodwill, and the brotherhood of man.

For those who have denied his rights and seek to limit his cultural contribution to the human race let there be undying opposition until their ban is lifted and the power they have arrogated to themselves is taken from them.

Harry F. Ward

500 Concord Ave.
Toronto Ont.
May 21, 1954.

To the Secretary
Provisional Committee
to Restore Paul Robeson's Passport
Suite 6, 139 West 125th Street
New York 27. New York.

Maude Greene:-
Dear Maude Greene:

This is to wish your Committee every success in your endeavour to regain Mr. Robeson's passport.

It would indeed be a great pleasure to hear this brilliant Negro Artist sing, and to see him act again in Toronto, Canada.

I do hope the response for support is gratifying, and that the United States government will revoke their present stand, in the best interests of Culture and good human relations.

Yours for success.
Daniel Braithwaite

110 West 94th Street
New York 25, N.Y.
25 May 1954

Cultural Salute
to Paul Robeson
139 West 125th St.
New York 27

Dear Dr Du~~n~~Bois

I have been so concerned with my own affairs that I scarcely noticed that tomorrow is the day on which the Salute Paul Robeson meeting takes place. Unfortunately we both have professional committments for the evening. But do not wish to let the occasion pass without registering our support of the meeting by the small enclosed check and the short greeting .

Cordially

Edwin Berry Burgum

Rec #101

The free passage of culture among the nations is essential to the vitality of any national art. Without it, a national art in these days sinks into provincialism. Its techniques become stereotypes; its ideas register in their sterility its isolation from the rest of mankind. It lacks the warmth and the dignity which grows only from a generous tolerant appreciation of other arts and other peoples in other lands.

If this is true in general, how emphatically true of the art of Paul Robeson both as actor and singer. We think of the injustice to him as man and artist. But we think even more of his failure to receive a passport as ~~distressing~~ evidence that our government thus registers its disdain for the very principles in which art itself is grounded.

Mildred Burgum

Edwin Berry Burgum

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1220

SYMBOLS

DL=Day Letter

NL=Night Letter

LT=Int'l Letter Telegram

VLT=Int'l Victory Ltr.

1954 MAY 26 PM 5 32

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

.NBG169 LONG PD=NEWYORK NY 26 447P=

=PAUL ROBESON, CARE RENAISSANCE CASINO=

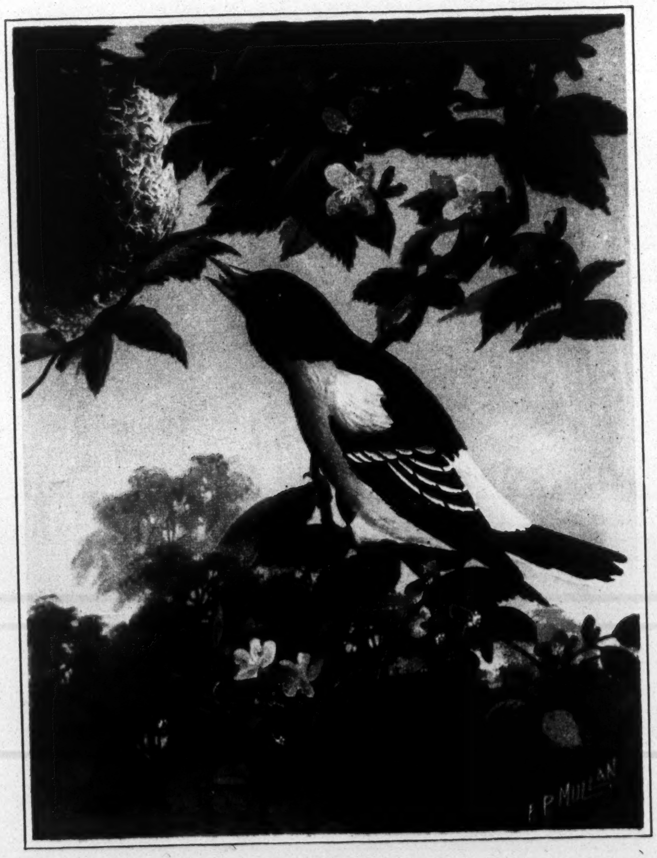
DLR 9 PM 138 ST & 7 AVE=

=OUR WARMEST GREETINGS TO ONE OF AMERICA'S GREATEST VOICES FOR PEACE AND DEMOCRACY THE YOUNG WORKERS AND STUDENTS, NEGRO AND WHITE, MEMBERS OF THE LABOR YOUTH LEAGUE GAIN CONFIDENCE FROM THE INSPIRING FIGURE OF PAUL ROBESON. WE SHALL FIGHT UNTIRINGLY FOR THE RESTORATION OF HIS RIGHT TO TRAVEL. THE NEGRO PEOPLE WITH ALL WORKING PEOPLE ARE ON THE EVE OF TREMENDOUS DEMOCRATIC VICTORIES. WE TAKE THIS OCCASION TO PLEDGE CEASELESS EFFORTS TO WIN MORE AND MORE YOUNG PEOPLE TO UNITY IN THESE STRUGGLES FOR A FREE AMERICA. WE GREET PAUL ROBESON, WITH THE BOUNDLESS LOVE AND A ADMIRATION OF YOUTH=

=NATIONAL COUNCIL LABOR YOUTH LEAGUE=

AND A ADMIRATION OF YOUTH?

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE



Oriole

Greeting to Paul Robeson

"If music hath charms to soothe the savage breast"; then, that charm is needed now to calm the swelling tide of atom-bomb savagery in the breasts of hate-breeding demi-gods.

May you sing Paul Robeson, and with your songs, drown out the sordid cry of hate, (~~while you travel~~ and go where you please).

Mina I. Lewis
Apt. 3 - 96 Howe St.
Haverhill, Mass.

P. S. Five dollars as a minimum, is much more than I can afford.

Please acknowledge what I am sending.

You are sending to my old address. Please correct my address in your files.

Rec. # 47

AMERICAN PEACE CRUSADE
35 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York
MU 4 - 8256

May 24, 1954

Mr. Paul Robeson
c/o The Committee to Restore Paul Robeson's Passport
139 West 125th Street
New York 27, New York

Dear Mr. Robeson:

The National Resident Board of the American Peace Crusade and peace councils throughout the country, have asked us to express their heartfelt greetings to you as one of the foremost champions of peace.

As a great artist, you have made and are making an invaluable contribution to the cause of world peace and friendship between peoples, embodying, as you do, in your work and life the tremendous force of culture for the uplifting and unifying of mankind in a peaceful fellowship of nations.

We are mindful that it was your work for peace which led to the original action to deny you a passport. We know too that so long as you are held prisoner in this land and other peoples are denied the opportunity to experience your art, the cause of peace suffers.

The fight to restore your passport is an important part of the work to increase those bonds of friendship and understanding between our own and other peoples which are so essential for a peaceful world.

We pledge to support this fight so that other peoples of the world can share again with us the inspiration of your presence.

Yours sincerely,

Thomas Richardson

Thomas Richardson,
National Co-Director

Mrs. Dorothy Haven
Falls Village, Connecticut

May 20th – 1954.

Dear Paul Robeson.

It is an honor to greet you, and join in the efforts of your friends, to send you out into the world, as our finest ambassador.

We salute your wonderful gift of voice and of languages, – a gift that has grown through the years, upheld by your constant study and thought.

We recognize that you can express our deepest desires, especially – the desire to win freedom for our country. You can tell the people of the world that we here shall win freedom, – from distorted ideas of race, from corruption, hatred and war.

This is a time of great crisis, and you are greatly needed. Therefore you must go, and carry the best hopes of all of us.

With respect and affection always.

Dorothy Haven.

Planning Committee for a

CULTURAL SALUTE

to PAUL ROBESON

139 West 125th Street • SUITE 6 • New York 27, N. Y. • MOnument 6-8700

Dear Friend:

On May 26 there is to be an event in New York City of world wide import. It is a Cultural Salute to Paul Robeson launching a campaign to restore his passport. This means not only his right to travel but also the continuance of his great cultural contributions as a renowned artist which can today help to advance the free cultural exchange between nations so vital to the cause of world brotherhood and peace.

Joining in this tribute will be not only artists and thousands of men and women from every section of the United States, but peoples of all lands--Africa, Asia, Europe, the Americas--who, too, acclaim Paul Robeson as the great people's artist always to be found on the side of the people in their struggles for human dignity and peace.

We feel that you, too will want to aid in insuring the success of this Cultural Salute. We invite you then:

> To send a personal greeting to Mr. Robeson to be incorporated with those that will come from over the world.
>
> Further, we hope that you will become a patron of the Cultural Salute to Mr. Robeson, forwarding a contribution of five dollars or more toward the legal, publicity and other expenses entailed in the campaign for the restoration of his passport.

Sincerely yours.

W. E. B. Du Bois

Howard Fast

For the Committee

P.S.: Kindly forward greetings to the above address and make checks payable to Maude Greene, Secretary-Treasurer.

(over)

Brooklyn, 5/19/54

In any period of history Paul Robeson would have been acclaimed as a great artist and tribune of the people. In this period of the epigone, the informer, the time-server, the trimmer, Paul Robeson stands as a man who vindicates human dignity.

A Brook
11 Cranberry St
Brooklyn NY

Rect 28

May, 19, 1954.

Mr. Paul Robeson. $1.50
New York, N.Y.

Dear Sir-:

I wish for you every success; carry on in the great struggle for human dignity and peace.

Best wishes to Dr. Du Bois and staff.

Sincerely,

W. A. Braxton
830 State St.,
Richmond 23, Va.

Iowa's Liberal Farm Organization

IOWA DIVISION FARMERS EDUCATIONAL AND COOPERATIVE UNION OF AMERICA

F. W. STOVER, PRESIDENT
L. E. HARTHAN, V. PRESIDENT
BETTY LOWNES, SEC'Y-TREAS.

PLAZA HOTEL
419 5TH STREET
DES MOINES, IOWA

PHONE 3-0972

Reel #69

To Paul Robeson Committee

Sincere greetings and best wishes to a great Citizen of the world.

I propose an addition to the "Bill of Rights" for the people of the world, the right to hear Paul Robeson.

He has a contribution to make to the cause of world Brotherhood and peace that no one else could possibly make.

Progressively yours

F. W. Stover.

May 25, 1954.

230 RIVERSIDE DRIVE
APARTMENT 18A
NEW YORK 25, NEW YORK

Reel 43
2889-2886

May 18th

Dear Mr. Robeson:

It would be refreshing evidence of American common sense the United States State Department to request you to set forth at your early convenience for countries across the seas, and to sing, as only you can sing, the songs of friendship, human dignity and world peace -

Cordially yours,

Helen L. Alfred

LAW OFFICES
MICHAEL B. ATKINS

25 BROAD STREET
NEW YORK 4, N. Y.

DIgby 4-3047

May 17th

Gentlemen:

Enclosed herewith is my check in the sum of $5.- I wish to extend my personal greetings to Mr Paul Robeson. His struggle is the struggle of all people for equality, freedom and peace.

Sincerely
Michael B Atkins

Rec#32

WINSTON-SALEM, N.C.
[1954]

To Paul Robeson

Could say you grew from granite hill
or else were born from hurricane —
I know the mountain of your will
and taste the passion in the strain
of ancient song invoked new
with fury blast of freedom eyre,
I see you storm the heavened few
who hold us out of paradise -

You touch with ~~brother~~ hand the mouth
of him whose tongue was but a sore
that spewed the venom of the South
where hate has kept us brothers poor...
Your voice is healing in our ears
and tender balm upon our soul,
your hurricane stampedes our fears
and grants our courage new parole -

So keep us in the fight, my friend,
help build the sinews of our faith
with brother joining brothers, send
your urgent hymns that scourge and scathe
and wake the thunder in our mouth
that sounds to make the land our own,
wake freedom! lightning in the South
from the hurricane songs of Robeson!

15 May 1954 Will Inman

Glad of the opportunity to greet our beloved brother, Paul Robeson, in rededication to the fight for his release to the world and for our release from his songs and his freedom message - a white writer in the South -
(W.A. McGirt, Jr.)

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

MANDEL A. TERMAN
674 IRVING PARK ROAD
CHICAGO 13, ILLINOIS

5/16/54

Paul Robeson

Dear Paul

Please accept my deepest respect for your courageous unselfish service in behalf of all the peoples of the world.

Rarely in human history have we been afforded the opportunity of having a great artist, whose talent is unsurpassed, also a great fighter for justice and human dignity (a real combination)

Enclosed please find check for 10.00 in behalf of the fight to restore your passport.

All our love to you from Jean, Jerry Shelley

and myself—

As Ever

Mandel—

Rect 34

ROBERT D. FEILD
1212 BROADWAY
NEW ORLEANS 18, LOUISIANA

Rec't 5/20
#59

May 20 1954

To Paul Robeson, one of the very greatest men of our age, from two whose lives he has enriched immeasurably.

Robin and Helen Feild

Telephone KEnmore 6-4764

BOOK AND JOB PRINTING

The Boston Chronicle

PUBLISHED BY SQUARE DEAL-BOSTON CHRONICLE PUBLISHING CO., INC.

PRINTERS AND PUBLISHERS

794 TREMONT STREET

BOSTON 18, MASS.

May 26, 1954

Dear Dr. DuBois & Mr. Fast:

The Cultural Salute to Paul Robeson is so certain to be a memorable occasion that those of us like myself who are unable to present because of distance and of the pressure of business will lament our absence to the end of our days. We must console ourselves with our joy in wishing Mr. Robeson success in his struggle against the second-class citizenship of which he is a victim and which has deprived him of freedom of movement. His versatile genius as a people's artist is a gift which the restoration of his passport will enable all mankind to share with us in furthering peace and democratic freedom all round the globe.

Sincerely yours,

William Harrison

Associate Editor, Boston Chronicle

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

=(14)

SYMBOLS

DL=Day Letter

L=Night Letter

T=Int'l Letter Telegram

VLT=Int'l Victory Ltr.

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

NBH180 PD=MT VERNON NY 26 441PME=

PAUL ROBESON, CARE OF MARGARET MCCADEN=
139 WEST 125 ST SUITE 6=

1954 MAY 26 PM 5 18

TONIGHT BEGINS THE FIGHT WHICH MUST END IN AN OVERWHELMING VICTORY FOR YOU FOR US AND ALL THE PEOPLE YOURS SNCERELY=

=RUBY DEE=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

FX 1201

(58)

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LT = Int'l Letter Telegram
VLT = Int'l Victory Ltr.

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

NBH075 DL PD=WOODSTOCK NY 26 1117AME= 1954 MAY 26 AM 11 58

PAUL ROBESON=
DLR 139 WEST 125 ST SUITE 6=

WE SALUTE YOU ON YOUR CAMPAIGN FOR PASSPORT AND YOUR FIGHT FOR ARTISTIC FREEDOM. REGRET WE CANNOT BE PRESENT TO SAY "THE SONG THAT NERVES A NATIONS HEART IS IN ITSELF A DEED"=

JOHN AND MABLE KINGSBURY=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

FX1201

:(34)..

1954 MAY 26 PM 5 36

SYMBOLS

DL=Day Letter
NL=Night Letter
LT=Int'l Letter Telegram
VLT=Int'l Victory Ltr.

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

NBG177 PD=CHICAGO ILL 26 358PMC=

:PAUL ROBESON:
=RENAISSANCE CASINO 138 ST AT 7 AVE=

WE SALUTE MR ROBESON OUR OLD FRIEND AND OUT STANDING ARTIST OF THE PEOPLE WHOSE SERVICE ON OUR TICKET LINE IN TIMES OF STRUGGLE WE WILL NEVER FORGET ACCEPT A SMALL TOKEN OF OUR ESTEEM=

LEON BEVERLY PRESIDENT UNITED PACKING HOUSE WORKERS OF AMERICA CIO GEORGE KOVACEVICH RECORDING SECRETARY=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

FX-1201

SYMBOLS
DL=Day Letter
NL=Night Letter
LT=Int'l Letter Telegram
=Int'l Victory Ltr.

(09)

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

NBH002 L PD=LOS ANGELES CALIF MAY 25

=PAUL ROBESON=
=139 WEST 125 ST SUITE 6=

1954 MAY 26 AM 7 40

DEAR PAUL MY HEART IS HAPPY TO BE ABLE TO PARTICIPATE IN THE GREETING ON BEHALF OF LAUNCHING OF THE CAMPAIG FOR FULL FREEDOM OF ALL PEOPLE. YOUR SECURING A PASSPORT OUR BEHALF IS EVIDENCE OF THE DEGINNING OF FULL FREEDON ALL PEOPLE WITH SUCCESS BEST WISHES FOR AND LOVE=

ELIZABETH SCOTT=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

WE CANNOT WAIT FOR PEACE — AMERICAN PEACE CRUSADE — WE MUST WIN IT

AMERICAN PEACE CRUSADE

ILLINOIS ASSEMBLY

166 WEST WASHINGTON STREET CHICAGO 2, ILLINOIS RANDOLPH 6-5981

honorary chairmen

REV. JOSEPH M. EVANS
PROF. ROBERT MORSS LOVETT

sponsors

PROF. EDITH ABBOTT
REV. AUGUSTUS E. BENNETT
LEON BEVERLY
REV. VERLE BLAIR
OSCAR BROWN, JR.
REV. T. E. BROWN
REV. ALBERT W. BUCK
HERMAN BUSH
PROF. ANTON J. CARLSON
REV. PAUL W. CATON
JARUTHA COLEMAN
REV. P. S. DICK
HON. EARL B. DICKERSON
ERNEST DEMAIO
HILLIARD ELLIS
REV. JOSEPH M. EVANS
ABE FEINGLAS
HOWARD FOWLER
REV. S. A. GRAYSON
DR. LEO GOLDMAN
REV. T. J. GRIFFIN
YOLANDA HALL
REV. H. B. HAWKINS
DR. A. EUSTACE HAYDON
DOROTHY HAYES
[redacted]
REV. H. M. HOOPER
ADOLPH KACER
DR. LEONARD KOLB
SYLVIA LEVINSON
PROF. ROBERT MORSS LOVETT
PROF. CURTIS MACDOUGALL
JAMES MACHACEK
JOHN S. MAZEIKA
REV. JACK MIDDAUGH
DR. HENRY H. NOYES
FATHER CLARENCE PARKER
MARY PHILLIPS
PROF. ANATOL RAPOPORT
REV. WILLIAM REED
ATT'Y H. B. RITMAN
ATT'Y DAVID B. ROTHSTEIN
REV. JAMES M. ROYSTON
PROF. ERNEST SAMUELS
PROF. MORRISON SHARP
DR. JEREMIAH STAMLER
MANDEL A. TERMAN
IDELL UMBLES
HAROLD WARD
PEARL B. WASHINGTON

May 24, 1954

Mr. Paul Robeson
c/o Salute to Robeson Committee
139 West 125th St. - Suite 6
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Robeson:

The Illinois Assembly of the American Peace Crusade joins in honoring you for your distinguished advocacy of Peace, and in protesting against the withholding of the passport necessary to enable you to lend your voice to the demand of your fellow-countrymen for Peace throughout the world.

With Very Best Wishes,

Joseph M. Evans

Rev. Jospph M. Evans

Robert Morss Lovett

Dr. Robert Morss Lovett

Honorary Co-Chairman

Donation ($5.00) enclosed

DOMESTIC RELATIONS COURT
CITY OF NEW YORK
135 EAST 22ND STREET

JANE M. BOLIN
JUSTICE

May 26th, 1954.

Miss Maude Greene, Secretary
Planning Committee for a
Cultural Salute to Paul Robeson
139 West 125th Street, Suite 6
New York 27, N. Y.

Dear Miss Greene:

Thank you very much for your gracious invitation to attend the Cultural Salute to Paul Robeson this evening.

I am just acknowledging your invitation because it arrived only yesterday. I am sorry I cannot be present because of the Annual Meeting of Wiltwyck School.

Thank you again.

Sincerely,

Jane M. Bolin
Justice

ss

LEON BEVERLY, PRESIDENT **MICHAEL SANTINA**, SEC'Y TREASURER **GEORGE KOVACEVICH**, RECORDING SEC'Y

TELEPHONE: KENWOOD 8-2700

United Packinghouse Workers of America
AFFILIATED WITH THE CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS
LOCAL No. 347 (UPWA-CIO)
4859 South Wabash Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

#148

May 27, 1954

Committee fo Restore Paul Robeson's Passport
139 West 125th Street
Suite 6
New York 27, N. Y.

Dear Friends:

Enclosed please find check for $10.00 to help in the fight for Paul to secure his passport to visit other countries of the world.

Our membership is conscious of why the enemies of the people want to silence this great voice and leader- Paul Robeson and we have pledged to support this fight for passport until victory is ours!

Although $10.00 is a small donation and we have many projects of which we are contributing financially, we want you to understand, in our humble way, that what we lack in financial support will be made up by rallying more people in support of this worthy campaign.

Fraternally yours,

Leon Beverly
Leon Beverly, President

George Kovacevich
George Kovacevich, Recording Sec'y

LB/jb

RT. REV. HENRY KNOX SHERRILL
President

DR. SAMUEL McCREA CAVERT
General Secretary

CHARLES E. WILSON
Treasurer

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST
IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

GENERAL DEPARTMENT OF
United Church Women
156 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 10, N. Y. — CHelsea 2-3230

MRS. JAMES D. WYKER
Chairman

MRS. W. MURDOCH MacLEOD
General Director

EDITH L. GRONER
Associate General Director

May 31, 1954

Dear Miss Greene:

I should have written sooner to express deep regrets that Rev. Arbouin and I were unable to use the complimentary tickets you sent us for May 26. I had a conference Mr. Robeson in person on May 23 and explained to him the fact that we were in anniversary service as the enclosed program will indicate.

I trust the affair was a grand success and we do appreciate the tickets you sent.

Yours sincerely,

W. V. Arbouin

Mrs. Arbouin

THE THIRD ANNIVERSARY

of

OUR PASTOR

(Everybody's Friend)

TUESDAY, MAY 25 — TUESDAY, JUNE 9, 1954

Rev. Alfred Charles Livingston Arbouin

A.B., Gr.D.S.M., B.D.

Minister

THE ANTIOCH BAPTIST CHURCH

33-17 102nd Street

Corona, Long Island, N. Y.

"Go to the deeps of God's promise
And claim whatsoever you will
The blessing of God will not fail thee
His word He will surely fulfill"

PROGRAM

Rev. Edward Jackson, Presiding each Night

TUESDAY, MAY 25

The Church School & B.T.U. in charge, Mrs. Sarah Fleming and Mrs. Laura Blades, Leaders.

SERMON, Rex. U. B. Whitfield, Pastor, Friendship Baptist Church, Brooklyn, choir and congregation guests.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 26

Deacons and Trustees in charge, Mr. Lymas Williams and Mrs. Alice Read, Leaders.

SERMON, Rev. J. P. Washington, Pastor, Greater Bethel A.M.E., New York, choir and congregation, guests.

THURSDAY, MAY 27

Deaconess Board in charge, Mrs. Clarabel Haig, President.

SERMON, Rev. J. C. Brown, Pastor, Mt. Olive Baptist Church, Manhasset, choir and congregation, guests.

FRIDAY, MAY 28

Missionary Society in charge, Mrs. Lucile Vanzant, President,

SERMON, Rev. M. F. Logan, Pastor, Day Star Baptist Church, Brooklyn, choir and congregation guests.

SUNDAY, MAY 30

11:00 A.M.—SPECIAL MESSAGE BY PASTOR ARBOUIN
Subject: "How We Overcome"
7:30 P.M.—Assistant Pastor Jackson will preach

MONDAY, MAY 31

Ambassadors Club in charge, Mrs. Bertha Williams, President

SERMON, Rev. C. S. Stamps, Pastor, Metropolitan Baptist Church, New York, choir and congregation guests.

TUESDAY, JUNE 1

Senior Choir in charge, Mrs. "Doll" Morton, President, Miss Clarissa Daly, Director

SERMON, Rev. Sandy F. Ray, Pastor, Cornerstone Baptist Church, Brooklyn, choir and congregation, guests.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 2

Junior Ushers in charge, Mrs. Rosetta James, Supervisor, Miss Marion Green, President

SERMON, Rev. V. W. Glanton, Pastor, Ebenezer Baptist Church, Flushing, choir and congregation, guests.

THURSDAY, JUNE 3

Senior Ushers in charge, Mrs. Eva Bell, President

SERMON, Rev. R. L. Ryan, Pastor, Community Baptist Church, Bayside, choir and congregation, guests.

FRIDAY, JUNE 4

Antioch Youth Society in charge, Mrs. Jean Mosley-Booze, Director

SERMON, Rev. Thomas Kilgore, Jr., Pastor, Friendship Baptist Church, New York, choir and congregation, guests.

SUNDAY, JUNE 6

11:00 a.m. Greetings from the "Friends of Antioch", Mrs. Anna Brunson, ANNIVERSARY MESSAGE will be delivered by The Honorable Frederick A. Price, Liberian Consul General.

MONDAY, JUNE 7

The ACLA New Members in charge, Mrs. A. C. Livingston Arbouin, President

SERMON, Rev. Wm. Morris, Pastor, St. John Baptist Church, New **York**,, choir and congregation guests.

TUESDAY, JUNE 8

Gospel Chorus in Charge, Mrs. Wilhelmina Saunders, President

SERMON, Rev. O. Clay Maxwell, Jr., Pastor Baptist Temple Baptist Church, New York, choir and congregation, guests.

NOTE: All services will begin at 8:45 each evening.

MONDAY, JUNE 14, 9:30 P.M.

FELLOWSHIP BANQUET

Mrs. W. Saunders, Gen. Chairman   Mrs. Bertha Williams, Co-Chairman

MENU

Fruit Cocktail

Turkey - Stuffing - Giblet Gravy

Yellow Turnips

Mashed Potatoes - String Beans

Coffee Tea Cake Ice Cream

Mints - Nuts

COMMITTEES

RESERVATIONS—Mrs. Laura Shaw, Miss Mollie Mahone, Mrs. Viola Williams, Mrs. Ruth Edmonds.

DONATIONS—Miss Lucy Baskerville, Miss Mildred Sinquefield, Miss Edith Coleman, Mrs. Eva Bell, Mrs. Sarah Flemming, Mrs. Ida Jackson

WAITRESSES & HOSTESSES—Mrs. Julia Nixon, Mrs. Rosetta James, Mrs. Lucy Baskerville, Miss Francine Beekman, Miss Eva Brown, Mrs. Aretha Graham, Mr. James Anderson, Mr. Anderson Pickett, Miss Jean Mosley Booze. Miss Ossie Thomas, Miss Marion Green, Miss Eloise Brown, Mrs. Pearlie Reese.

PURCHASING—Mrs. Wilhelmina Saunders, Mrs. Bertha Williams, Mrs. Alice Reed.

DECORATIONS—Mrs. Cecile Beekman, Mrs. Sarah Mosley, Mrs. Katie Wansley, Mrs. Lillie McMurray, Mrs. Maria Ellis, Mr. Arthur Watson, Mrs. Marie Wheat, Mrs. Roberta Tinson, Mrs. Lucile Vanzant.

CATERERS—Mrs. Wilhelmenia Saunders, Mrs. Bertha Williams, Mrs. Clarabel Haig, Mrs. "Doll" Morton.

A BACKWARD GLANCE

Pastor Arbouin despised not the day of small things

Three years ago Rev. Arbouin relinquished a pastorate in Mobile, Alabama, which afforded a good salary, a parsonage, and general maintenance to accept the call to Antioch on sheer faith. The one-room quarters and active membership of less than forty persons did not dim this faith and in this Anniversary, a grateful and increased membership is pausing to express appreciation. Our spiritual lives have been enriched by his dynamic preaching of God's word. The status of the congregation has been advanced by his untiring work and personal sacrifice, and by the sterling example of a devoted Pastor's "Living" and "Giving."

After giving to Antioch the motto IT CAN BE DONE and the challenge to "attempt great things for God; expect great things from God," in the first seven months of his pastorate an indebtedness of nearly $4,000.00 was paid on our building at 109-02 Northern Boulevard and the mortgage was burned. Our goal now is to build on that spot and the purchase of our present location which is more suitable for worship, is the second move in that direction. As we tarry here, plans are in the making for improvements which will enhance the value of this property which was acquired at a cost of twenty thousand dollars.

We are proud to share the service of our Minister wherever it is needed. He is the represntative of the Eastern Baptist Association in the Protestant Council of New York; a member of the faculty of the Brooklyn and Long Island Education Center; expositor of the Baptist Ministers Conference of New York and recently represented the N. A. A. C. P. at the Washington Conference on Freedom.

Rev. Arbouin is ably assisted by a wife who possesses many graces and gifts. It is her just due when we say the versatile contribution she has made is no small part of her husband's achievements.

> "So they strengthened the Kingdom of Judah, and made Rehoboam the son of Solomon strong three years; for three years they walked in the way of David and Solomon." II Chronicles 11:17.

THE ANTIOCH BAPTICT CHURCH

Lymas Williams, Chairman of Deacons

Mrs. Alice Reed, Chairman of Trustees

Mrs. Maria Ellis, Secretary

COLUMBIA 5-3612-3-4

UNITED CAFETERIA AND RESTAURANT WORKERS

Local Union No. 471

1015 M STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON 1, D. C.

58

Recd 10✓

May 25, 1954

Planning Committee for a
Cultural Salute to Paul Robeson
139 West 125th Street
Suite 6
New York 27, N.Y.

Dear Friends:

Enclosed is our check in the amount of $25.00 as a contribution from our Union to aid in the campaign for the restoration of Mr. Robeson's passport. Please list our organization as a patron of the Cultural Salute.

We sincerely regret that the press of important Union business prevents our attending. However, we are also enclosing our personal greetings to Mr. Robeson to be read at the salute.

Our best wishes for a most successful meeting.

Very truly yours,

Oliver T. Palmer

Oliver T. Palmer
Business Agent

Enclosure

TO PAUL ROBESON:

Fraternal greetings from your brothers and sisters, members of the United Cafeteria and Restaurant Workers, Local Union #471, Washington, D.C. We salute you - a great American, a world renowned artist and the champion of the oppressed. Your unselfish contributions to our cause are legion.

The fight for the restoration of your passport is our fight and that of thousands of others throughout the world who will not rest until you again possess the democratic right to pursue your career as a world artist and to bring to all people your songs of hope and peace.

We join with you and those who stand by your side and in complete solidarity we chorus, "Let the freedom train roll."

TELEPHONE: KENWOOD 8-2700

United Packinghouse Workers of America

AFFILIATED WITH THE CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

U.P.W.A. C.I.O. - LOCAL NO. 25
4859 South Wabash Ave.
CHICAGO 15, ILLINOIS

Rec.# 202
J.G.

June 10, 1954

Maude Greene
Secretary-Treasurer
139 West 125th Street
Suite 6
New York 27, N. Y.

Dear Friend:

Enclosed is a check in the amount of fifteen dollars ($15.00) which is a contribution to the Cultural Salute to Paul Robeson campaign.

Hoping that this contribution will be of some service to this worthy cause.

Very truly yours,
Joseph Zabritski
Joseph Zabritski
President, Local #25
UPWA-CIO

JZ/jb
Enclosure

First Episcopal District A. M. E. Zion Church

CONFERENCES:
NEW YORK
NEW ENGLAND
WESTERN NEW YORK
WESTERN NORTH CAROLINA

BISHOP W. J. WALLS, PRESIDING
HOME OFFICE:
4736 SOUTH PARKWAY
TELEPHONE KENWOOD 6389
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

CHAIRMAN:
LIVINGSTONE COLLEGE TRUSTEES BOARD
BOARD OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION
TRUSTEE:
INTERNATIONAL CHRISTIAN ENDEAVOR SOCIETY
MEMBER:
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
FEDERAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES
CENTRAL COMMITTEE:
WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

June 3, 1954

Mrs. Maude Green
139 W. 125th Street
Suite 6
New York 27, N. Y.

Dear Mrs. Green:

Bishop Walls wishes me to say to you that he received his notice of the Robeson salute to late to attend. The letter came while he was on the road.

He extends congratulations to Dr. Robeson.

Sincerely,
Joyce Brown
Joyce Brown
Secretary

To Paul Robeson: May 26 -
Rec#98

We wish we were having dinner with you tonight, to join in person the fight to restore your right to travel, and your right to be heard again by millions of friends around the world. Jenny & Craig Vincent

1954
SUSTAINER
DRIVE

california labor school
321 Divisadero • San Francisco 17 • UNderhill 3-3023

FOUNDED 1942
HOLLAND ROBERTS
DIRECTOR

May 24, 1954

Paul Robeson
New York, N.Y.

Dear Paul:

Accept my warm handclasp over the Rockies and Applachians. We are happy to salute you from California on this occasion of the launching of the campaign to restore your passport.

You have earned the right to exercise every privilege that Americans have earned by honest work for their country. I know you are entitled to this on the same basis as every other patriotic American.

But there is something more. I want to join the fight for your passport because you more than any other man I know can represent the America I believe in as a great ambassador of culture to the people of other lands. I know from personal experience that your name is a happy household word on the Volga steppes, in the factories of Warsaw, in Prague, in the suburbs of Paris, and the workshops of London. I want you to represent me and the students and the faculty of our School and the workers of San Francisco. We must see to it that your great voice rings out again to the acclaim of thousands of peace workers as I heard it in the great Peace Congress of 1950 at Warsaw. I am asking that you be our distinguished peace delegate in person.

We will join your campaign for your passport for another reason, because we know that your appearance abroad will be a symbol that the rising spirit of democracy among our people is throwing back the forces of war and fascism. They will know that you come bringing renewed assurances of peace from the great cities, plains, and mountains of America.

Count us among the firm supporters to demand your right to travel and to every freedom.

Every good wish for you and the campaign.

Holland

Holland Roberts, Director
California Labor School

HR:ps
Labor donated

1954
SUSTAINER
DRIVE

california labor school
321 Divisadero • San Francisco 17 • UNderhill 3-3023

FOUNDED 1942
HOLLAND ROBERTS
DIRECTOR

May 24, 1954

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Howard Fast
Cultural Salute
to Paul Robeson
139 West 125th Street
Suite 6, New York 27, N.Y.

Dear Friends:

I am noting my personal greeting to Paul Robeson as a cultural salute in the launching of the campaign to restore his passport.

As one of those denied the opportunity along with Paul to leave the United States I have a personal understanding of this denial of freedom of movement.

Fraternally yours,

Holland Roberts

Holland Roberts, Director
California Labor School

HR:ps
Labor donated

Enclosure

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

Paarl Boycott

CAPE TOWN.

Because of the uncivil treatment received by African customers, the Paarl branch of African National Congress has organised a boycott of a general dealer's shop in the Klippesdal area.

"Since last Monday not even a child has bought a sweet there. They all stopped one another," said Mr. H. Gila, secretary of the branch. "All the Africans went to the shops about a mile away. We are sick of having to wait, sometimes hours, before anyone serves us," Mr. Gila added.

The Coloured people in the area joined the boycott on Wednesday, and even stopped their children from going to the shop, said Mr. Gila.

WOLSELEY STRIKE IN THIRD WEEK

Workers Suffer Hardship Bravely

CAPE TOWN.

"POLICE are in the location day and night," said Mrs. Rachael Williams, a leader of the Food and Canning Workers Union in Wolseley whose dismissal together with that of two other leaders brought 380 workers at the Wolseley Fruit Canning Company out on strike three weeks ago. "They take off their coats so that we cannot see their numbers and then they hit the people," she told Advance.

But despite intimidation and hardship the Wolseley workers are still firm in their demand that unless their leaders are re-employed they will not return to work.

Scab workers at the factory are leaving after a short time, Mrs. Williams told Advance, "they say that they are dissatisfied with the work. This (Saturday) morning I counted 45 workers on the platform waiting for a train to Elsies River and 25 leaving for Worcester and Touws River. They all told me that they were not coming back to work here."

EIGHT CHILDREN

Mrs. Williams lives in Saron. Every year when the fruit season starts she moves to Wolseley with her younger children. She has eight children and an invalid husband to support. Her eldest daughter, who started working a year ago, is one of the strikers.

"No one has gone back to work," said Miss Rachael Sass, the chairman of the strike committee. "We are still determined to fight to the last for our right to organise in a free trade union."

The Food and Canning Workers' Union and the African Food and Canning Workers' Union were paying the workers strike pay, she told Advance, but this was much less than their usual wages, so workers with families to support were finding it difficult to make ends meet.

The strikers met last Saturday afternoon (photo above) to receive their strike pay and to reaffirm their decision. Speeches from the workers urged them to continue their struggle and not to be intimidated by the threats of the police or the bosses. There were no signs of the strike breaking, and everyone spoke in favour of continuing the fight for their rights.

African Entertainers Organise

JOHANNESBURG.

ABOUT seventy musicians, actors, producers and other artists were present at the inaugural meeting of the Union of Southern African Artists, when it was decided to establish the union of a non-colour-bar organisation, open to all professional or semi-professional entertainers to protect and advance their interests.

African entertainers are amongst the most exploited groups of their kind in the world. A well-known African musician recently made a recording, of which 87,000 copies were sold. His total fee was £2 10s. The entertainment industry is full of similar examples. Contracts are seldom signed, and talented performers are at the mercy of the powerful monopolies which domin-

Joe Podbrey and Dr. Guy Routh, the Union of Southern African Artists seeks to protect its members by seeing that they get fair contracts, and royalties and that reasonable minimum standards are established throughout the profession. In association with the union, a non-profit company has been registered to act as a booking agent for members.

Dr. Routh has been elected as

SALUTE FROM PAUL ROBESON

Messages To Natal Indian Conference

"I SALUTE you. The raised thumb 'Afrika' salute, the heroic sacrifices and the firm and unbending unity and discipline manifesto by you and the South African Indian Congress in alliance with the African National Congress have been a tremendous inspiration to black Americans who likewise struggle against the humiliation and degradation of racial oppression," says Paul Robeson, world famous singer, champion of the oppressed people and holder of a Stalin Peace Prize, in a message to the 7th Annual Conference of the Natal Indian Conference, opened last Friday by Walter Sisulu, Secretary-General of the African National Congress.

"I know that your Congress will rededicate itself to carrying forward the great task of combating and defeating the forces of fascism and racist tyranny in South Africa and of achieving full freedom and equality for all the peoples of that land," the message continues.

FUTURE OURS

"No matter how dark the present hour may be, I have absolute confidence that the future will belong to us and our children and our children's children—a future of peace and social progress, of human freedom and brotherhood. I am sure that this same spirit of confidence will illuminate and guide the deliberations of your conference. I wish you all success."

Among the other messages was one from British M.P. Fenner Brockway.

"History is on your side, and Dr. Malan can no more defeat natural laws than could King Canute," he says.

AN INSPIRATION

Brockway adds: "The movement of non-violent resistance to colour laws which the African National Congress and your Congress initiated during the past year has been an inspiration to all who believe in racial unity throughout the world. Despite your present difficulties, you should have confidence in the future."

Paarl Deportations

CAPE TOWN.

An appeal to the Paarl Municipality to stop the mass deportation of Africans has been made by the executive committee of the African National Congress (Cape Region).

"We have received many complaints that your council is conducting mass deportation of Africans to the reserves under the pretext of enforcing the provisions of the Urban Areas Act," states a letter from the executive, signed by Mr. J. Nkatlo, one of the joint secretaries.

Congress registers its strongest protest at the "callous manner" in which Paarl Municipality treats the African people. "We earnestly appeal to you to stop this cruel mass deportation, in the interest of justice and racial goodwill."

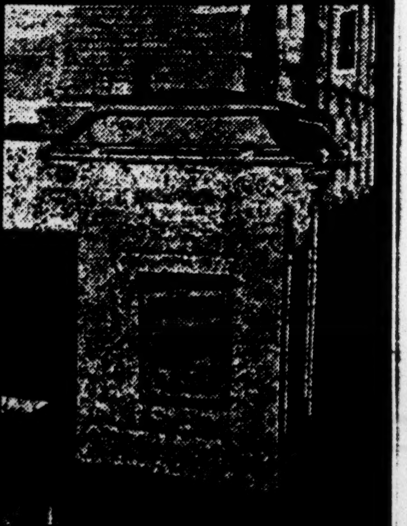
"Stop the War in Kenya"

JOHANNESBURG.

The proposal by Mr. Brink, former Chief of the Union Defence Force, that South African troops should be sent to fight in Kenya, was vigorously denounced at a meeting of the Transvaal Peace Council last week, and a resolution was passed demanding that the war in Kenya be brought to an end at once.

The speakers, Messrs. Walter Sisulu and B. Desai, and Miss Ruth First, stated that the fighting in Kenya was no "police action," but a full-scale war against the civilian population. This made the hostilities the concern of the Peace Council, which was in favour of the settlement of disputes by negotiation and not by force.

Mr. J. Podbrey presided at the meeting.



This striking three-colour poster, issued by the Transvaal Peace Council, has made its appearance on the streets of a number of Reef towns. The one you see here is posted prominently outside the Johannesburg Stock Exchange.

Planning Committee for a
CULTURAL SALUTE TO PAUL ROBESON
139 West 125th Street
New York 27, New York

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

May 13, 1954

SRP AUDIENCE DEFIES LEGION TO CHEER ROBESON AT UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Last Saturday night, May 8th, the student body of the University of Chicago jammed Mandel Hall on the campus for a concert by the world-renowned artist Paul Robeson and his noted accompanist, Alan Booth. A turn-away crowd of another thousand stayed long enough to give evidence of their enthusiasm for the beloved Negro artist before the concert began.

The Planning Committee for the Cultural Salute to Paul Robeson to be held the evening of May 26th at the Rennaisance Casino here in this city considers the events surrounding the Chicago concert part of a significant trend throughout the nation. A spokesman for the Committee expressed the opinion that if this trend continues growing in the next few months it will force the State Department to reverse its decision to revoke Paul Robeson's passport.

The size of the Chicago crowd was evidence that the campaign of intimidation begun weeks before the affair had not had its desired effect. Shortly after Paul Robeson was invited to perform on the campus by the Student Representative Party of the University, the American Legion issued a protest. The SOUTHTOWN ECONOMIST, largest circulation community newspaper in the city, carried the Legion protest as its lead story with huge headlines in its May 5th issue. The paper reported that "Officials of the Anti-Subversive Committee of the Cook County Council of the American Legion have made a formal demand upon Chancellor Lawrence Kimpton of the University of Chicago to cancel a recital ...by Paul Robeson, classified by government agencies as being a 'Communist'".

The Student Representative Party stood firm and refused to back down on their invitation to the noted singer. The feeling of the student body on this issue was expressed even before the concert when an election took place on campus April 30th to the National Student Association. The Student Representative Party, sponsors of the Robeson appearance, won 13 out of the 20 contested offices.

In a statement concerning the issues around the concert May 8th, the Student Representative Party had this to say: "It is important that students make the opportunity to hear Mr. Robeson; first, because many have never had a chance to hear him, and second, because by doing so we refuse to accede to a policy of suppressing those whose views are controversial." The statement also congratulated the officials of the University for sticking to the tradition of academic freedom.

In this atmosphere of a resurgent spirit of campus freedom, Paul Robeson sang both the classics and the freedom songs of the people. The response of the audience attested to their awareness of the greatness both of the artist and the occasion.

The Planning Committee for the May 26th Cultural Salute to Paul Robeson reports that the sale of tickets and the eagerness of so many artists to appear with and in tribute to Paul Robeson at the Renaisance Casino the night of May 26th is proof that, as the spokesman put it, "new winds of freedom are blowing".

# # #

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

May 8, 1954

PLANNING COMMITTEE for a
CULTURAL SALUTE to
PAUL ROBESON
139 West 125th Street
New York 27, New York

NEW YORK, May 8 -- A cultural salute to Paul Robeson, to be held on Wednesday evening, May 26, at New York's famous Renaissance Casino, 138th Street at 7th Avenue, will be the opening event in a national campaign to restore the distinguished artist's right to travel abroad.

Outstanding singers, actors, writers and instrumentalists will be seen and heard in the performances and creations for which they have won public acclaim, as a token of their esteem for Robeson and their appreciation for the contributions he has made to the cultural life of the nation and the world.

When Mr. Robeson joins his fellow artists on the platform at the "Salute" he will be at the height of a dazzling career which began with his first professional concert in New York's Greenwich Village in 1925. Since that initial appearance audiences all over the world have thrilled to the achievements of Paul Robeson as singer, actor of the legitimate stage and movie star.

When, in 1950, the State Department withdrew the passport which Robeson had held continuously for 22 years, as a part of the "cold war" program of the administration, the singer was for the first time prevented from accepting invitations to perform for the leading concert agencies on the European continent which had presented him in the past. Also ruled out was his participation in cultural conferences and festivals to which he has been invited by the leading cultural personalities and organizations of Europe, Asia and Africa.

An indication of the great favor in which Robeson is held as an artist in other parts of the world is seen in the audience of 75,000 who jammed a public square to hear him sing during his last visit to Jamaica, B.W.I. Also, during the past two years, the great bass interpreter of "Ol' Man River" has performed for predominantly Canadian audiences of 40,000 at the Peace Arch Park on the Northwest border of the United States at Blaine, Washington.

Invitations to do "Othello" in London and to sing the lead role in Moussorgski's opera "Boris Gudenov" have recently been tendered Robeson. His history-making "Othello" for the Theatre Guild in 1944-45 grossed a million dollars in New York and another million on the road and was hailed as the longest-run Shakespearean drama in the history of the American theatre.

The latest request to Robeson has come from a group of the most prominent composers and conductors in England, including the renowned Benjamin Britten and Vaughn Williams, who have offered to present the artist in a series of concerts in the British isles. Many organizations in Wales, where Robeson is a great favorite, have also invited him to appear.

Mr. Robeson contends that the State Department's denial of his constitutional right to travel abroad is in violation of the first amendment which guarantees the right of free speech, and of the fifth amendment which guarantees a citizen the right to property, in this instance his professional contracts.

The artists and prominent citizens who are joining in the Salute to Paul Robeson have emphasized that the appearance of this great artist before audiences in foreign countries would be a great contribution to the cultural interchange which is essential for the furtherance of world peace.

Among the cultural figures appearing with Robeson on May 26 will be the American String Quartet, singer Leon Bibb, pianists Lawrence Brown and Alan Booth; singers Nadyne Brewer, Laura Duncan, Peggy Kisseloff, Margaret McCaden, Earl Robinson, Betty Sanders, Pete Seeger, Tony Kraber; pianist Frances Walker; poet Beulah

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

Richardson, actress and writer Alice Childress; artist Charles White and others.

Admission to the Salute is $1.00, and tickets may be obtained from the Committee for a Cultural Salute to Paul Robeson, 139 West 125th Street, Suite 6, New York, phone MOnument 6-8700.

########
--30--

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

CANADIAN MINERS TO BREAK STATE DEPARTMENT BLOCKADE ON REBESON THIRD TIME, AUGUST 1, AT BORDER PEACE ARCH

Confirmation was received today here that the Vancouver locals of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers have begun preparations for another concert rendezvous with the noted Negro artist, Paul Robeson, at the International Peace Arch marking the border between Canada and the United States. Definite word of the August 1st border concert was received by the Committee to Restore Paul Robeson's Passport which is in the midst of last-minute work on the star-studded "Salute to Paul Robeson" affair to be held in this city May 26 at the Renaissance Casino.

The first border concert by Robeson took place in the spring of 1952. Originally, the Negro singer had been invited to come to Vancouver to appear as guest of the Fourth Canadian Convention of the Mine, Mill Union. When the State Department, using a neglected 1918 statute as a pretext, barred Robeson from leaving this country - the singer and the miners pledged to meet at the border. 40,000 men, women and children showed up at this historic rendezvous. Roads were blocked for miles around and the border had to be closed for two hours - an unprecedented international occurrence. At this first concert, the barred singer and the cheering crowd vowed to meet that way each year until the ban on Robeson was lifted.

Last summer, despite precautions taken by border authorities, The Peace Arch crowd was once more so great that the roads were again jammed for miles on either side of the line. A spokesman for the Committee to Restore Paul Robeson's Passport expressed the opinion here today that this year's border concert is expected to be the greatest so far because of the interest already generated by the passport campaign. Basing his estimate on recent overflow concerts by Robeson in Chicago, San Francisco, Newark, and the tremendous response so far to the forthcoming May 26th "Salute to Robeson", the committee Spokesman stated that more that 50,000 would show up this year at the Peace Arch - "enough people for even the blind men in the State Department to see."

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

#####

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION

TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS

DL=Day Letter

NL=Night Letter

LT=International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

=(02).

1955 APR 20 PM 2 03

.NBH085 PD=RK NEW YORK NY 20 138PME

=PAUL ROBESON=, FREEDOM ASOC=
139 WEST 125 ST=

=WARMEST GREETINGS THIRTIETH ANNIVERSARY THEATER CAREER INSPIRING US AND PEACELOVNG PEOPLE EVERYWHERE=

HERBERT BETTY AND MARCIA HAUFRECHT:

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Mechelen, Apri 55

Mr Kahn
Editor
New. York

Dear Sir,

excuse me for sending this letter to you; yours is the only address I know of in America, where I can send it.

As I noticed today, it will soon be the anniversary (on April 9th) of Paul Robeson. I don't have is address, but I hope you will be able to tell him, in one way or another, that someone in Belgium thought of him on that date.

Since 1948 or '49, we can't here is beautiful voice in the radio but on some very rare occasions; we can't by his records, which disappeared from the shops. But many people over here, as everywhere in the world, think of his rich, warm voice, the voice of the American people.

And we are certain, that one day, it will again ring out all over the world, as a Spring wind, which brings flowers in the fields and a smile on the faces.

Robeson will soon be 57; I am only 25 yet. He has seen many things in life, many sad things. I wish him to live many years more, and to see happiness for all people. The time will come, when Robeson will be free to come to Europe, and we to visit America.

The best wishes for the 57th birthday of Paul Robeson, a good health, and once more: lots of luck and happiness!

An admirer: Jimmy Theo

Acknowledged

FRISOM Theo
Lindenstr 22
Mechelen

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

Summary of Discussion

January 26, 1955

The discussion centered mainly around the theatre evening - 30th anniversary celebration.

It's generally agreed that the 30th Anniversary evening should be designed for mobility and its theme should suggest the background and wealth of talent from whence sprang PR and all that implies of the struggles of Negro artists and the concomitant contributions.

It's further generally agreed that there should be a small production committee and the personnel suggested is as follows:

Ossie Davis, Sidney Poitier,
Bernard Gersten, Alice Childress,
Tommy Richardson, Ruth Jett,
Howard Da Silva and Arnold Perl.

Other committees will be discussed in terms of sponsoring and advising.

(For the next get together it is proposed that the above name plus others immediately concerned go over a proposed prospectus that will begin to suggest all details for such an evening.)

The specific divisions of work include Script, Financing, Press, Production -- (casting, place, production mechanics, etc.).

There is a rough estimate that $5000 will take care of all expenses in connection with putting on such an evening and that the budget should be so projected in terms of a Lender's Agreement with the potential of a $10,000 income for three evenings. Prospective lenders will be approached on the basis of the importance of such an evening in terms of its content and the real possibility of repayment of the loan.

In addition to the facts in the above paragraph, the prospectus should include possible cast, where in New York and possibilities of other cities.

The proposed meeting in paragraph 3 to be held, if possible, on Thursday, February 3.

Born Princeton, N. J. 1898

Graduated Rutgers 1919 with
honors in oratory and debating.
Was member of the Glee Club and
Phi Beta Kappa, a four-letter man
and made Walter Camp's All-
American Team.

Graduated from Columbia Law School
1923.

Made his first concert stage appearance April 19, 1925.

We've all, in all walks of life, come to know this great artist, this great American hero, for in some way our lives have been touched by his activity whether as part of an audience, as an artist seeking means of expression, whether as a Negro artist particularly -- facing the many problems of the Negro in cultural pursuits -- or whether as a citizen seeking the right of free speech and travel.

For with all the handicaps, and sometimes in spite of them, and through great ability and dogged determination, Paul Robeson became one of the greatest artists of our times and thereby a symbol to Negro and white artists the world over.

We want to pay tribute to those 30 years of contribution to the finest in American culture in an evening of highlights from the career of this man whose name is spoken with reverence in every country of the world.

These highlights will be presented in narrative dramatic form, beginning with ~~th~~ his career on the concert stage and climaxed by a scene from "Othello" — —

(~~Something further should be indicated here on passport and denial of travel, as a part of the reason for this celebration.~~)

It will recreate the experience of singing at the Peace Arch to 40,000 peace-loving peoples on both sides after the State Department confined his travels to this country and refuses still to issue a passport to this artist who receives daily invitations to appear all over the world.

It will utilize the talents of others who have profited or been inspired by the experiences of Paul Robeson. (Such talents as Ruby Dee, Ossie Davis, Frank Silvera, Alice Childress, Sidney Poitier and others.)

The script will be written by Arnold Perl and Ossie Davis. The production Committees will include Thomas Richardson, Bernard Gersten, Ruth Jett and Howard Da Silva.

Alice Childress, Ossie Davis, Sidney Poitier.

The production will be designed so that it can be moved easily to nearby areas.

It is estimated that the total cost will be $5000.

The evening will be presented at

Prices for the evening will be

The evening will yield a return of $10,000, or 3 performances.

copy to Paul Robeson

Fellowship of Reconciliation
21 Audubon Ave.
New York 32, N. Y.

December 27, 1950.

Passport Bureau
Department of State
Washington, D. C.

Dear sirs:

We note with regret the fact that Paul Robeson's passport is still being kept from him and that, under the circumstances, he is prevented from traveling abroad--among other things in order to pursue his professional career.

As religious pacifists, we are, of course, opposed to Communism, violence, and totalitarianism of all kinds. We have had no connection with the so-called Stockholm peace campaign in which Paul Robeson has been active. And we are aware of the fact that his travels abroad serve propaganda purposes as well as his professional work.

Nevertheless, we believe that it is a very dangerous thing for a democratic society to interfere with freedom of expression on political, racial, or religious grounds. When the rule that utterance is to be free is breached in the case of certain groups and opinions, it is certain presently to be breached in other respects also, and eventually will simply be lost altogether. Freedom of expression is significant only if it also is extended to those whose opinions, in the words of Justice Holmes, we hate.

If there are specific actions of Paul Robeson's on which this action is based, then, in the first place, it would appear that the American people are entitled to know this and, in the second place, that the laws which obtain in such cases should be invoked.

Sincerely yours,

AJM/h

A. J. Muste

March 7, 1956

Mr. William L. Patterson
23 W. 26th St.
New York, New York

Dear Pat:

Thanks very much for - and heartiest congratulations on - the excellent Amicus Brief in the case of Paul Robeson vs. John Foster Dulles.

I should greatly appreciate hearing how you folks are planning to use it beyond the immediate court area. Has date for argument on the appeal been set, if so, what is it?

I haven't had a chance to discuss this yet; but my own off the cuff thought is that we might undertake, shortly before date of argument, a number of steps designed to publicise the appeal.

It seems to me that this action would be desirable and effective, particularly in the Negro communities. An advertisement - if it were accepted - in the Chicago Defender, for example, would certainly set off much discussion and debate.

Please let me hear from you. Everyone sends warmest regards.

Leon

3/5/56

My Dear Mrs. Robeson:

I do hope that, this letter reaches you in time, I was away (in Mich.) over the weekend -

I do hope that this injustice to Paul and his family will end, Paul, you and Paul Jr, mean so much to many of us - Best wishes and good luck in this battle, we the negroes have come to the wall of justice we cant climb over, we cant go through it, neither can we crawl under it, so we must stick together and fight this cruel injustice that some people believe is the thing for us - We must not take anything less than first class citizenship - We all may not have the same political beliefs or out looks - But one thing we all do have in common is injustice and a way of life that is not the true American way of life, that the small but powerful men and women of this country would force on us - This we must fight -

I will close with a prayer and a hope in justice - that justice and the right things of American justice are done - that is I do hope Mr.

(3

Robeson's passport is given him –

Sincerely yours,

Charles Erich Wheeler

6327 Ingleside Av,
Chicago, 37. Ill.

Ansd

FYKE FARMER
ATTORNEY AT LAW
300 WEST BELLEVUE DRIVE
NASHVILLE 5, TENN.

November 21, 1955

Mr. William L. Patterson
6 East 17th Street
New York 3, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Patterson:

Replying to your letter of November 17, 1955 I will be glad to join in the petition to Mr. Dulles for a passport for Paul Robeson.

Sincerely yours,

Fyke Farmer

MOREHOUSE COLLEGE
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

March 1, 1956

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

Mr. William Patterson
23 West 26th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Patterson:

I don't see my way clear to sign the brief amici curiae. Some statements in the brief are quite acceptable to me; others are not. I feel that it would have been better to have argued the case for Mr. Robeson without indicting Mr. Dulles.

With kindest regards and best wishes, I am

Yours truly,

Benjamin E. Mays
President

BEM:H

424 Forest Ave.
Spartanburg, S. C.
Nov. 30, 1955.

Mr. William L. Patterson
6 East 17th Street
New York 3, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Patterson:

This is in response to your form letter of Nov. 17, concerning the withholding of passport rights from Mr. Paul Robeson.

I am sorry to say that I do not feel able to join with you in initiating the petition to which you refer. I am eighty-eight years old and not very strong. I know hard-

ly more than a dozen p
in Spartanburg, which
probably be my home f
rest of my days; a
could not take any
the attempt to secur
tures for the open le

Yours with regr
Ellen B. Tal

ESLANDA GOODE ROBESON
23 West 26 Street, Downstairs
New York 10, New York

February 28, 1956

Dear Friend:

Enclosed is a brief Amici Curiae in the case of Paul Robeson v. John Foster Dulles. It was found necessary to draft this brief in order to emphasize the interest which the Negro people have in the right of Paul Robeson to travel.

It is not a political document, nor is it strictly a legal document. I am asking you to read it and to permit your name to be used as a friend of the court (amicus curiae) in this matter. The brief speaks for itself.

Sincerely yours,

Eslanda Goode Robeson

Eslanda Goode Robeson

EGR:cb
Encl.

P.S. - Time is of the essence. Argument will be had March 8th next.
- E.G.R.

I have read the Amici Curiae brief in the case of Paul Robeson v. John Foster Dulles and grant permission to use my name therewith.

George B Murphy Jr.
Special Deputy, IBPOE of W
March 5, 1956

I have read the Amici Curiae brief in the case of *Paul Robeson* v. *John Foster Dulles* and grant permission to use my name therewith.

(Rev) John E Washington
author,
They Knew Lincoln

March 4. 1956.

Dr. John E. Washington
463 Florida Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C.
Distinguished Negro Author of
"They Knew Lincoln."

I have read the Amici Curiae brief in the case of *Paul Robeson* v. *John Foster Dulles* and grant permission to use my name therewith.

J Daniel Weitzman

I have read the Amici Curiae brief in the case of Paul Robeson v. John Foster Dulles and grant permission to use my name therewith.

____

Dear Eslanda -

I am all for Paul's passport brief and suit. But I am involved in so many civil liberties ventures that I do not feel I can lend my name specifically to this one.

With cordial regards
to you and Paul,

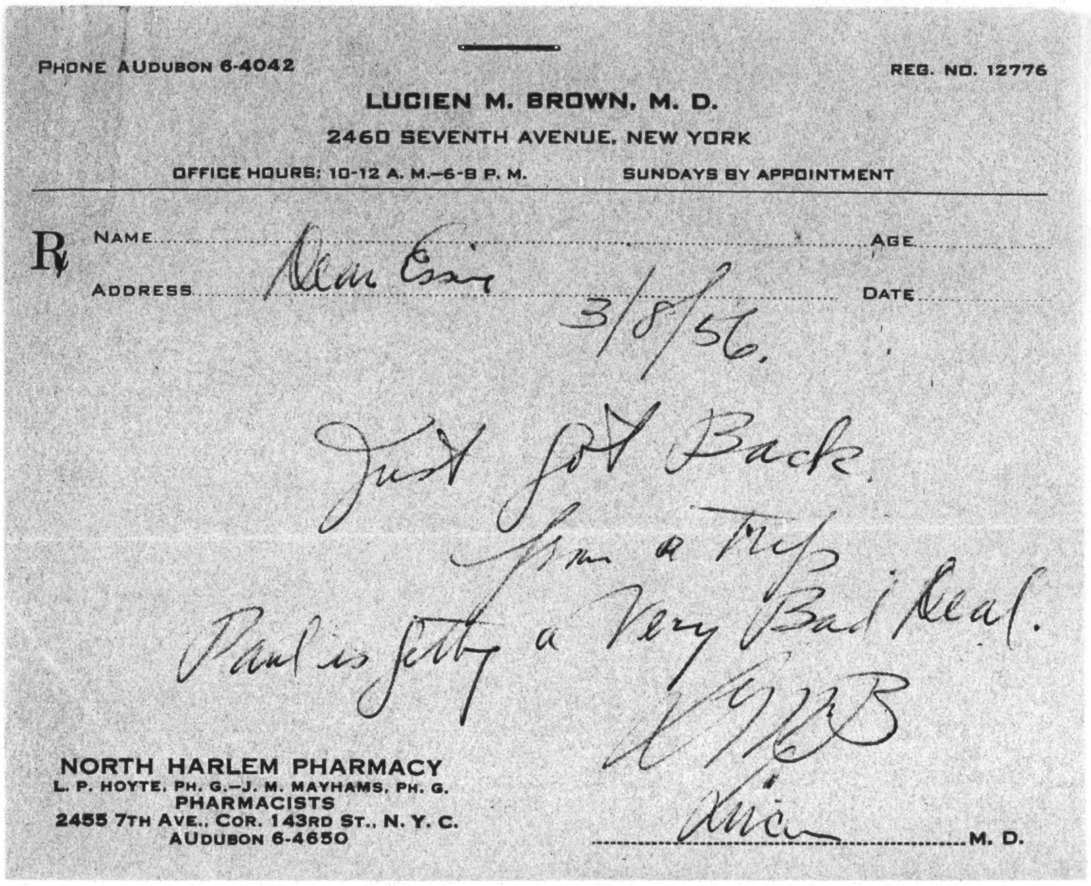
Corliss Lamont

I have read the Amici Curiae brief in the case of Paul Robeson v. John Foster Dulles and grant permission to use my name therewith.

____

I have read the Amici Curiae brief in the case of Paul Robeson v. John Foster Dulles and grant permission to use my name therewith.

Edwin Berry Burgum



PHONE AUdubon 6-4042 REG. NO. 12776

LUCIEN M. BROWN, M. D.
2460 SEVENTH AVENUE, NEW YORK
OFFICE HOURS: 10-12 A. M.–6-8 P. M. SUNDAYS BY APPOINTMENT

℞ NAME .... AGE ....
ADDRESS Dear Essie DATE ....

3/8/56.

Just got Back
from a Trip
Paul is getting a Very Bad Deal.

LMB
Lucien .... M. D.

NORTH HARLEM PHARMACY
L. P. HOYTE, PH. G.–J. M. MAYHAMS, PH. G.
PHARMACISTS
2455 7TH AVE., COR. 143RD ST., N. Y. C.
AUdubon 6-4650

I have read the Amici Curiae brief in the case of Paul Robeson v. John Foster Dulles and grant permission to use my name therewith.

I have read the Amici Curiae brief in the case of Paul Robeson v. John Foster Dulles and grant permission to use my name therewith.

Henry P. Slaughter
Editor Odd Fellows Literature

March 6, 1956

Mr. Henry P. Slaughter,
Literature Editor, Grand United Order of Odd Fellows
Distinguished book collector and donor of the Henry P. Slaughter Collection at Atlanta University, on Negro Literature.

I have read the Amici Curiae brief in the case of Paul Robeson v. John Foster Dulles and grant permission to use my name therewith.

Rev R.V. Ellis Sr.

170-09 107 Av
Jamaica L.I.

I have read the Amici Curiae brief in the case of *Paul Robeson* v. *John Foster Dulles* and grant permission to use my name therewith.

Charles Enoch Wheeler.

I have read the Amici Curiae brief in the case of *Paul Robeson* v. *John Foster Dulles* and grant permission to use my name therewith.

I have read the Amici Curiae brief in the case of Paul Robeson v. John Foster Dulles and grant permission to use my name therewith.

Dr. Harry K. Wells

228 Hampton,
Varick

I have read the Amici Curiae brief in the case of Paul Robeson v. John Foster Dulles and grant permission to use my name therewith.

Henry A. Callis, M.D.

I have read the Amici Curiae brief in the case of Paul Robeson v. John Foster Dulles and grant permission to use my name therewith.

G. Murray Branch

I have read the Amici Curiae brief in the case of Paul Robeson v. John Foster Dulles and grant permission to use my name therewith.

Dr Ulysses Campbell

I have read the Amici Curiae brief in the case of Paul Robeson v. John Foster Dulles and grant permission to use my name therewith.

(Mr.) Francis H. Bartank

I have read the Amici Curiae brief in the case of *Paul Robeson* v. *John Foster Dulles* and grant permission to use my name therewith.

John E. T. Camper, M.D.
639 N. Carey Street
Baltimore 17, Maryland

I have read the Amici Curiae brief in the case of Paul Robeson v. John Foster Dulles and grant permission to use my name therewith.

(Rev.) Stacy Adams

P.S. My address is 102 E. 8th St.
Celina, Texas

I have read the Amici Curiae brief in the case of *Paul Robeson* v. *John Foster Dulles* and grant permission to use my name therewith.

SAINT AMBROSE CHURCH
South Wilmington and Cabarrus Streets
Raleigh, North Carolina

I have read the Amici Curiae brief in the case of Paul Robeson v. John Foster Dulles and grant permission to use my name therewith.

Dr Amanda V. Gray Hilyer
Phar. D.

1833 Vermont Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Dear Essie,
A note to Dr. Hilyer from you will be very important.

I have read the Amici Curiae brief in the case of Paul Robeson v. John Foster Dulles and grant permission to use my name therewith.

Dr. C. James Franks
Morgan State College
Baltimore 12, Md.

I have read the Amici Curiae brief in the case of Paul Robeson v. John Foster Dulles and grant permission to use my name therewith.

Mary P. Thompson

I have read the Amici Curiae brief in the case of Paul Robeson v. John Foster Dulles and grant permission to use my name therewith.

(Dr.) Annette T. Rubinstein
59 W. 71 St. N.Y. 23

March 2, 1956

I have read the Amici Curiae brief in the case of Paul Robeson v. John Foster Dulles and grant permission to use my name therewith.

William Harrison

794 Tremont Street
Boston (18), Mass.

I have read the Amici Curiae brief in the case of Paul Robeson v. John Foster Dulles and grant permission to use my name therewith.

Lyndoors Gary

I have read the Amici Curiae brief in the case of Paul Robeson v. John Foster Dulles and grant permission to use my name therewith.

Capt. Hugh N. Mulzac

Eleanor Mulzac

I have read the Amici Curiae brief in the case of Paul Robeson v. John Foster Dulles and grant permission to use my name therewith.

DR. Philip Auer

?

I have read the Amici Curiae brief in the case of Paul Robeson v. John Foster Dulles and grant permission to use my name therewith.

Albert Maltz

March 6/56

I have read the Amici Curiae brief in the case of Paul Robeson v. John Foster Dulles and grant permission to use my name therewith.

Julius Heiman

I have read the Amici Curiae brief in the case of Paul Robeson v. John Foster Dulles and grant permission to use my name therewith.

Richard B. Moore

Richard B. Moore

I have read the Amici Curiae brief in the case of Paul Robeson v. John Foster Dulles and grant permission to use my name therewith.

A. M. Trudeau

I have read the Amici Curiae brief in the case of Paul Robeson v.

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

March 5,1956

Dear Essie,

Dr.John E.Washington is an elderly Washingtonnian,graduate of Howard University,its Dental and liberal arts colleges. He is a longtime,fanatical Lincoln scholar, and is the author of "They Knew Lincoln," which tells all about Negroes associated with Lincoln as servants aides etc.

It would be nice if you just sent him a note of thanks. I read the entire Brief to him,explaining certain passages as I went along,only to find out that despite his 79 years he knew exactly what he wanted,but was really trying to find out whether I understood all the parts of the Brief I spent a most enjoyable evening with him, and I am sure he will appreciate if you suggest that one of these days when you are in D.C. you would like to visit him and see his "Lincoln Library." Incidently he knew the Cardozos.

Mr.Henry P.Slaughter is another elderly Negro citizen of Washington, who is famed as the donor of the Henry Slaughter collection of Negro Literature which now resides at Atlanta University library. For many years he has collected books by and about Negroes and is still doing it. He is 84 years old and still serves as the Editor of Literature for the Grand United Order of Odd Fellows.

Although I have interviewed some seven people,most of them are so tied up with Montgomery Alabama that they are fearful that even this Amicus Curae Brief will,as they say,"Muddy"the water. But the above-named persons are distinguished as literary people and almost never sign anything,but they have the most profound respect for Paul.

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

Mr.William Nixon, also 83, a former teacher of Art in D.C. for 40 years, and president of the Oldest Inhabitants Association of D.C.(This is the Negro association). White citizens also have such an organization.

He was so upset over not signing the Brief,because he too,is involved in Montgomery,Ala.,Braden case etc., that he sent you the inclosed five dollars "to let Paul know that I am with him."

Because of the shortness of time,I may not be able to get other names in time,but I shall try.

My best love to you and Paul,

Sincerely,

George B.Murphy Jr.
2535 Thirteenth St.,Apt.21
Washington,D.C.

P.S.I told Mr.Nixon,I knew you would
under stand and that you would
write him a note of thanks.
Hisx a ddress!
Mr.William Nixon
2915 University Terrace,N.W.
Washington,D.C.

March 6,1956

Dear Essie,

Judge Hueston, apparently never having recovered from the effect of his having signed a statement which he wrote himself,on the basis of his convictions in the Rosenburg Case,which caused him some difficulties in the State of Michigan with the Elks State Association there, was recluctant to sign the Amicus Curae Brief,but asked me to say to you and Paul that if there is something else he can do he will be happy to help.

Dr.Henry A.Callis tells me that he has already signed the brief and mailed it to you yesterday.

Dr.Amanda V.Gray Hilyer,is a distinguished Negro woman of Washington who has participated and helped in every program for the betterment of our people during the last half a century. She is a longtime friend of Dr. Dubois. The Dr. is the title which she earned as a graduate from the Howard University School of Pharmacy many years ago.

She tells me it is her opinion that the document(the brief) is one of the most moving and beautifully written documents she has perused in many years. She wants Paul to know how deeply she feels about this(and this will give you a laugh) she said to me: "And I'm so very glad to see young people like you still working on such projects for helping our people."

I have not seen Dr.Jernagin yet,but cannot wait for fear of not getting this name for you in time for the haring on Thursday.

Sincerely,

George B.Murphy Jr.

P.S. A note from you containing a brief, and addressed to Mrs.Alice Dunnigan, 3509 Eleventh St.,N.W.,asking her to do a story and a column on this,at my request, will be important.

සීමා සහිත බටහිර පස්යොදුන් කෝරලයේ සමූපකාර වෙළඳ සංගමය.

The Pasdun Korale West Co-operative Stores Societies Union Ltd-

රෙජි: නො: C 1216/7-1-1944.

ගරු සභාපති :- ~~දොං. පී. පත්කුමල්~~
ගරු ලේකම් :- ඩී. ඇස්. සමරසුන්දර
ගරු භාණ්ඩාගාරික:- ඩී. ඇස්. රණවක

මතුගම.

To the Chairmen
Provincial Committee to Restore Peace
139 W 125 th Street
New York 27

Dear Friend,

Your news release, regarding Paul Robeson to hand. I am glad to know how you got my address. I suppose you ~~that~~ got it from the letter I posted to Mr. Robeson, some time back. I am sorry to say that to my both letters sent to Mr. Robeson, I didnt receieve any reply. These letters if you had seen would give you enough proof to the great love we have towards this PEACE LOVER..It is a great misfortune of us to have not seen him personally but still I had been ~~foulling~~ following him since a long time,

I wrote to Mr. Robeson asking many things a Good lately taken snap of his ,for two purposes one to have a block cut from it for the progressive papers here and the other to fram e it and hung in my room,2.also short articles from ~~from~~ time to time from Mr. Robeson to be published in local progressive papers, 3. Also for the same purpose I require his Peace songs.Since no correct news of his activities are heard here and thus such reports of him will be of great help to the prgressive people of my country and they would get a better understanding of the people of your country.

To mentioned you again I would like to have a pen friend from your country (a girl friend) of age between twenty and twentyfive who is also a progressive minded and who could send articles from time to time regarding the peoples cause in your country,

I am herewith sending you my protest against the denying of passport to Mr. Robeson, Kindly send it to Mr Foster Dulles, in my favour.

Thanking you, and wishing to here fom you at your earliest

Yours very sincerely

Upali Abeygunawarden

Upali Abeygunawarden a
President Cooperative Union P.K.West
Katugahahena
Matugama
Ceylon

27 th October 54

Mr. Fast: For your information and would you kindly forward for us)

Democratic Discussion Group,
Woollahra, Sydney,
Australia.

(Address correspondence to Miss T. Bell,
7 "Ardee," Flats,
Nelson Street,
WOOLLAHRA, N.S.W., Aus.)

18th May, 1953

Dear Mr. Robeson,

We have sent the following protest to President Eisenhower:-

"We emphatically protest against the detention in the U.S.A. of Paul Robeson, the greatest American singer of all time!

We in Australia would like nothing better than for Paul Robeson to visit our shores, to sing to us in person.

Where is the America of democratic and liberal tradition? Why are you afraid to allow your best-loved citizen this elementary human right? In any case we already know his life story. You make a singer into a hero by robbing us of the right to listen to his songs.

Is this your intention? If not, then let Paul Robeson come and go as he pleases, and we hope he pleases to visit us."

We made this protest after hearing a talk about you by Mrs. Z. O'Leary of the Australian Book Society. We also played recordings of yours.

You are a most precious member of progressive humanity for whom the love of the people is reserved. Your steadfast courage is a challenge and your art an inspiration, We shall try to respond to both in the same spirit of dignity and brotherhood which pervades your character and work.

We pledge you our determination to continue protesting against your detention until your right to travel is restored.

Yours sincerely,

T. Bell
M. D. Gowland
G. Pierce
J. Nash
Vera Heidke
Ted Jones (Junior)
E. Gilmour.
Valda Sleckers
Pat Gowland
P. J. Gowland
J. J. Gowland

(11 more signatures on the letter to the President)

409w128

To open cut at top

BY AIR MAIL

SYDNEY
8 10- 9 JNE 1953 8
N.S.W. AUST

AIR LETTER

AIR MAIL POSTAGE 10D AUSTRALIA

ADDRESS IF INCOMPLETE ADVISE WRITER

For P.R. cc/

Mr. Haward Fast,
43 West, 94th St,
New York
U.S.A.

First fold here

Third fold here

Second fold here

from Miss Reace Gentland
14/289 Edgecliff Rd.
Woollahra.
Aust.

If anything is enclosed, letter will be sent by ordinary mail.

4o3W128

To open cut at top

BY AIR MAIL

SYDNEY
10-
9 JUNE
1953
8 8
N.S.W. AUST

AIR LETTER

ADDRESS
IF INCOMPLETE
ADVISE WRITER

AIR MAIL POSTAGE
10
AUSTRALIA

For P.R. cpy

Mr. Howard Fast,
43 West, 94th St.,
New York
U.S.A.

Third fold here

First fold here

Second fold here

from Miss Peace Gentland
4/289 Edgecliff Rd.
Woollahra.
Aust.

If anything is enclosed, letter will be sent by ordinary mail.

Paris, May 14, 1954

Copy of a letter addressed to President Eisenhower and the Attorney General of the United States.

Mr. President:

The Confederation Generale du Travail , the most representative of French trade union organizations, addresses itself to you in the name of the workers of France to make known to you their condemnation of a whole series of persecutions engaged in by your Administration against one of the essential rights of the human person, that which protects liberty of opinion.

The CGT and the French workers extend all their sympathy and their solidarity to the honest , militant workers and the courageous progressive citizens who fight in the United States for the defense of the interests and the rights of the workers and for ~~[illegible]~~ an international detente, which would ~~reinforce~~ strengthen the chances for peace in the world.

We have already had occasion in the past to make known to the American authorities the emotion ~~provoked~~ aroused in our country by a whole series of judgements and executions effecting American citizens which have ~~[illegible]~~ violated the profound sense of justice of our people .

Now we wish to draw your attention to pending proceedings of which a number of persons and institutions of your country are the victims; the conviction of the trade union leader Ben Gold; the trial which has been pending in Philadelphia since last March against a number of leading workers and notably against the former anti-Franco fighter Steve Nelson and the well known poet Walter Lowenfels; the convictions and the trials against more than a hundred militant Communists throughout the United States; the menace of deportations to South Korea which threatens the patriotic Korean couple Ching Soon and Chonn Cha Kaak; the attacks against institutions like the Jefferson school and the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee; the refusal of a passport to the great artist Paul Robeson, among others ~~[illegible]~~ are some examples of political persecution for ideas which ~~[illegible]~~ is in flagrant opposition to the rights of man and of the citizen proclaimed by the United Nations.

The CGT and the French workers address themselves to you, Mr. President, to demand that you take steps to stop the persecutions of American citizens whose sole crime is to have used their right of ~~liberty~~ freedom of expression, and to decree a general amnesty for those who have already been convicted through the application of the Smith, McCarran and Taft-Hartley Laws, etc.

The defense of the rights of the workers and of democratic liberty is at the center of the CGT's activity, and of that of the French workers, and it is because of this that we address this pressing demand to you.

~~[illegible]~~ Accept, Mr. President, the expression of our distinguished sentiments.

For the Confederal Bureau of the CGT. Alain Le Leap,
Secretary General

Deeply astonished by the message in our press, that the famous american singer Paul Robeson for years has been prevented to visit foreign countries to console us with his wonderful song and thereby to meliorate the reputation of USA the world over, I would take me the liberty to ask the honourable autorities of the United States, if you do'nt suggest the time mature for an altering of your anxious precautions, so you now could give him his passport and let him go abroad and sing and do what else he will and can for peace and understanding and good will among the peoples.

I feel sure, that you were acting wisely and honestly by dooing so, and I can assure you an increasing respect for USA by many peace- and cultureloving people the world over on behalf of such a gest.

With deep respect
Yours truly

Uffe Hansen

elected parson of

UBBERUP-GØRLEV VALGMENIGHED

Ubberup, Kalundborg,
Denmark,

June 24th, 1956.

To The United States Supreme Court
and other high autorities of USA.

COMITE NATIONAL
DE LA PAIX DE BULGARIE
Sofia

Tél.: 8-46-30, 7-86-18

Mr. William L. Patterson
6 East 17 Street
New York 3, N.Y.

July 14, 1956

HK-586

The Bulgarian Peace Committee representing millions of peace lovers in this country, joins the request of the celebrated U.S. singer and author Paul Robeson for the return of his passport.

The Bulgarian peace champions request that Paul Robeson be given the opportunity freely to travel and to bring his great art to those who love him and highly appreciate his talents.

The refusal to return the passport of Robeson is an echo of the cold war and an obstacle in the way of all people of good will to remove the restrictions imposed by the cold war. Those restrictions divided the peoples and foiled their efforts to extend cultural relations and to consolidate peace.

We take this opportunity to extend an invitation to the great American singer Paul Robeson. We hope he will come to visit us and sing us his inspired songs of peace and friendship among nations.

/sgd/: George Pirinsky

/George Pirinsky/
Vice President

Dear Friend, Paul Robeson.. May 2nd - 1952.

About four weeks ago I received your News letter which made it clear to me that our contact is still there. This makes me happy indeed. Also the good news on Dr. William Patterson has been forwarded by me to the friends here who are interested in this fact. So, you never need think that the geographical distance has alienated me from my American friends. You have read I suppose that in Holland too the battle is on between the reactionary and the progressive forces!

II Many Dutchmen who are on the side of the reactionary group, are fighting "jim-crow" nevertheless. The Dutch people in general hate racial-discrimination. But if fascism is growing, anti-semitism will increase, this is our "jim-crow". – And it is to be regretted that, here, as well as in your country, the newspapers don't give the "truth." If one wants to know it, one has to read the C-paper – (Truth), as a friend of mine from The Hague – a progressive non-communist told me the other day in a letter

III. Before finishing I want to ask you to give my best wishes to the members of the Council on African Affairs, especially to Dr. Patterson, Dr. Hunton, Mrs Robeson. And – to express the hope to hear from you again –

Very sincerely

Yours E. de Harles-Polak

ORSZÁGOS BÉKETANÁCS
CONSEIL HONGROIS DE LA PAIX
BUDAPEST
VI. SZTÁLIN-UT 124.
TELEPHONE: 124-399.

Budapest, 3 July 1956

Mr. WILLIAM L. PATTERSON
6 East 17th Street
New York 3 NY

Dear Sir,

The Hungarian Peace Council learned with great regret that Mr. PAUL ROBESON is unable to comply with the European invitations due to the fact that his application for a passport has been refused.

The art of Mr. Paul Robeson would greatly contribute to becoming acquainted with the culture of America which would bring the peoples into closer contact with each other and further the establishing of peaceful relations.

The Hungarian Peace Council protest against any initiations that bar the development of the friendship amongst peoples. They qualify the preventing of the journey of Mr. Paul Robeson as such a gesture and declare, therefore, their protestation against.

SECRETARIAT
OF THE HUNGARIAN PEACE COUNCIL

Mr.William L.Patterson
6 East 17 Street
New York 3, N.Y.

Sofia, July 14, 1956

Dear Bill,

Enclosed you will find a statement by the Bulgarian Peace Committee in support of Paul Robeson's fight for the right to a passport and his stand against the Un-American Committee.

The Bulgarian people followed with great interest and a sense of pride the courageous fight Paul has been waging in defense of peace and the rights of the Negro people. Our press keeps the readers informed of every development in this fight. Often Paul's songs resound over Radio Sofia to the great delight and inspiration of all listeners throughout Bulgaria. We all hope that when Paul wins the fight to a passport he will include Bulgaria in his European tour.

In connection with Paul's appearance before the Un-American Committee in Washington I wrote two articles in two Bulgarian newspapers. One of the articles was in the form of a recollection of a meeting in Gary, Indiana, in the church of Reverand Jackson. Ask Paul if he remembers it and give him my warmest regards.

With best wishes to you and all my other firends around you,

I am fraternally yours:

/George Pirinsky/

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

Копия

Многоуважаемый Поль Вильямович!

Примите самые сердечные пожелания по поводу Вашего 56-летия.

Вас, может, удивит письмо неизвестного студента, но мне хочется хотя таким путем поблагодарить Вас за ту великую радость, великое наслаждение, которое получаешь, слушая Ваши песни.

Моя семья проживает в колхозе "Победа" Островецкого района. Из нее никому не посчастливилось побывать на Ваших концертах. Но Вашу песню мы знаем и любим. Когда я, приехав на летние каникулы, привез грамзаписи Ваших песен, мой отец и моя сестра их очень полюбили. И теперь, когда к нам приходят в гости соседи, сестра, рядовая белорусская колхозница, спешит прежде всего проиграть им Вашу "Песню мира", Вашего "Джо Хилла", Вашего "Водоноса".

- Это поет Поль Робсон! - с гордостью поясняет она.

Односельчане захотели побольше узнать о Вашей жизни. Мы организовали в колхозном клубе вечер, посвященный Вам. Я прочитал доклад, колхозные девушки прочитали стихи, посвященные Вам. Мы прослушали грамзаписи Ваших песен.

С тех пор я читал этот доклад много раз: для рабочих тракторного завода в Минске и студентов Белорусского государственного университета. И всегда, когда включалась грамзапись Вашей песни, светлели глаза слушателей.

9 апреля, в день Вашего рождения, ученики 15-й минской школы попросили меня рассказать о Вашем жизненном и творческом пути. Они просили меня пожелать Вам в письме долгих лет жизни и больших творческих успехов.

И, наконец, одна просьба к Вам, Поль Вильямович: всей нашей семье хотелось бы иметь Вашу фотографию. Мы очень просим Вас, если можете, прислать ее.

А еще лучше - скорее приезжайте к нам в Минск: увидите новые улицы и площади, новые дома и школы, увидите великую любовь к Вам у белорусских трудящихся.

Разрешите еще раз пожелать Вам всего хорошего в Вашей благородной жизни.

С уважением к Вам

А.Мальдис, A Maldis

студент Белгосуниверситета.

Минск,14.1У-54 г.

Мой адрес: БССР, гор.Минск, Белорусский государственный
университет, филфак, 3-й курс.

ac2

B.S.S.R. - Minsk - BeloRussia
God. University U.S.S.R.

10, Ranelagh Avenue,
London, S.W.6.

8.5.52.

Dear Paul Robeson,

The restrictions placed upon you, and the persecution of all who dare to speak out against policies leading to war, have disgusted us. We want to express to you our admiration of your magnificent struggle in the cause of peace and progress and our best wishes for its success.

Yours very sincerely,
Freda Fraser
on behalf of 250 Progressive
Amateur Musicians

London, W.1.
England.
12. V. 52

Dear Mr. Robeson,

May I say how much I appreciate your stand for the cause of freedom and what is right. In doing so I am sure I express the feelings of many people in this country.

The intolerable way you

have been treated will always be remembered as a blot upon the rulers of your country.

I am sure you could never guess the extent of your following over here. Please carry on the good work and the fight for peace!

Yours very sincerely,

O. B. Fraser

[DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC
OF GERMANY]

An Herrn Paul Robeson
53, West 125th Street
New York 27
USA

Sohland a. R., d. 18.12.
1954

Sehr geehrter Herr Paul Robeson!

Happy schätze ich mich Ihnen ein paar Zeilen schreiben zu dürfen, obwohl Sie es vielleicht für nicht besonders halten mögen. Aber denoch erlaube ich mir diese Zeilen an Sie zu richten, denn ich sehe in Ihnen nicht nur einen großen Mann, sondern einen großen Freund. Meine Absicht war es schon, Sie als „Freund Paul Robinson" anzureden, aber wir kennen uns noch gar nicht und Sie wären sicherlich sehr erstaunt darüber gewesen.
Damit Sie wissen wer Ihnen schreibt möchte ich mich vorstellen.
Ich bin 16 Jahre alt und bin von Beruf Glasmacher. Neben meiner Arbeit gehe

ich in Gesangsunterricht, um mich vorzubilden für die Musikhochschule, wo ich studieren will, um am Ende als klassischer Sänger auf der Bühne zu stehen. Eigentlich hatte vor 1 Jahr noch gar keine Interresse für den Gesang, nämlich ich wollte Seemann werden. Aber weil das Schicksal es anders wollte bekam ich keine Lehrstelle und ich blieb Glasmacher.

Da sagten viele Menschen ich hätte eine schöne Stimme und sollte Sänger werden. Seitdem gehe ich schon über ein viertel Jahr in Unterricht und es macht mir große Freude.

Neben vielen Sängern höre ich Sie Paul Robeson am liebsten singen, obwohl ich Tenor und Sie Baß sind. Einmal hörte ich im Rundfunk Ihre Rede an den Weltfriedenskongreß in Stockholm und danach Ihr Lied von den 4 Strömen, von dem Frieden, das ich besonders gern höre. Meine Ansicht ist es, wenn man ein Lied singt muß man auch dessen Inhalt

Blatt II.

gesinnt sein, damit es richtig zum Ausdruck kommt und die Herzen der Hörer beseelt. Frieden wollen die meisten Menschen. Das sind Menschen, die viel Sorgen im Alltag und wenig Glück im Leben haben und trotzdem ein gutes Herz besitzen. Gerade wir in Europa bzw. in Deutschland haben viel Elend durch die letzten Weltkriege auf uns nehmen müssen. Obwohl ich nur als kleiner Schuljunge den grausamen Ausgang des letzten Krieges erlebt habe möchte ich, daß nie wieder so etwas geschieht. Ich könnte mir im ewigen Frieden so schön das Leben vorstellen. Und als Sänger braucht man auch den Frieden und darum muß man auch für ihn kämpfen, wie Sie es tun Herr Robeson. Und ich glaube, daß Sie aus dieser Erkenntniss heraus sich auch nur für die gerechte Sache einsetzen.

Interessieren würde es mich sehr, wie Sie Herr Robeson Sänger und ebenfalls Mitglied des Weltfriedens=

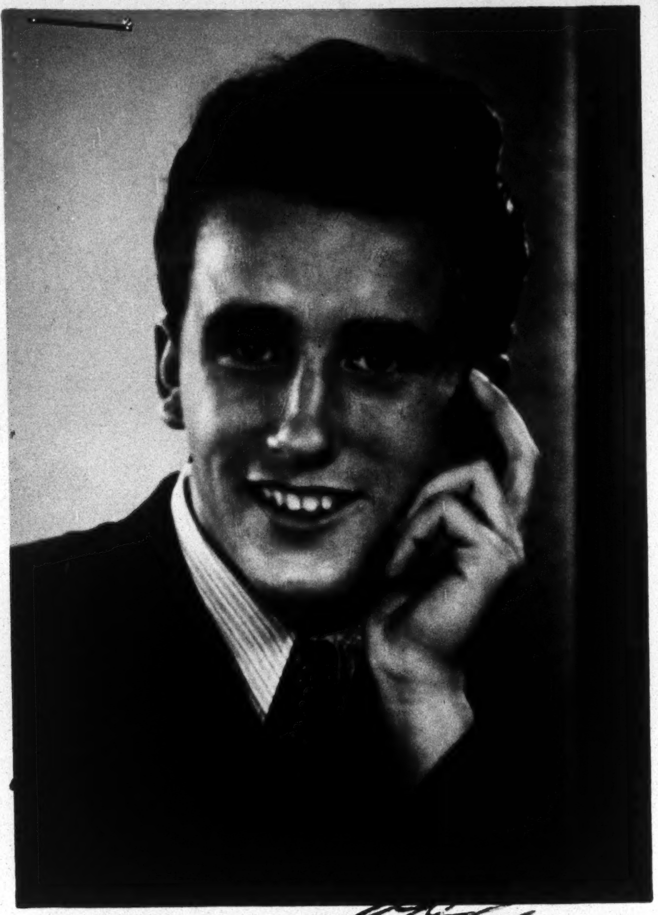
rates wurden. Sie werden denken dieser Kerl, (dieser) der Ihnen schreibt ist ja sehr neugirig, aber Sie interessieren mich sehr, Sie sind ja eine große Autorität. Ich werde Sie mit meinen Brief unnütz stören, vielleicht bei einer wichtigen Arbeit, aber lassen Sie sich deswegen nicht die gute Laune verderben. Aber vielleicht können Sie mich verstehen, wenn wir auch weit auseinander, jeder wo anders leben und andere Ansichten haben. Ich würde mich freuen, wenn es Ihnen recht ist und es Ihnen die Zeit erlaubt, wenn Sie mir schreiben u. vielleicht auch Ratschläge im Gesang geben würden. Dafür wär Ihnen, dem großen Künstler ein Anfänger dessen tausendmal dankbar.

Ich wünsche Ihnen, Paul Robeson, ein gutes neues Jahr und viel Glück und Gesundheit. In der Hoffnung, daß Sie mir schreiben, verbleibe ich als

Ihr Freund (unbekannter)

Manfred Köhler

Hoffentlich bereitet Ihnen das Übersetzen bzw. dolmetschen keine große Schwierigkeiten



Hansjacob Köhler

THE AUSTRALIAN TRAMWAY AND MOTOR OMNIBUS EMPLOYEES' ASSOCIATION

VICTORIAN BRANCH

Telephones: MU 4371
MU 1218

Unity Hall,
636 Bourke Street,
Melbourne, C.1

18th June 1954

Mrs. I. DeBoissiere,
C/- 51 Lt. Bourke Street,
MELBOURNE C1.

Dear Madam,

A letter of protest has been forwarded to the United States Embassy in Melbourne, re Mr. Paul Robeson, as follows:-

"At the last meeting of the Executive of the above Association, held on Tuesday, 8th June, 1954, a resolution was carried to the affect that a protest be forwarded to the United States Embassy in Melbourne at the with-holding of a passport to Mr. Paul Robeson, by the United States, State Department.

I would be obliged if you would forward this protest to the United States Government on behalf of this organisation."

Best wishes,
Yours fraternally,

C.O'SHEA
Secretary

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

C/o 51 Lt. Bourke St ,
Melbourne, C.1.
Australia.
24th June, 1954.

Miss Maude Green,
Secretary,
Provisional Committee to Restore Paul Robeson's Passport,
Suite 6,
139 West 125th St.,
New York 27,
NEW YORK ... U.S.A.

Dear Friend,

By now you will, no doubt, have receifed my letter of the 4th June in which I told you what I, and others, had done in response to your appeal for action on behalf of Paul Robeson.

I mentioned that one of the girls in our office intended taking copies of a letter to the U.S. State Dept. to social functions which she expected to attend. She roneoed several copies and distributed them among other people; and over the week-end, 81 signatures were obtained. The letters were mailed to the U.S. State Dept. on the 11th instant. Among the signatories were a number of trade unionists and church people, 1 Minister of Religion, 1 dental surgeon, housewives, workers, students. One of the functions was a Chinese Night and some of Robeson's records were also played. Following is the wording of the letter:

"The Secretary,
U.S. State Department,
Washington, D.C.
U.S.A.

We, the undersigned, request that the passport of Paul Robeson be restored.
The continued with-holding of his passport is against Article 13(2) of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and against the spirit of the United Nations Charter.
The exchange of culture between countries is one of the strongest means of building world peace, and because of the love of music by all people and the high degree of artistry achieved by Paul Robeson, he could be of the greatest service to his country in helping to forge a link of friendship between America and other countries."

Since then, copies of this form letter have been sent to Wonthaggi, a mining town in Victoria, where the people have a great history of struggle for basic human rights and freedoms and where I expect your appeal would find good response. Copies have also been given to Mr. Clive Burchett, C/o Banksia Holiday Park, West Rosebud , Victoria. He is the brother of Wilfred Burchett, the well-known Australian journalist and writer, with whose work you are probably familiar.

Since last writing, I have also sent copies of your letter to the following:

~~Mrs. L. W. Burgey, Secretary, Australian China Society, 75 Wellington St., Windsor~~
Mr. R. Taylor, solicitor, 3rd Floor, 360 Collins St., Melbourne, C.1.
Mr. J. Waters, Publisher, " " "
Australasian Book Society, " " "
Mr. J. Morrison, Secretary, Fellowship of Australian Writers, 4 Franklin St., Mentone, Melbourne.
The Ballet Guild, 470 Bourke St., Melbourne.
Mr. J. Lazarus, Barrister & Solicitor, Temple Court, (1st Floor Room 15) 422 Collins St. Melbourne, C.1.
Mr. S.E. Wright, Hon Secretary, Peace Convention Bureau, 164 Phillip St., Sydney,
The Editer, the magazine "Meanjin," Melbourne University, Carlten, Melbourne.
The Secretary, Actors Equity, 229 Collins St., Melbourne.

I would like to say here that in a covering note which I send with these copies I stated that I was not acting in any official capacity on your behalf, but that I was merely trying to help your committee by saving you the time and expense that would be involved in writing to these organisations from the U.S.A.

I am enclosing a letter which I received from the Tramways Union and which is self-explanatory. Enclosed is also a clipping from a Melbourne newspaper about a new organisation that has been formed . I think a letter from you would be more acceptable ~~by~~ to them than a copy from me. The address of Sir John Latham , who is the

President is 83 Rose St., Armadale, Melbourne. Some people are rather sceptical about their intentions, but ~~I~~ you cannot know what they will do unless you try them. However, that is for you to decide.

There is also a Mr. John Ford, a radio commentator, who can be got in touch with at Radio Station 3 KZ, C/o Trades Hall, 54 Victoria St., Melbourne, who, after playing a couple Robeson records on his radio session a few days ago, said that it was a pity that Robeson did not make more records today instead of spending all his time at peace meetings. I would have liked to write to him but ~~perhaps~~ had not the time, perhaps you would do so.

I am sorry that this is such an untidy letter but I generally dash these things off during my lunch hour with not enough time even to compose properly.

We know how busy you must be but we would very much like to know how the campaign is going, so drop me a few lines when you get a chance, will you?

With best wishes,
Yours sincerely,

I. de Boissiere

I. de Boissiere.

BUILDING WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION
OF AUSTRALIA

VICTORIAN SECTION:
J. C. CHANDLER, STATE SECRETARY.

51-53 LITTLE BOURKE STREET,
MELBOURNE, C.1.

PHONES:
CENTRAL 3711-2-3

2nd June, 1954.

The Secretary,
Provisional Committee to Restore Paul Robeson's Passport,
Suite 6,
139 West 125th Street,
New York 27,
NEW YORK ... U.S.A.

Dear Friend,

We acknowledge the receipt of your circular letter of last month regarding the campaign to get Paul Robeson's passport restored and we are enclosing herewith a copy of a letter that we have written to the U.S. State Department.

Following is a list of other unions to which you might write:-

Amalgamated Engineering Union, 439 Collins St., Melbourne.
Aust. Paper Mills Employees Union, Trades Hall, 54 Victoria St., Carlton.
Australian Railways Union, Victorian Branch, 636 Bourke St., Melbourne.
Builders' Labourers' Federation, 35 Victoria St., Melbourne.
Aust. Federated Butchers' Union, Trades Hall, 54 Victoria St., Carlton.
Clothing Trades Union, Victorian Branch, 54 Victoria St., Carlton.
Federated Liquor Trades Union, Trades Hall, 54 Victoria St., Carlton.
Federated Ship Painters & Dockers' Union, 6 Lorimer St., South Melbourne.
Painters' Union, Victorian Branch, Trades Hall, 54 Victoria St., Carlton.
Sheet Metal Working Agricultural Implement & Stovemaking Union, Trades Hall, 54 Victoria St., Carlton.
Tramway & Motor Omnibus Employees Association, 636 Bourke St., Melbourne.
Waterside Workers' Federation of Australia, Melbourne Branch, 480 Flinders St., Melbourne.

We have also sent a copy of your letter to the Federal Office of our Union in Sydney, New South Wales.

Trusting that your campaign will receive the widespread support that it deserves,

Yours faithfully,

J. C. Chandler

J.C. CHANDLER, State Secretary.

JCC/IdeB

2nd June, 1954.

The Secretary,
U.S. State Department,
Washington, D.C.
U.S.A.

Dear Sir,

We write in respect to the with-holding of a passport by the State Department from the American singer and actor, Paul Robeson.

This is against Article 13 (2) of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which states that "Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country;" and the United States of America, being one of the Great Powers, is expected to give leadership to the rest of the world in putting the United Nations Charter into effect.

In addition, we are of the opinion that the exchange of culture between countries is one of the strongest means of building world peace; and because of the universal love of music by all people and the very high degree of artistry achieved by Paul Robeson, he could be of the greatest service to his country in helping to forge a link of friendship between America and other countries.

We also feel that restriction of his travel affects not only Paul Robeson but the people of the world as well because they are thereby deprived of the opportunity of enjoying the art of this great American.

We strongly urge, therefore, that Paul Robeson's passport be restored to him and this blot on the tradition of American democracy removed.

Yours faithfully,

J.C. CHANDLER,
State Secretary.

JCC/IdeB

NATIONAL UNION OF MINE WORKERS

SCOTTISH AREA

President :
ABE MOFFAT (Portobello 85406).

Secretary and Treasurer :
WM. PEARSON (Portobello 85001).

Telephone No.
Edinburgh (CEN)tral 2326

5 HILLSIDE CRESCENT,
EDINBURGH, 7,

20th December 1954.

RB/DT.

Mr. Paul Robeson,
139 West 125th Street,
NEW YORK CITY.

Dear Paul,

I have no doubt that you will be pleased to know that on Saturday, 17th inst. the Scottish miners held a concert in the Usher Hall, Edinburgh, at which that grand baritone singer Martin Lawrence entertained the miners, and sang some of the songs which you yourself have made famous.

I have no doubt that you still have happy memories of the occasion when you sang to the Scottish miners in this same hall in 1949, as this concert held on Saturday last served to recall this occasion to the Scottish miners, and to raise the level of the campaign for the restoration of your passport.

I am forwarding to you herewith a copy of the message which the audience agreed should be sent to you, and also a message which they decided should be forwarded to the United States Government. I do hope that as a result of this, and similar activity on the part of other sections of the movement, your passport may be restored, and we may again have the great pleasure of hearing your wonderful voice in Scotland.

Yours sincerely,

Wm. Pearson

General Secretary.

RB.

GREETINGS TO PAUL ROBESON.

THIS AUDIENCE OF SCOTTISH MINERS AND THEIR FAMILIES SENDS GREETINGS TO PAUL ROBESON. WE PLEDGE OURSELVES TO CARRY ON WITH THE CAMPAIGN TO RESTORE HIS FREEDOM SO THAT HE MAY SING TO THE PEOPLE ALL OVER THE WORLD AND STRENGTHEN THE TIES OF CULTURAL AND PEACEFUL RELATIONS WITH THE PEOPLE OF ALL COUNTRIES.

MESSAGE TO UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT.

WE REGRET THAT THE ACTION OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT PREVENTS THE GREAT ARTISTE PAUL ROBESON FROM SINGING TO SCOTTISH MINERS AND THEIR FAMILIES AND TO PEOPLE ALL OVER THE WORLD.

WE CALL UPON THE AMERICAN STATE DEPARTMENT TO REMOVE THIS RESTRICTION ON A GREAT ARTISTE AND GREAT AMERICAN, WHO IS RESPECTED ALL OVER THE WORLD.

139 West 125 St.
New York 27, N. Y.
January 21, 1955

Mr. William Pearson, General Secretary
National Union of Mine Workers (Scottish Area)
5 Hillside Crescent
Edinburgh 7, Scotland

Dear Mr. Pearson:

Your kind letter of December 20, addressed to Mr. Robeson, was recently received. He has asked me to express his warmest appreciation for your support and that of your organization, to the campaign to restore his passport. He looks forward to the time when he can again sing to his many wonderful friends in Scotland.

Please tell the miners that he is fighting harder than ever and hopes to see them soon.

Sincerely yours

John Gray

JG:rb

NATIONAL UNION OF MINE WORKERS
SCOTTISH AREA

President :
ABE MOFFAT (Portobello 85406).

Secretary and Treasurer :
WM. PEARSON (Portobello 85001).

Telephone No.
Edinburgh (CEN)tral 2326

5 HILLSIDE CRESCENT,
EDINBURGH, 7, 18th May, 1954

RB/FK

Mr. Paul Robeson.

Dear Paul Robeson,

Our Executive Committee at its meeting yesterday discussed with deep concern the fact that you are still denied a passport and are unable to accept the invitations from people the world over who are so anxious to hear your wonderful singing and to meet you again.

We are, therefore, renewing the invitation already sent to you to visit this country and to give a series of concerts to miners in the Scottish coalfield. We have also written to the U.S. State Department protesting against their denial of a passport to you and advising them of our invitation.

We hope that as a result of such intercession you may again be granted a passport and if so we should be delighted to hear from you that you would be willing to do these concerts for Scottish miners at a date as early as is convenient for you.

We wish you every success in the fight for freedom and culture.

Yours sincerely,

p. Wm. Pearson

General Secretary.

RB.

NATIONAL UNION OF MINE WORKERS
SCOTTISH AREA

President :
ABE MOFFAT (Portobello 85406).

Secretary and Treasurer :
WM. PEARSON (Portobello 85001).

Telephone No.
Edinburgh (CEN)tral 2326

5 HILLSIDE CRESCENT,
EDINBURGH, 7, 18th May, 1954

RB/FK

The Secretary,
Provisional Committee,
Suite 6,
139 West 125th Street,
New York 27,
NEW YORK.

Dear Friend,

I have to advise you that your letter in connection with the restoration of Paul Robeson's passport was submitted to our Executive Committee at its meeting yesterday.

The Committee agreed unanimously to give every support to the aim of your Committee and in addition to renew the invitation already given to Paul Robeson to vist this country and give a series of concerts to Scottish miners.

With this in view we have sent a letter to the U.S. State Department, a copy of which I enclose. I also enclose a letter to Mr. Robeseson himself and shall be glad if you will ensure that it is forwarded to him.

We wish you and the Committee every success in the task which you have undertaken.

Yours sincerely,

p. Wm. Pearson

General Secretary.

RB.

19th May, 1954

RB/FK

The Secretary,
U.S. State Department,
Washington D.C.,
U.S.A.

Dear Sir,

Once again we are writing to protest against the fact that Mr. Paul Robeson has still been denied a passport by your Department. We can assure you that people all over Britain would welcome an opportunity to hear again this magnificent singer who ranks amongst the world's finest artistes.

As you may be aware, Paul Robeson in 1950 visited Scotland at the invitation of the Scottish Miners' Union and gave concerts to our miners throughout the coalfield. So much was this appreciated and so great the demand from our members to hear him again that we endeavoured about a year ago to arrange for him to make another visit to the Scottish coalfield.

We were advised at that time that he was unable to accept this invitation because he had been refused the necessary passport. Our Scottish Executive Committee, therefore, at its meeting yesterday decided to renew this invitation while protesting strongly against the fact that this great and cultured artiste should not be permitted to travel in other countries and allow people all over the world to hear his wonderful voice.

We, therefore, ask you urgently to reconsider this matter and to grant the necessary passport to Mr. Robeson to visit this country and give a series of concerts in the Scottish coalfield at as early a date as is convenient to him.

Yours faithfully,

General Secretary.

139 West 125 Street,Rm.6
New York 27, New York
March 17, 1954

Mr. Jaroslav Michal
Officer of Justice
B. Hora 252
Praha 184, Czechoslovakia

Dear Mr. Michal:

In line with your request I am enclosing a picture of Paul Robeson and hope it is satisfactory.

We are now beginning to launch a campaign to get Mr. Robeson's passport so that he will be able to travel abroad. We would like to know if you will be able to interest any people in your country, who will be willing to support the campaign by making statements, copies of which you would send to us and we will in turn put them to use. If you can rally artists, writers, political leaders, scientists, and others to come out in favor of the return of Mr. Robeson's passport, it will be of great help to us.

Your interest is deeply appreciated and Mr. Robeson extends his personal regards to you.

Sincerely yours,

John Gray
Secretary to Paul Robeson

JG:cb
encl.

Jar. Michal,B.Hora 252,Praha 184

Praha,7.3.54

Tit.
FREEDOM ASSOCIATES,
NEW YORK.

I thank You wery much for Yours kindly letter from Febr.9 th,enclosing the pamplet with pictures d. W.E.B.Du BOIS and FREDRICK DOUGLASS, and greetings words PAUL AND ESLANDA ROBESON.

With my letter I would receive Mrs ROBESONS photopicture with his own signature,and therefore I please You for folowing kindness:

I am sure,You know the adresse of Mr Robeson and therefore I please You,to be so wery good, to send him the letter,You will find enclose. If You hawe any his picture,photopicture,be so wery kind,to lay it into my letter.

It is wery pitty,that by words Paul and Eslanda Robesons,is not their portrait and signature. But never mind! I think,You will surely send my letter to him,and I hope,he will do me such a great surprise with sending his picture direct.

For that instance,if Mrs. W.E.B.Du BOIS and FREDRICK DOUGLASS are still on life /Duke Ellington ?,George Gershwin ? /I please You,if You will send me their adresse for sending letter them.

For all Yours kindness,which will You do me, after receiving this my letter,many sincere, hearty thank and my deeply gratefull!

I hope,You will give me answere on theese lines ,are there mystakes,but You will surely understand them!

Yours wery trully

oficer of justice.

Jaroslav Michal,
oficer of justice,
B.Hora 252,Praha 184
Czechoslovakia.

Praha,7.3.1954.

Mr.
PAUL ROBESON,
New York.

Dear Sir!

After hearing Yours nice songs, I like to own Yours photopicture,with Yours scarce own signature ! Will You be so wery kind,to do me such a great plesure with sending it ? Please,be so kind,to do so ! I shall be wery glad of hawing it! Will be hold in the greatest honore.

Many hearty thank for sending it!

With the best hearty wishes for Yours and lady Eslanda health, I am with deeply thanks,

Yours wery trully,gratefull

Jaroslav Michal

Translation of letter sent to President Eisenhower and the Attorney General, a copy of which was received by Walter Lowenfels, 4510 Regent Street, Philadelphia 43, Pa.

John - for your files
Lou

* * * * * * * * * * * *

CONFEDERATION GENERALE DU TRAVAIL (C.G.T.)
(National Federation of Labor)

Paris, May 14, 1954

To: President Eisenhower and to the
Attorney General, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.

Dear Sirs:

On behalf of the workers of France, the General Federation of Labor, (C.G.T.), largest body of French trade Union organizations, writes to acquaint you with their condemnation of the whole series of persecutions undertaken by your administration against one of the basic rights of human beings - the right which guarantees freedom of thought.

The French Federation of Labor and French workers extend all their sympathy and solidarity to the militant and honest workers and to the courageous and progressive citizens who struggle in the United States for the defense of the interests and the rights of the working class, and for an international agreement which would strengthen the chances for world peace.

We have, on past occasions, already informed the American authorities of the strong feelings aroused in our country by the whole series of trials and convictions leveled against American citizens which have profoundly shocked our people's sense of justice.

Today, we wish to call your attention to the current trials in which a number of persons and organizations in your country are the victims; the conviction of the trade union leader Ben Gold; the trial taking place in Philadelphia since March against several working class leaders and notably against the veteran of the Anti-Franco war, Steve Nelson and of the well known poet Walter Lowenfels; the convictions and the trials against more than a hundred Communists throughout the United States, the threat of deportation to South Korea of the Korean couple Chingsoon and Chonn Cha Kwak; the attacks against institutions such as the Jefferson School and the Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee; the denial of a passport to the great artist Paul Robeson; as well as other examples of a policy of ideological persecution - a policy which is in flagrant opposition with the Rights of Man and Citizen proclaimed by the United Nations.

The C.G.T. and all French workers write you in order to urge you to stop the persecution against American citizens whose only guilt is that they used their right to freedom of speech. We urge you to declare a general amnesty for all those who have already been convicted under the Smith Act, the MacCarran Act and the Taft Hartley Act.

The defense of the rights of workers and of democratic freedoms is the mainspring of all activity of the C.G.T. and of the French workers, and it is because of this that we make this urgent appeal to you.

Yours very truly,
(Signed) Alain le Leap (Secretary General)
(For the National Office of the C.G.T.)

PARIS, le 14 Mai 1954

Copie de la lettre adressée au Président EISENHOWER et au Ministre de la Justice des Etats-Unis.

Monsieur le Président,

La CONFEDERATION GENERALE DU TRAVAIL, la plus représentative des organisations syndicales françaises, s'adresse à vous au nom des travailleurs de France pour vous faire connaître leur condamnation de toute une série de persécutions engagées par votre Administration contre l'un des droits essentiels de la personne humaine, celui qui protège la liberté d'opinion.

La C.G.T. et les travailleurs français accorde toute leur sympathie et leur solidarité aux militants ouvriers honnêtes et aux courageux citoyens progressistes qui luttent aux Etats-Unis pour la défense des intérêts et des droits des travailleurs et pour une détente internationale qui renforcerait les chances de paix dans le monde.

Nous avons déjà eu l'occasion, dans le passé, de faire connaître aux autorités américaines, l'émotion provoquée dans notre pays par toute une série de jugements et d'exécutions frappant des citoyens américains et qui ont heurté le sentiment profond de justice de notre peuple.

Actuellement, nous voulons attirer votre attention sur les procès en cours dont sont victimes un certain nombre de personnes et d'institutions de votre pays : la condamnation du dirigeant syndicaliste, Ben GOLD; le procès en cours à Philadelphie depuis le mois de Mars dernier contre plusieurs dirigeants ouvriers et notamment contre l'ancien combattant anti-franquiste Stève NELSON et le poète bien connu Walter LEWENFELS; les condamnations et les procès contre plus d'une centaine de militants communistes à travers les Etats-Unis; la menace de déportation en Corée du Sud qui pèse sur le couple de patriotes coréens, CHINGSOON et CHONN CHA KWAK; les attaques contre des institutions telles que l'Ecole Jefferson et le Comité de Coordination pour les Réfugiés Antifascistes, le refus de passeport au grand artiste Paul ROBESON, parmi d'autres sont autant d'exemples d'une politique de persécution idéologique qui est en opposition flagrante avec les Droits de l'Homme et du Citoyen proclamés par les Nations Unies.

La C.G.T. et les travailleurs français s'adressent, à vous, Monsieur le Président, pour vous demander de faire cesser les poursuites engagées contre des citoyens américains dont le seul délit est d'avoir usé de leur droit à la liberté d'expression et de décréter une amnistie générale pour tous ceux qui ont déjà été condamnés en application des lois SMITH, MAC CARRAN, TAFT-HARTLEY, etc...

La défense des droits des travailleurs et des libertés démocratiques est au centre de l'action de la C.G.T. et des travailleurs français et c'est en raison de celà que nous vous adressons cette demande préssante.

Recevez, Monsieur le Président, l'expression de nos sentiments distingués.

Pour le Bureau Confédéral
de la C.G.T.,

Alain LE LEAP
Secrétaire Général.

[SOFIA, BULGARIA, JUNE 1954]

СЛУЖИТЕЛИТЕ ПРИ ДП КИНЕФИКАЦИЯ, ИЗРАЗЯВАТ СВОЯ ЕНЕРГИЧЕН ПРОТЕСТ, ПРОТИВ ЗАДЪРЖАНЕ ПАСПОРТА ОТ АМЕРИКАНСКОТО ВЪНШНО МИНИСТЕРСТВО НА СВЕТОВНО ИЗВЕСТНИЯТ ПЕВЕЦ НА МИРА ГОСПОДИН ПОЛ РОБСЪН, С КОЕТО МУ СЕ ПРЕЧИ ДА ПРИЕМЕ ПОКАНИТЕ НА РЕДИЦА СТРАНИ ЗА ИЗНАСЯНЕ КОНЦЕРТИ, ДРАМИ, ФИЛМИ И ОПЕРИ.

НИЕ КИНОРАБОТНИЦИТЕ В Н.Р.БЪЛГАРИЯ ВИСОКО ЦЕНИМ ПЕВЧЕСКОТО ИЗКУСТВО НА ГОСПОДИН ПОЛ РОБСЪН И НАСТОЯВАМЕ СЪЩИЯ ДА ПОЛУЧИ СВОЯ ПАСПОРТ ВЕДНАГА И ПРАВОТО ДА ПОСЕЩАВА И ЗА В БЪДАЩЕ НАШАТА ПРЕКРАСНА СОЦИАЛИСТИЧЕСКА РОДИНА, С КОЕТО ЩЕ СЕ ДОПРИНЕСЕ ЗА УКРЕПВАНЕ ПРИЯТЕЛСКИТЕ ОТНОШЕНИЯ МЕЖДУ НАШИТЕ СТРАНИ.

ЗА СЪБРАНИЕТО:

/ЙОРДАН ЗАФИРОВ/

(Approxinate translation)—

The Employees of the Department of Kinefication express their strong protest against the withholding by the American State Department of the passport of the world renowned singer for peace, Paul Robeson, which prevents him from travelling abroad to take part in concerts, plays films and operas.

We cinema workers of Bulgaria have high regard for the art of Paul Robeson and wish that he might receive his passport so that he might visit our beautiful socialist fatherland, which would have important results in strengthening friendly relations between our countries.

— Zafiro (first name undecipherable)
Sofia, Bulgaria

[FINLAND, 1954]

the. U.S. State Departement
Washington D.G.

Olemme 10.8.1954. opintotilaisuudessamme tutustuneet Paul Robesonin elämäkertaan ja samassa yhteydessä paheksuen todenneet, että niinkin tunnetussa maassa kuin Amerikan Yhdysvalloissa saatetaan alistua niin alhaiseen tekoon kuin, maailman kuulun taiteilijan Paul Robesonin ulkomaanpassin takavarikoimiseen ja hänen toimeentulonsa riistämiseen.

Edellä olevan johdosta olemme päättäneet vedota U.S.A:n hallitukseen maan suurimpana vallan pitäjänä, että se ryhtyisi viipymättä toimenpiteisiin, joilla Paul Robesonin ulkomaanpassi tulisi lainmukaisessa järjestyksessä palautetuksi ja hänen kansalaisoikeutensa ja toimeentulonehdollisuutensa turvatuksi.

Kemissä 10 pnä elokuuta 1954.

Suomen Demokraattisen Nuoriso Liiton
Lapin piirijärjestön opintokerhon

Pst. siht.

Suomen Demokraattisen Nuorisoliiton
Lapin piirijärjestö r.y.

[DEUTSCHE DEMOKRATISCHE REPUBLIK]

Berlin, 19. Mai 1954

Werte Freunde,

nach der Rückkehr von der Reise fand ich Ihren Brief. Hoffentlich kommen beiliegende Zeilen noch rechtzeitig an.

Es grüsst Sie bestens

Anna Seghers

Berlin, 19. Mai 1954

Liebe Freunde:

Es kommt selten auf Erden vor, dass die Stimme eines Menschen zur Lebensfreude beiträgt, dass die Stimme eins Menschen über Berge und Meere, über willkürliche Grenzen, über die Verschiedenheiten von Sprache und Herkunft hinweg, die Menschen miteinander verbirden kann. In unserer Zeit existiert eine solche Stimme. Es ist die Stimme eines Bürgers der Vereinigten Staaten. Alle, die schon einmal die Stimme von Paul Robeson gehört haben, sehnen sich danach, sie wieder zu hören. Ich bin sicher, nicht nur ich allein lege eine Platte mit einem Lied auf, das er singt, wenn ich allein bin oder durch irgendetwas bedrückt. Ich weiss, das tun täglich zahllose Menschen nicht nur in meinem Land, sondern auch in meiner Stadt. Warum nur den Abklang dieser Stimme, wenn wir den lebenden Menschen hören könnten? Gebt ihm seinen Pass und schickt ihn zu uns! Stellt Euch nicht zwischen die Völker und zwischen die Menschen!

Anna Seghers

Anna Seghers

Obs.
Till kommitén för rättvisa åt Paul Robeson.

Detta aerogram är en kopia av min skrivelse till U.S. State Department.

Till U.S. State Department.

Har med största förvåning tagit av tidningarnas meddelande om att mästersångaren Paul Robeson icke tillåtes att utföra sitt till och fullt legitima arbete som artist. Man har en gång haft den stora glädjen att höra honom sjunga i Stockholm och där hans enkla och naturliga uppträdande samt hans välljynt välljudande stämma gladde oss alla och åhörde med största tacksamhet.

Eftersom det inte framkommit att Paul Robeson gjort sig skyldig till någon straffbar handling eller i övrigt begått fel som kan läggas honom till last, varför behandlas han då på detta upprörande sätt.

Av vilken orsak fråntages Paul Robeson de mänskliga rättigheterna?

Hemställer härmed till U.S. State Department att hedra U.S.A. som nation genom att till Paul Robeson återställa hans pass och övriga legitima rättigheter som amerikansk medborgare, så att han i kulturens och rättens intresse, åter fritt kan få utöva sitt av hela världen erkända konstnärskap till sann glädje för alla sina medmänniskor.

Nynäshamn 16/5 -54

Ivar Eriksson

Obs.

Till kommittén för rättvisa åt Paul Robeson.

Detta aerogram är en kopia av min skrivelse till U.S. State Department.

Till U.S. State Department.

Har med största förvåning tagit av tidningarnas meddelande om att mästersångaren Paul Robeson icke tillåtes att utföra sitt helt och fullt legitima arbete som artist. Man har en gång haft den stora glädjen att höra honom sjunga i Stockholm och där hans enkla och naturliga uppträdande samt hans sällsynt välljudande stämma gladde oss alla och åhörder med största tacksamhet.

Eftersom det inte framkommit att Paul Robeson gjort sig skyldig till någon straffbar handling eller i övrigt begått fel som kan läggas honom till last, varför behandlas han då på detta upprörande sätt.

Av vilken orsak fråntages Paul Robeson de mänskliga rättigheterna?

Hemställer härmed till U.S. State Department att hedra U.S.A. som nation genom att till Paul Robeson återställa hans pass och övriga legitima rättigheter som amerikansk medborgare, så att han i kulturens och rättens intresse, åter fritt kan få utöva sitt av hela världen erkända konstnärskap till sann glädje för alla sina medmänniskor.

Nynäshamn 14/5 -54

Ivar Eriksson

10 SVERIGE

STOCKHOLM 700 ÅR 25 SVERIGE

NYNÄSHAMN

AEROGRAM

GODKÄNT AV KUNGL. GENERALPOST-STYRELSEN (II 1683.49.) FLYGBEFORDRAS ÖVER HELA VÄRLDEN UTAN TILLÄGGSAVGIFT

LUFTPOST
PAR AVION

Provisional Committee
to restore Paul Robeson's passport
Suite 6, 139 West 125th Street, New York 27.
New York.

SENDER
EXPÉDITEUR
ABSENDER

T. Eriksson
Nynäshamn
Sweden

OBS! BEFORDRAS ICKE SOM AEROGRAM, OM NÅGOT LÄGGES INUTI

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

OPEN HERE • OUVREZ ICI • HIER ÖFFNEN

Outokummussa 17. 8. 54

U.S.A:n hallitukselle.

Monet ihmiset eri maissa kaipaavat syvästi Paul Robesonin tapaamista. Sitä osoittavat ne monet kutsut, joita hän on saanut eri maista, mutta hän ei ole voinut kutsua noudattaa saamansa ulkomaan passikiellon vuoksi. Siksi esitämme jyrkän vastalauseemme ja vaadimme, että Paul Robson-ille on palautettava ulkomaan passioikeus.

Outokummun Demokraattiset Nuoret r.y:n
psta. Väinö Partanen

Jäljennös.

U.S.A: n Lähetystö.
Helsinki.

Suomen Demokraattisen Nuorisoliitton Vaasan Piirijärjestö r.y:n piiritoimikunta käsitteli 26.7.1954 pitämässään kokouksessa Paul Robeson'in ulkomaanpassin palauttamista koskevaa kysymystä ja päätti esittää kauttanne USA:n hallitukselle seuraavaa:

Vaadimme että mailmankuululle laulajalle Paul Robeson'ille myönnetään oikeus, USA:n laillisena kansalaisena, ulkomaanpassin saamiseen,

Vaadimme myöskin,että hänelle annetaan mahdollisuus omassa syntymämaassaan konserttien järjestämiseen.

Vaasassa 27 päivänä heinäkuuta 1954.

Suomen Demokraattisen Nuorisoliiton
Vaasan Piirijärjestö r.y.
Psta

Kai Kauttua — Rami Nygård

Puheenjohtaja, — Sihteeri.

[GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC]

Kreisfriedensrat Anklam

Sekretariat: Steinstraße 2 Fernruf 377

Bankkonto
Deutsche Notenbank Anklam 8033

Literaturkonto
Deutsche Notenbank Anklam 8033/76

ANKLAM, den 31. Juli 1954.

An
Suite 6. 139 West 125 th Street,
New York 27, New York, USA.

- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

Seit 4 Jahren verweigert die amerikanische Regierung dem glühenden Friedenskämpfer und weltbekannten Sänger Paul Robeson die Wiederaushändigung seines widerrechtlich entzogenen Auslandspasses.

Die Mitglieder des Kreisfriedensrates sehen hierin eine Willkürmaßnahme der amerikanischen Regierung zur Verhinderung der Teilnahme Paul Robeson an ausländischen Theater-,Konzert-,Film-oder Opernveranstaltungen. Die amerikanische Regierung will die außerordentliche Stimme dieses Friedenskämpfers und großen Sängers für immer zum Schweigen bringen. Wir aber wollen,daß diese Stimme des Friedens wieder gehört wird,und daß Paul Robeson an der Festigung des kulturellen Austausches der Nationen,der Völkerfreundschaft und des Friedens beitragen kann.

Darum fordern die Mitglieder des Kreisfriedensrates in ihrer heutigen Vollsitzung von der amerikanischen Regierung die sofortige Wiederaushändigung des Auslandspasses an Paul Robeson und damit die Aufhebung des Ausreiseverbots.

Kreisfriedensrat
Anklam

1-1/-G-RAUCHMANN. ANKLAM Eb 220 54

Prague, 20th November 1954.

To the Preliminary Committee for Renewal of the Passport
to Paul Robeson,
New York City, N.Y. USA.

Dear Friends,

Members of the meeting in honour of Paul Robeson ´s art, held in Prague on the 20th November 1954 in the Club of the Czechoslovak Writers, wish to manifest their solidarity to the great bard of the American People and protest against the revocation of his passport. This unlawful act of the authorities prevents him to fulfill his artist ´s mission. His art belongs to all, who understand and love the beauty and treasure of the American People ´s culture, and therefore we wish the full success of your endeavor to help Paul Robeson in performing his mission to all the nations of the world.

Czechoslovak Writers ´ Union
Czechoslovak Composers ´Union
Czechoslovak Architects ´Union
Czechoslovak Artists ´ Central Union

V Praze dne 20.listopadu 1954.

Prozatímnímu výboru
pro obnovení pasu Paula Robesona

New York

Vážení přátelé,

účastníci večera Paula Robesona uspořádaného v Praze dne 20.listopadu 1954 v Klubu československých spisovatelů vyslovují svou solidaritu velikému pěvci amerického lidu a protestují proti tomu, že je mu odmítán cestovní pas a tím je mu bráněno v tom, aby mohl plnit své umělecké poslání. Jeho umění patří všem, kdo dovedou rozumět ~~[illegible]~~ kráse a bohatství kultury amerického lidu a proto přejeme plný úspěch Vašemu úsilí, aby Paul Robeson mohl jiným národům přinášet poselství mírumilovných Američanů.

Svaz československých spisovatelů
Svaz československých skladatelů
Svaz československých architektů
Ústřední Svaz československých výtvarných umělců

Podpisy účastníků večera

Mirka Svobodová
Jan [illegible]
Imrich Čierny
Jiří [illegible]
[illegible]
Milena Černá
[illegible]
[illegible]
Procházková
[illegible]
Dr Jiří Macek
Jan V. [illegible]
Jiřina Roudná
[illegible]
Navrátilová
Jos. Vaigová
Zdena Sýkorová
Ing. Jaroslav [illegible]
Bartošová Zdeňka
Jan Šimon
Ida Šimonová
Hegnerová M.
Johnová Taťána
John
Olga [illegible]
[illegible]
M. [illegible]
M. [illegible]

[illegible]
[illegible]
Jan [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
A. Natašová
A. Natašová
Zd. Hermanová
Petr Jungmann
J. Robert
Janů
František [illegible]
Líba Vrbová
Jiří Štěpánek
[illegible] Štěpánková
Marie [illegible]
[illegible] M. Kik
[illegible] Jaroslav
Hajlová A.
[illegible]
[illegible]
Sharad
Robert Zatloukal
Jiří Beneš
[illegible]
M. Pacholíková
Eva Kaimová
Bernardin
DAŠEK
[illegible]
Žikmundová
A. Bortlíková

Ing Beneš
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
B. [illegible]
Ing [illegible]
Ing [illegible]
Ella Kretová
M. [illegible]
Dr [illegible]
R. [illegible]
Anna Smolková
Miroslav Florian
Alena Florianová
[illegible]
[illegible]
Zdenka [illegible]
Eva [illegible]
M. [illegible]
[illegible]
L. [illegible]
[illegible]
V. [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
Macků

D. Jehličková

J. Kozlíka

Růžičková

Šandera Ivan

Mirská

Vasilkovský Štefan

Jirečková Alena

V. Štemberová

Hubelová Jar.

Tušimová L.

O. Gambura

Jan Ulčák

B. Tyleček

M. Tylečková

Libuše Kuchařová

Jarol. Tozzaniová

Robert Tozzani

D. Daneš

D. Danešová

Frant. Havel

Ing. J. Gillar

Gillarová J.

M. Procházková

V. Karafiát

Novák Ant.

Jitka Nohová

Ludvík Černík

O. Vrba

Jiří Vaga

Kreisfriedensrat
Herzberg/Elster
Torgauerstraße 71

Herzberg/Elster, den 2. November 1954

An das
Komitee zur Wiedererlangung des Passes
von Paul Robeson
Suite 6. 139 West 125 th Street
New York 27. New York USA

Werte Freunde!

Mit Freude haben wir von der Tatsache Kenntnis erhalten, daß sich ein Komitee gebildet hat, welches den uns allen bekannten und sehr beliebten Sänger Paul Robeson zu seinem Recht auf seinen Pass verhelfen will, damit seine Kunst allen Völkern dienen kann.

Wir, die Bewohner der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, die dabei sind, einen neuen, friedliebenden, demokratischen und freiheitlichen Staat aufzubauen, wünschen Euch zu Eurer Aktion vollen Erfolg, damit auch wir den großen Sänger Eurer Nation bald einmal bei uns sehen und hören können.

Mit freundschaftlichen Grüßen!

(Kuntz)
Vorsitzender

MR. M. BURKE. 20 Queen Elizabeths Drive
New Addington
Surrey. England.

29. 10. 54

My Dear Paul Robeson;

Forgive me for taking this liberty; but: anxious to know how the campaign was going for the restoration of your passport;- I felt I should write again.

I must say that I feel very deeply for you. I volunteered for the last war to soldier against certain types that dared to deprive my fellow beings of "freedom of speech" "freedom of thought", "freedom of religion" and "freedom from want," and now that it is all over we have to stand and see the strangest of all scenes;- the ally we fought with allowing these rights of freedom to be taken from it's own citizens, I am compelled to bow my head in shame.

Being a Welshman myself from the mining valleys I offer you these few words of consolation. No matter how long we may be deprived of a visit from you - you will not be forgotten, I assure you the name of Robeson is still a great family name - and a great welcome awaits you when the McCarthy types decide they are not the Almighty himself.

I implore you - do not give up the fight for the right to be free, for every one that gives up the battle so they tighten the bonds not only on themselves but also on their fellow men. I promise you all possible help from myself and friends on this side of the water;

Could we please have a photograph of yourself for myself and family.

Yours
Mike Burke.

[CESKOLOVENSKO]

SPYTIHNĚV ŠORM
PRAHA-SMÍCHOV
HOŘEJŠÍ NÁBŘEŽÍ 21

Praha, 27.X.1954

Provisional Committee to restore Paul Robeson´s passport
139 W 125 St. Suite 6
New York 27 N.Y. USA

Svobodný styk umělců všech zemí je nejlepším pomocníkem k dorozumění mezi národy a k zajištění míru v celém světě. Umění Pavla Robesona je tak zcela výjimečné, že patří celému světu.

Proto se připojuji k žádosti všech pokrokových československých umělců, aby Pavlu Robesonovi byl opět vydán cestovní pas. Tím bude mu umožněno absolvovat všechny závazky a i my v Československu rádi se shledáme s jeho velikým uměním.

Spytihněv Šorm

Spytihněv Šorm
koncertní mistr Národního divadla
v Praze. ČSR

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1220

SYMBOLS
DL=Day Letter
NL=Night Letter
LT=Int'l Letter Telegram
VLT=Int'l Victory Ltr.

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

A52CC ZR 93 INTL PD

N PRAHA VIA MACKAY RADIO 1613 OCT 27 1954

LT COMMITEE TO RESTORE PAUL ROBENSONS PASSPORT SUITE 6
139 WEST 125TH STREET NEWYORK-27 USA

I JOIN TO THE PROTESTS AGAINST THE REFUSAL OF PASSPORT TO THE ARTIST PAUL ROBENSON STOP PAUL ROBENSONS EMBODIES MOST PURE AND ARDENT DESIRE FOR MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN NATIONS STOP HIS VOICE IS THE EXPRESSION OF THE DESIRE OF ALL HONEST PEOPLES FOR PEACE STOP IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO HEAR WITHOUT INDIGNATION ON THAT THERE ARE OBSTACLES PREVENTING HIM FROM EXPRESSING THIS DESIRE OF HIS COMPATRIOTS TO ALL PEACE LOVING PEOPLES OF THE WORLD VACLAV LACINA CZECHOSLOVAK WRITER

134PME

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

EASY WAY to TELEGRAPH
...lift telephone receiver..call WESTERN UNION..from home, office or coin box
WHEN YOU SEND A TELEGRAM THE CHARGES WILL APPEAR ON YOUR NEXT TELEPHONE BILL

ESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1220

SYMBOLS
DL=Day Letter
NL=Night Letter
LT=Int'l Letter Telegram
VLT=Int'l Victory Ltr.

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

L70CC 1S 83 INTL PD

N QU PRAHA VIA RCA 1050 NOV 10 1954

LT PROVISIONAL COMMITTEE TO RESTORE PAUL ROBESONS
PASSPORT MV
139 WEST 125 STREET SUITE 6 NEWYORK27

IT IS DEPLORABLE AND EVEN INCREDIBLE THAS THE USA AUTHORITIES REFUSE THE PAASPORT TO THE AUTSTANDING ARTIST PAUL ROBESONS AND MAKE IMPOSSIBLE HIS ARTISTIC ACTIVITY IN THE FOREIGN COUNTRIES STOP I PROTEST EGAINST THIS TREATMENT AND WISH TO THE PROVISIONAL COMMITTEE TO RESTORE PAUL ROBESONS PASSPORT IN NEW YORK FULL SUCCES IN THEIR EFFORT WHICH ROGHTLY DESERVES THE SUPPORT OF THE WHOLE WORLD K J BENES CZECHOSLOVAK WRITER

750P

EASY WAY to TELEGRAPH
...lift telephone receiver..call WESTERN UNION..from home, office or coin box
WHEN YOU SEND A TELEGRAM, THE CHARGES WILL APPEAR ON YOUR NEXT TELEPHONE BILL

ESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1220

SYMBOLS
DL=Day Letter
NL=Night Letter
LT=Int'l Letter Telegram
VLT=Int'l Victory Ltr.

day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

K2CC 9R 154 PD INTL

N PRAHA VIA MACKAY 1345 NOV 12 1954

LT PROVISIONAL COMMITTEE TO RESTORE
PAUL ROBESONS PASSPORT
MV ✓ 139 WEST 125 STREET SUITE 6 NEWYORK27

I GREETED WITH PLEASURE THE FOUNDATION OF THE COMMITTEE TO RESTORE THE PASSPORT TO PAUL ROBESON AN ARTIST WHO PLACED HIS ART AT DISPOSAL OF THE MOST NOBLE IDEA OF MUTUAL ESTEEM AND LOVE COOPERATION AND PEACE AMONG PEOPLE OF ALL NATIONS OF THE WORLD STOP I CONGRATULATE YOU TO YOUR ACTIVITY STOP YOUR EFFORT MAKES HONOUR TO THE GREAT DEMOCRATIC IDEAS OF THE MOST GLORIOUS PHASE OF HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE STOP WITH ALL PROGRESSIVE PEOPLE OF MY COUNTRY AND OF THE WHOLE WORLD I PROTEST AGAINST THE UNDEMOCRATIC TREATMENT OF THE USA STATE DEPARTMENT WHICH REFUSES TO RESTORE THE PASSPORT TO THE GREAT ARTIST AND INTREPID PARTISAN OF PEACE PAUL ROBESON STOP I ASK YOU TO HAND OVER THIS PROTEST TO THE USA STATE DEPARTMENT AND TO THE AMERICAN PUBLIC
JOSEF V PLEVA WRITER PRAHA CZECHOSLOVAKIA

1143A

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1220

SYMBOLS
DL=Day Letter
NL=Night Letter
LT=Int'l Letter Telegram
VLT=Int'l Victory Ltr.

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

K4CC 2W 60 PD INTL

N PRAHA VIA RCA 1320 NOV 17 1954

LT PROVISIONAL COMMITTE RESTORE PAUL ROBESONS PASSPORT

MV 139 WEST 125TH STREET NEWYORK27

DEAR FRIEND CZECHOSLOVAK COMMITTEE FOR CELEBRATIONS ANNIVERSARY ANTONIN DVORAK EXPRESSES SOLIDARITY WITH PAUL ROBESON AND RESPOLUTELY PROTESTS AGAINST REFUSING HIM PASSPORT AND THUS PREVENTING HIM FULLIL HIS ARTISTIC DUTIES STOP MAY YOUR EFFORTS SUCCED SO THAT PAUL ROBESON CONVEY OTHER PEOPLES MESSAGE OF PEACELOVING AMERICANS

ZDENEK FIERLINGER CHAIRMAN

1028A

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

1. 9. 54

20, Chewton Close,
Bristol, Fishponds,
England.

Dear Mrs Greene,

I have just heard that a campaign is being conducted to help Paul Robeson to get back his passport which will enable him to visit this part of the World again. I should like to express my humble wishes that your efforts meet with success.

In this country, although we are aware that Paul has progressive views, we did not expect a country with the reputation of being a land of Liberty, would penalize any man with such views, leave alone a man who is loved and admired like Robeson. Such an action does nothing but harm to everyone concerned & the reputation

of the U.S.A. is much damaged by it. I sincerely hope that the authorities concerned will reconsider their unwise decision & not ~~withold~~ with-hold permission for him to visit us here in Europe for very much longer.

Yours sincerely.

S. L. Kelly. (Mr).

[FINLAND]

USA:N HALLITUKSELLE.

Me Utran Demokraattiset Nuoret olemme panneet ikäväksemme merkille, että maailman kuululta taiteilijalta, Paul Robesonilta on kielletty oikeus esiintyä USA:n rajojen ulkopuolella.

Vaadimme, että Paul Robesonille palautetaan ulkomaanpassi, jotta hän voisi vapaasti esiintyä kaikkialla maailmassa, jotta taiteilija Robeson voisi saapua maahamme esiintymään jo tänä syksynä Suomen Festivaalikomitean kutsumana.

Utrassa elokuun 24 päivänä 1954.

Utran Demokraattiset Nuoret r.y.

Utran Demokraattiset Nuoret r.y.

Irma Kärkkäinen

Puheenjohtaja

Sihteeri

[FINLAND]

[1954]

Loimaa 27.8.1954.

Paul Robeson'in ulkomaanpassin
palauttamista vaativa komitea

USA.

Vaadimme Paul Robeson'in ulkomaanpassin palauttamista.

Loimaan Demokraattiset Nuoret r.y.

Esko Oksanen.
puh. johtaja

Leena Heikkilä
sihteeri

[AUG 1954]

MOELEIGH,
NOTTINGHAM ROAD,
FISHPOOL,
MANSFIELD,
NOTTS.
TEL. BLIDWORTH 394.

Dear Sir

I wish to add my appeal for a passport for Paul Robeson. I heard Paul each time he sang in Nottingham and have seen all his films, he always gives me great pleasure The last time I heard him was in Nottingham twenty-four years ago a few weeks

before the birth of my only
surviving son, he was called
Paul. I decided on his name
the night I listened to Paul
Robeson's wonderful voice
My son is now a final
year medical student in
Birmingham

In gratitude

Edith North

3 Rix Street
Glen Iris SE6
Victoria
AUSTRALIA.

September 2

Dear Paul Robeson,

I write as an admirer of your singing and also of your magnificent and courageous stand on behalf of justice and world peace.

I think it is a shameful thing that you are not allowed to leave your country and by this mail I am writing a protest to the U.S. State Dept. Numbers of my friends are also writing such letters.

At the moment, this country is being deluged with all sorts of American "artists" like Gene Krupa, Jerry Colonna and, to cap it all, we are getting Johnny Ray! Of this sort of culture there is no lack in Australia, in fact there has never been such a spate of Hollywood style trash, of sexy and warlike comics, of all the worst features of American life than there is now.

Luckily, we are also able to see a bit of the other side of American life now and then. The film 'Native Land' is being shown and also "Salt of the Earth" but this is a drop in the ocean and is seen by comparatively few.

How wonderful it would be if you were able to come to Australia and bring the other America to our people. Perhaps, if the efforts of decent people all over the world brings about your "release" we may have that pleasure.

In the meantime, I send you warmest greetings from my husband and myself, also our two little daughters. The elder - four years old - knows you quite well from our gramaphone records.

With best wishes,

(Mrs) Amirah Turner.

To open cut at top

BY AIR MAIL

AEROGRAMME

10d POSTAGE 10d
AUSTRALIA

MELBOURNE
3 15AM
4 SEP
1954
VIC. AUST.

Mr. Paul Robeson
c/- Suite 6
139 West 125th Street,
NEW YORK 27. N.Y.
U.S.A.

First fold here

Second fold here

If anything is enclosed, letter will be sent by ordinary mail.

Second fold here

September 2.

The Committee to Restore Paul Robeson's Passport,

Dear Friends,
I am sending by this mail a protest to the N.S. Ambassador in Australia, of which I enclose copy, and a letter to Paul Robeson, which I have already sealed so cannot give you a copy. I sincerely hope that your efforts will be successful and that such small constributions that people like me can make to this fight may help you.

With all good wishes,

Amirah Turner

(Mrs) Amirah Turner.

The Ambassador,
US.Embassy
Canberra. Australia.

Dear Sir,
I am writing as an Australian admirer of the great American negro singer Paul Robeson to ask that you use your influence with your Government to remove the ban on his travelling outside his country.
This sort of ban does the cause of the United States no good among people who believe that Mr.Robeson's views have nothing to do with his ability as a singer or his right to travel and who would like to have the opportunity to hear him.
I read in the papers that Soviet artists have been touring Britain and other European countries, that their chess players have been to the United States. This is the so called 'iron curtain' country. Yet American artists are forbidden from leaving.
Apart from all this, we Australians might get a better impression of the American way of life, if we were to hear Paul Robeson, rather than Gene Krupa, Mr.Shu and Johnny Ray. So again, I ask you to prevail upon your Government to allow Paul Robeson the fundamental right of any citizen -- the right to a passport for travel.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) Mrs. Amirah
Turner.

To open cut at top

BY AIR MAIL

AEROGRAMME

9 AM
4 SEP
1954
VIC. AUST.

10d POSTAGE 10d
AUSTRALIA

Provisional Cttee to Restore Paul Robeson's
Passport.

Suite 6, 139 West 125th Street,

New York 27, N.Y.

U.S.A.

First fold here

No 1

If anything is enclosed, letter will be sent by ordinary mail.

Telephone
Canterbury 2683

The Deanery
Canterbury

23rd August 1954.

Paul Robeson Esq,
139. W. 125th Street,
New York City. U.S.A.

My dear Paul Robeson,

I was delighted to get a letter from you and to read all about your gallant fight. I do hope you win - we dearly want you on this side of the Atlantic.

In a sermon last night, I said we were in a crazy world, using the word 'crazy' in its French sense (écrase) which means 'shattered' or 'Broken'. It is a crazy world, I said, when one of the world's greatest singers - a great worker for peace - is not allowed a passport to come to this country. It is a crazy world when the son of the man who gave a ~~quarter-of-~~ half ~~a~~-million dollars to the repair of Canterbury Cathedral is not allowed to visit England and see his father's work. It is a crazy world when the second head of the second greatest church in the world - the Orthodox Church - is not allowed a visa to come to England.

There were very many Americans in the congregation and some of them thanked me for it.

With all best wishes,
Yours most truly,

Hewlett Johnson

Budapest, 18th October 1954

Provisional Committee to Restore Paul Robeson's Passport
New York

Dear Sirs,

I was very glad to hear you have formed a committee to restore Paul Robeson's passport. We can now hope that this outstanding artist, who is of exceptional value to the entire world, both as an outstanding interpretative artist of little-known folk art and a prominent champion of greater understanding between the peoples, will once again be able to charm the world.

The people of Hungary, among them I myself, esteem particularly highly the art of Paul Robeson, part of which is to reveal valuable sources of folk music. Many a Hungarian artist has enhanced the prestige of his country by drawing on folk art, and our greatest composers have turned folk art into a lasting treasure for the whole of the world.

One of these great composers, Béla Bartók, was given a home by your people, when he was drawn towards a freer country to escape from the old Hungary that was so different from what it is today.

The Committee formed by you testifies to the fact that the love and esteem of art, freedom and peace are alive in your country. I wish you every success in your work in the hope that you will, before long, succeed in giving Paul Robeson back to the people of the world.

Sincerely yours:

Szádeczky-Kardoss El

Prof. Dr. Elemér Szádeczky-Kardoss
Member of the Hungarian Academy
of Sciences

204 Buckley St
Essendon
Victoria
Australia
2/11/54

To Provisional Committee to Restore Paul Robesons' Passport

Dear Friends

We in Melbourne were very pleased and thrilled to recieve, recently, a personal letter from Paul Robeson in answer to our letter letting you know that we had sent a letter of protest to the U. S. State Department.

We would like you to thank him and tell him his letter has been passed passed around and also published, with his photo-graph, in our local progressive press.

I have just recieved you interesting News Release & will pass it around

We have just had a series of Peace Rallies in Australia addressed by Professor Kathleen Lonsdale from London University and a member of the Society of Friends and Rev Professor Hromadka from Czeckoslovaka

At one meeting in Melbourne we had a small taste of what you had at Peekskill althougt, luckily, there was no bodily violence but our next meeting, at the Melbourne Stadium, was quite successfull

Wishing you speedy success in your campaign

Yours Sincerely
R White

THE BRITISH PEACE COMMITTEE

81 CITY ROAD, LONDON, E.C.1 CLErkenwell 0383

21st September, 1954.

Mr. Paul Robeson,
American Peace Crusade,
3rd Floor,
125 W. 72 Street,
New York, 23,
U.S.A.

Dear Paul Robeson,

My Executive Committee, which met last Saturday, received a report of your recent concert in Peace Arch Park and I was asked to convey the congratulations of the Committee to you for this magnificent effort which was so obviously an enormous success.

May we repeat again our sincere hope that your passport will be restored so that the hundreds of thousands of people in this country who long to hear you sing in person to them again will have the opportunity granted them?

With every good wish and kind regards to Mrs. Robeson,

Yours sincerely,

William Wainwright

William Wainwright
Secretary.

MOUVEMENT NATIONAL POUR LA PAIX
(MNP) LUXEMBOURG (MNP)

Siège social: 30, rue de Bonnevoie, Luxembourg ○ Compte Chèque Postal. MNP Luxembourg 9901

Adresse du secrétaire:
Jos. MICHELS
27, rue Maximilien
Echternach (Luxbg.)

Luxembourg, le 8 août 1954.

Provisional Committee to restore Paul Robeson's passport

Suite 6, 139 West 125th Street, New York 27

New York

USA

Chers Amis,

Depuis quatre ans le gouvernement des Etats-Unis refuse au grand Artiste Paul Robeson l'autorisation de voyager hors de son pays.

Cette injustice, ajoutée à tant d'autres, commises par les autorités d'Etat des USA, est de nature à jet~~t~~er une drôle de lumière sur la soi-disant Liberté aux Etats Unis.

Nous savons bien, que la honteuse action du Département de l'Etat contre le grand Chanteur de la Paix et contre d'autres amis de la Paix, ne correspond nullement à la volonté du peuple américain. Nous savons également, que des actions en ce genre, commises par le Département de l'Etat, sont une partie de la nommée guerre froide, entretenue par des fauteurs de guerre et détestée par les masses du peuple. Nous sommes convaincus, que le grand peuple américain, tout comme le petit peuple luxembourgeois, aime la Paix, la détente internationale, la solution pacifique des problèmes internationaux, la mise hors loi de la bombe atomique et à hydrogène, et déteste les lois de guerre, les lois des Mc Carty's, Taft Hartley's etc.

Paul Robeson, détenteur du Prix International de la Paix en 1950, est connu et aimé par tous les amis de la Paix du Luxembourg, par des milliers de luxembourgeois et Luxembourgeoises, hommes, femmes et enfants, qui tous, voudraient le recevoir au Luxembourg pour entendre les chants du peuple américain.

Au nom de milliers de luxembourgeois et luxembourgeoises nous avons adressé une lettre au gouvernement des USA, lui demandant, que la mesure antidémocratique contre Paul Robeson soit annulée.

Recevez, chers Amis, l'expression de nos sentiments les meilleurs!

Pr. le MNP du Luxembourg,
Le secrétaire:
Jos Michels

Prière de bien vouloir transmettre la lettre ci-jointe à Mr Paul Robeson!
Jos Michels

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

MOUVEMENT NATIONAL POUR LA PAIX
(MNP) **LUXEMBOURG** **(MNP)**

Siège social: 30, rue de Bonnevoie, Luxembourg ○ **Compte Chèque Postal. MNP Luxembourg 9901**

Adresse du secrétaire:
Jos. MICHELS
27, rue Maximilien
Echternach (Luxbg.)

Luxemburg, den 9. August 1954.

An den grossen Friedensfreund Paul Robeson

Lieber Paul Robeson,

Die Friedensfreunde aus Luxemburg sind auf das tiefste entrüstet darüber, dass die amerikanische Regierung Ihnen, dem grossen Künstler und Friedensfreund das Ausreisevisum bereits seit 4 Jahren verweigert.

Diese undemokratische und ungerechte Massnahme des Staats-Departement Ihnen gegenüber beruht auf derselben Basis wie andere ähnliche Massnahmen der USA-Regierung andern Friedensfreunden gegenüber und wirft ein bezeichnendes Licht auf die sog. "amerikanische Freiheit".

Wir sprechen Ihnen auf diesem Wege, Ihnen und allen amerikanischen Friedensfreunden unsere wärmste Sympathie und Solidarität aus.

Wir sind überzeugt, dass der gemeinsame Kampf der Friedensfreunde Ihnen und allen kämpfenden und verfolgten Friedensfreunden eines Tages zu Ihrem Recht verhelfen werden.

Friede und Freiheit werden über Krieg und Unterdrückung triumphieren.

Erlauben Sie uns, lieber Paul Robeson, dass wir Sie andurch einladen zu uns in Luxemburg zu kommen. Die friedliebenden Menschen in Luxemburg, denen Sie wohlbekannt sind, wünschen Sie sobald als möglich in ihrer Nähe zu sehen, um die Friedensgesänge des amerikanischen Volkes aus berufenem Künstlermund zu vernehmen.

Mit besten Friedensgrüssen,
Im Auftrag des Nationalrats des MNP,
Der Sekretär,
Jos Michels
Jos Michels

SDNL:n Jyväskylän Piirijärjestö
Jyväskylä Väinönkatu 28.B.28.

[FINLAND]

USA:n SUOMEN LÄHETYSTÖ.

HELSINKI

Suomen nuoriso on kutsunut vieraakseen USA:n kansalaisen,maailmankuulun taiteilijan Paul Robeson´in saadakseen nähdä hänet ja kuullakseen hänen suurta taidettaan.Vastaukseksi saamamme tiedon mukaan on USA:n hallitus kuitenkin epädemokraattisin toimenpitein kieltänyt häneltä matkustamis-ja esiintymisoikeuden USA:n rajojen ulkopuolella.

Edellämainitun johdosta Suomen Demokraattisen Nuorisoliiton Jyväskylän Piirijärjestö tuo täten julki jäsenistönsä syvän paheksunnan ja tyytymättömyyden,sekä vaatimuksen,että Paul Robeson´lle palautetaan kaikki ne oikeudet,jotka hänelle kuuluvat USA:n kansalaisena ja maailmankuuluna taiteilijana.

Jyväskylässä elokuun 15 päivänä 1954

SUOMEN DEMOKRAATTISEN
NUORISOLIITON
JYVÄSKYLÄN PIIRIJÄRJESTÖ

Suomen Demokraattisen Nuorisoliiton
Jyväskylän piirijärjestö r.y.

Puh.joht. Martti Oksa Siht. Leila Röyskö

Martti Oksa Leila Röyskö

[GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC, MAY 8, 1954]

Entschliessung

Der Vorstand und die Mitglieder des Kreisfriedensrates Wurzen betrachten es als ihre Aufgabe, dem "Komitee zur Wiedererlangung des Passes von Paul Robeson" die brüderlichsten Solidaritätsgrüsse zu übermitteln.
Damit bringen wir gleichzeitig zum Ausdruck, dass wir als Mitkämpfer der Deutschen Friedensbewegung und Bürger der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik stärkste Anteilnahme an Ihrem Kampf zur Wahrung der Staatsbürgerrechte des Mitgliedes der Weltfriedensbewegung und des auch bei uns sehr beliebten und geschätzten Sängers Paul Robeson nehmen.
Wir sind der Überzeugung, dass nur der völkerverbindende Austausch von schöpferischen Ideen und kulturellen Werken die durch zwei Weltkriege hervorgerufene Entfremdung zwischen den Völkern der Welt überbrücken und schliesslich beseitigen kann.

Darum schliessen wir uns Ihren Forderungen an und appellieren an die Regierung der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika:"Gebt dem Pionier der Humanität und des Weltfriedens, dem Sänger Paul Robeson, die Rede-, Bewegungs- und Berufsausübungs-Freiheit wieder, denn wir wollen ihn hören und auch bei uns sehen!"
Seine Stimme ist nicht nur von einer grossen, menschlichen und künstlerischen Reife, sondern zeigt auch die tiefe Liebe zu seinem Land und zu den Menschen seines Volkes, welches wir achten, mit denen wir, die Menschen des neuen, fortschrittlichen und demokratischen Deutschlands in Frieden und Freundschaft leben wollen!

Kreisfriedensrat Wurzen

51 Livingstone Street,
Ivanhoe, N.21.
Victoria,
AUSTRALIA

8th July, 1954

The Secretary,
Committee to Restore Paul Robeson's Passport,
Suite 6,
139 West 125th Street,
New York 27,
New York, U.S.A

Dear Sir/Madam,

It is with admiration for your Committee, and of the fight Paul Robeson has pursued for peace and the freedom of his people over the years, that we, the undersigned, write this letter.

Paul Robeson's name is linked with all the people of the world who want peace and democratic freedom of all peoples. The Government of the U.S.A is flouting every aspect of democratic rights, when it refuses to grant Paul Robeson a passport to leave his own country.

We would like to add our voices in support of the aim of your committee in working for the restoration of this great American's passport, so that he may personally take his message to the people of the world.

Yours faithfully,

J. D'Aprano	81 Edwin St W. Heidelberg Vic
J. Rawlinson	8 [illegible] Heidelberg
E. D'Aprano	81 Edwin St. W. Heidelberg Vic.
H. Rawlinson	259 High St Preston
A. Morf	58 Montgomery St. Heidelberg
P. Glover	58 Montgomery St. W. Heidelberg Vic
R. Wood	51 Livingstone St, Ivanhoe Vic
N. Fielder	31 Miller St W. Heidelberg
J. Fielder	31 Miller St Heidelberg.
N. Darbyshire	87 Edwin St Heidelberg N.23
J. Darbyshire	89 Edwin St W. Heidelberg
T. Barker	3 Bardia St W. Heidelberg N-23
E. Barker	3. Bardia St W. Heidelberg
F.R. Dalby	2 Berne St Heidelberg
G. Darbyshire	204 Liberty Parade Heidelberg

134, High Road,
Woodford Bridge,
Essex,
England,
24th July, 1954.

Dear Mrs. Greene,

The following is a duplicate of a letter which I have today written to the American Embassy in London.

Dear Sir,

It is with the gravest concern that I learn of the fact that Mr. Paul Robeson cannot obtain a passport for the purpose of proceeding to this country.

Paul Robeson's voice is greatly appreciated and has attracted vast audiences in the past, and since, as I am given to understand, his personal interests are coupled with the universal desire for peace, his own great "Voice of America" would contribute much to the cause of international goodwill and understanding.

Yours sincerely,

(Mr.) W.K. Rooker

1280

WESTERN UNION

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNICATIONS

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

Received VIA WESTERN UNION CABLES at 40 Broad St., New York, N. Y. Telephone HAnover 2-2920

T-3

1954 JUN 19 AM 3 51

.PSX59=ZP TIRANE 93 1/50 18=

=LT PROVISIONAL COMMITTEE MV

TO RESTORE PAUL ROBERSONS PASSPORT SUITE
6. 139 WEST 125TH STREET NEWYORK=

=AU NOM TOUS JOURNALISTES ALBANIE PROTESTONS AVEC INDIGNATION POUR MESURES PRISES CONTRE POL ROBERSON SALUONS COMBATTANT RESOLU DE LA CAUSE DE LA PAIX POL ROBERSON ET NOUS NOUS JOIGNONS A TOUS LES HOMMES HONNETES ET PROGRESSISTES=

RPT 6. 139 125TH=..

1280

WESTERN UNION

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNICATIONS

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1954 JUN 19 AM 3 58

Received VIA WESTERN UNION CABLES at 40 Broad St., New York, N.Y. Telephone HAnover 2-2920

2/[redacted]59 LT PRO 43

=DES ETATS UNIS AMERIQUE ET DU MONDE ENTIER EN DEMANDANT RESTITUTION DU PASSPORT LE PLUS TOT POSSIBLE ET QU IL SOIT LAISSE LIBRE DE FOURNIR SA CONTRIBUTION EN FAVEUR DE LA PAIX ET RELATIONS AMERICALES ENTRE PEUPLES=

UNION JOURNALISTES ALBANIE PRESIDENT FADIL
PACRAMI=..

Cablegram from the Union of Albanian Journalists - Ti~~b~~rana, Albania

TO PROVISIONAL COMMITTEE toRESTORE PAUL ROBESON'S PASSPORT

IN THE NAME ALL ALBANIAN JOURNALISTS WE PROTEST WITH INDIGNATION AGAINST MEASURES TAKEN AGAINST PAUL ROBESON. WE SALUTE THE RESOLUTE FIGHTER IN THE CAUSE OF PEACE PAUL ROBESON AND WE JOIN ALL HONEST AND PROGRESSIVE PEOPLE IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND THE WHOLE WORLD IN DEMANDING RESTITUTION OF PASSPORT AS SOON AS POSSIBLE AND THAT HE BE GIVEN FREEDOM TO MAKE HIS CONTRIBUTION IN FAVOR OF PEACE AND FRIENDLY RELATIONS AMONG PEOPLES.

SIGNED

ALBANIAN JOURNALISTS' UNION, PRESIDENT
FADIL PACRAMI

CAPE PROVINCIAL INDIAN ASSEMBLY.

27, Eden Road,
Walmer Estate,
Woodstock,
Cape Town, S.A.

14th, July, 1954.

Paul Robeson,
c/o. Suite 6,
139 West 125th Street,
New York 27, N.Y.

Sir,

The Indian community in the Cape supports you in your demand to have your passport returned.

We honour you as a man of integrity in the artistic world and as a great champion of international peace and freedom. We will no doubt have the pleasure and privelege of seeing you personally in our Country one day.

Forward to victory. Forward to peace.

Fraternally yours,

S. M. Rahiem,
Chairman.

SMRahim

ČESKOSLOVENSKÝ SVAZ MLÁDEŽE - Ústřední výbor
ЧЕХОСЛОВАЦКИЙ СОЮЗ МОЛОДЕЖИ - Центральный Комитет
CZECHOSLOVAK UNION OF YOUTH - Central Committee
UNION TCHECOSLOVAQUE DE LA JEUNESSE - Comité Central

PRAHA II,
SOUKUPOVO N. 24

TELEGR. JEUNESPRAGUE

TEL. 210-40
210-41

Č.j. ....

Praha November 8, 1954.

Provisional Committee
to restore Paul Robeson´s passport
139 W. 125 St. Suite 6

New York

United States of America

Dear friends,

we are sending herewith enclosed a copy of the appeal which the students of the Charles University in Prague have sent to the National Union of Students of the United States of America.

With friendly greetings

Jaroslav Molek

Jaroslav Molek

chief of the International Departement
of the Central Committee of the
Czechoslovak Union of Youth.

Prague, November 6, 1954.

National Union of Students
of the United States of America.

1307, Sanson Street
Philadelphia 7,
Pensylvania
USA.

Dear friends,

we, students of the ancient Charles University in Prague, are sending you and all students of America our greetings and wishes of success in the effort for understanding among the youth of all countries and among all nations.

Czechoslovak students and all our public have accepted with pleasure the invitation of our representatives to your Students Congress, being held in August this year. We have considered it a step forward on our way to remove the artificial hindrance built on the way to understanding among students.

The participation of our representatives has been, alas, made impossible by the American authorities. Naturally, our and your effort for friendly relations among students of the whole world cannot end. And especially in the present days we have the opportunity to give an other concrete feature to this common effort.

The world deeply appreciates the art of the great American artist Paul Robeson. From many countries Paul Robeson receives invitations in order to come and to play and sing, as he has done it during his whole life. He is invited to England, Israel, France and to Northern Europe, because he can speak by his art to everybody, because he also belongs to them.

We, Czechoslovak students want, too, that Paul Robeson fulfils his noble mission. We want, that his passport would be returned to him.

Therefor we write to you and through you to the students of the United States of America with the appeal, that you also raise your voice for the return of the passport to Paul Robeson.

At the same time you will help also to reach an other aim which is also our and your common aim - to remove the hindrance among nations.

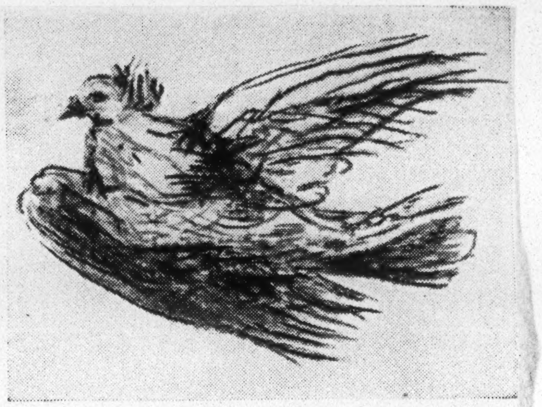
Let´s strengthen the friendship among students of all countries!

With friendly greetings

Students of the Charles´University
in Prague.

DEUTSCHER FRIEDENSRAT

BERLIN W 8, TAUBENSTRASSE 1-2 • TELEFON 22 53 41



Berlin, im Dezember 1954

Mr.
Paul Robeson

Wir erinnern uns gern an Ihren Besuch in der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik und auch daran, daß Ihnen in unserem Lande manches gefallen hat. Leider werden die Fortschritte in der Aufbauarbeit, die Sie feststellen konnten und die glücklichen Perspektiven des Friedens für unser Volk durch die Verträge gefährdet, die in London und Paris zur Wiederbewaffnung Westdeutschlands abgeschlossen worden sind. Deshalb sind gegenwärtig unsere ganzen Anstrengungen darauf gerichtet, die Ratifizierung und Durchführung dieser Verträge zu verhindern. Es ermutigt uns zu wissen, daß wir uns im Kampf gegen jede Bedrohung des Friedens mit Ihnen und den vielen Freunden in der ganzen Welt eng verbunden fühlen dürfen. Wir würden es sehr begrüßen, von Ihnen einiges über die Arbeit für den Frieden in Ihrem Lande zu erfahren.

Im Namen des Deutschen Friedensrates übermittle ich Ihnen zum Jahreswechsel die herzlichsten Glückwünsche. Möge Ihnen das Jahr 1955 Gesundheit und Erfolg in der Arbeit bringen!

W. Friedrich

(Professor Dr. Walther Friedrich)
Präsident
des Deutschen Friedensrates

(50) B 39569/54 06

සීමා සහිත බටහිර පස්දුන් කෝරළයේ සමුපකාර වෙළඳ සංගමය.
The Pasdun Korale West Co-operative Stores Societies Union Ltd-
රෙජි: නො: C 1216/7-1-1944.

ගරු සභාපති :- ~~දයා පී. පස්කුවල්~~
ගරු ලේකම් :- ඩී. ඇස්. සමරසුන්දර
ගරු භාණ්ඩාගාරික:- ඩී. ඇස්. රණවක

මතුගම.

To
John Foster Dulles Esq.
State Departement
Washintong
America

Sir,

As a Coo-pertaor , I am deeply moved by the fact that your Government is denying lawful passport to the beloved peace-lo- ving singer, Mr. Paul Robeson. I came to know Mr. Robeson from the films some years back, since then I had been, as many other youngsters in my country closely following him. He then inspired us with his mighty voice, but today, his voice has grown mighter, and his name is a symbol of peace. If such world renouned men are deprived o f their human rights, it would be only dishonouring the names o f your beloved leaders like Lincoln and Wash inton.

I therefore appeal to you in the name of DEMOCRACY, to restore without delay the passport of our dear friend mr. Paul Robeson, to hear his mighty voice which would strengthen the friendship between my people and those of the United States

Thanking you

Yours very Sincerely

Upali Abeygunaward

27 th October 54

Upali Abeygunawardena
President Cooperative Union P.K.West
Matugama
Katugahahena
CEYLON

Motto: "C'est la lutte finale,
Groupons-nous, et demain,
L'Internationale
Sera le genre humain !"

Mon cher ami,

permettez moi, de vous souhaitez beaucoup de santé
et des grands succès
au combat pour la paix mondiale !

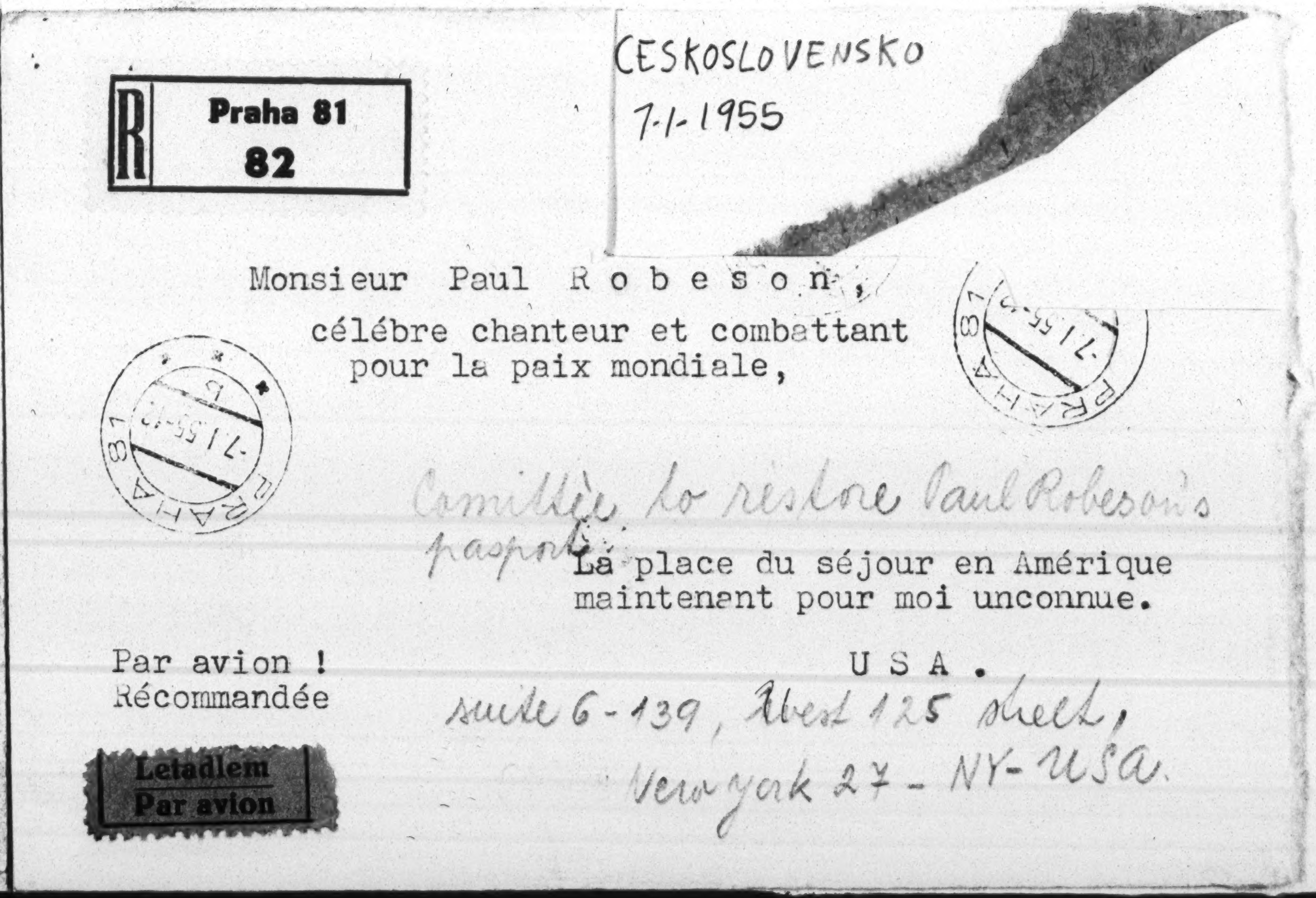
Je panse souvent à vous et je chante :

" Missisipi, ty řeko stará,
tys matkou která
se špetně stará,
o svoje děti, jež na ní lpěti musí !"

Encore une fois beaucoup de santé et je signe

Vive la paix mondiale !

Jiří Šroubek et les autres.



R Praha 81
82

CESKOSLOVENSKO
7-1-1955

Monsieur Paul Robeson,
célébre chanteur et combattant
pour la paix mondiale,

PRAHA 81
-7.I.55-12
b

Comittee to restore Paul Robeson's passport.

La place du séjour en Amérique
maintenant pour moi unconnue.

U S A .

suite 6-139, West 125 street,
New york 27 - NY- USA.

Par avion !
Récommandée

Letadlem
Par avion

Envoyeur: Jiří Šroubek et les autres,
Prague 8-Bohnice,
La Bohême.

ČESKOSLOVENSKO
h40
LEOŠ JANÁČEK
*1854
1954
ROK ČESKÉ HUDBY

NEW YORK, N. Y.
MANHATTANVILLE STA.
JAN 12 1955

40 ELM PARK
STANMORE
MIDDLESEX

30 Dec 1954

Dear Friend,

I should be very glad to receive any material published by the ~~National~~ Committee to Restore Paul Robeson's Passport, as I am working with a group of friends on publicity on all the current attacks on freedom in the U.S. In view of the respect and affection in which Paul is held by very many people in Britain, we hope to be able to make his freedom to travel a live issue here.

Please accept my cordial good wishes for your work

Yours sincerely,

Kit Meredith

Greetings for 1955

Budapest, 18th October 1954

The Provisional Committee to Restore Paul Robeson's Passport
New York

Dear Sirs,

I was filled with deep indignation by the refusal of the Government of the United States of America to issue a passport to Paul Robeson, an artist famous throughout the world and laureate of the International Peace Prize.

I consider it my duty to protest against this measure, which makes a mockery of human rights and liberties, because I feel that the refusal to issue a passport is primarily directed against Paul Robeson as an unrelenting champion of peace, who is recognised and loved as a great artist by the millions strong World Peace Movement.

Sincerely yours:

István Rusznyák
President
Hungarian Academy of Sciences

MAGYAR
TUDOMÁNYOS AKADÉMIA
ELNÖKE

Budapest, 1954. október 8.

IDEIGLENES BIZOTTSÁG PAUL ROBESON UTLEVELÉNEK VISSZASZERZÉSÉRE.

WASHINGTON .

Az Amerikai Egyesült Államok azon tette, mellyel Paul Robeson világhirü nemzetközi békedijas müvész utlevelének kiadását megtagadta, mély felháborodást váltott ki belőlem.

Kötelességemnek tartom, hogy tiltakozzam ez ellen az emberi szabadságjogokat megcsufoló intézkedés ellen, mert ugy érzem, hogy Paul Robeson utlevelének visszatartása elsősorban a rendithetetlen békeharcosnak szól, akit mint nagy müvészt is elismer és szeret a Béke Világmozgalom több milliót számláló tábora.

Rusznyák István

Rusznyák István
elnök.

Akadémiai nyomda, Gerlóczy-u. 2. — 19370/52

SVAZ ČESKOSLOVENSKÝCH SKLADATELŮ

Союз чехословацких композиторов, Прага - Бубенеч, ул. Чехословаской армии 20
Verband der tschechoslowakischen Komponisten, Prag - Bubeneč, Čs. armády 20
Union des Compositeurs Tchécoslovaques, Prague - Bubeneč, Čs. armády 20
Union of Czechoslovak Composers, Prague - Bubeneč, Čs. armády 20
Union de Compositores Checoslovacos, Praga-Bubeneč, Čs. armády 20

Telefon: 711-41, 794-23, 744-08

Praha, November 10th 1954

Č. j. 4569/DrMk/le

Mr. Paul Robeson
c/o PROVISIONAL COMMITTEE
TO RESTORE PAUL ROBESON´S PASSPORT

139 W., 125 Street.,
Suite 6
New York 27, N.Y.,
U.S.A.

Dear friend,

As we are assembled at the plenary session of the Central Committee of the Union of Czechoslovak Composers, our thoughts are flying to your people, to you, its great singer, whose voice we had the opportunity to hear in our country too.

The community of our music loving people is repeatedly asking us to help you to come again to our country and to sing for our people, for us, musicians, and we are only too happy to forward this request to you with our wholehearted support.

We wish in Shakespeare´s words: If music be love, play on! and would like to add: play on for all of those, to whom art and music are cultural assets knowing no frontiers and serving the expression of deep human understanding and love for all the beauties of life.

Truly yours

Czechoslovak composers:

Václav Dobiáš
Rudolf Kubín
Vladimír Sommer
Jaroslav Hurt
Dr. Jaroslav Jiránek

Jiří Pauer
Jan Kapr
Dr. Ant. Sychra
Dr. Jos. Plavec

Josef Stanislav
Boleslav Vomáčka
Prof. Ján Strelec
Emil Hlobil
Gustav Křivinka
Jaromír Podešva
K. P. Sádlo

Tues. Jan. 11

Dear Cedric

Many thanks for letter. Since you've not tried anything with your book, I'll have a go - for here & some other countries. Only problem is doing this on one copy. Can you spare 2-3 more. I promise you they'll be well used.

Does any book or pamphlet exist on Robeson biography - we plan some kind of script for use in trade unions using some of his songs; but have no story of his early years - A letter from him just wished us success etc but gave no material. Can you advise?

Best to all

Joan Rodker

London W8, England 71 Church St.

NATIONAL
GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly

17 MURRAY STREET • NEW YORK 7, NEW YORK • WOrth 4-3960

Dear Friends:

The enclosed explains itself.

Please send what you can.

Sincerely,

Alice Citron

357

ORSZÁGOS BÉKETANÁCS
CONSEIL HONGROIS DE LA PAIX
BUDAPEST
VI. SZTÁLIN-UT 124.
TELEPHONE: 124-399.

Budapest, 5th October 1954

PROVISIONAL COMMITTEE TO RESTORE PAUL ROBESON'S PASSPORT
Suite 6. 139 West 125th Street
New York 27

Dear Sirs,

As Chairman of the Hungarian National Peace Council I cannot refrain from expressing my consternation at the high-handed way the authorities of the United States have for years denied the issuing of a passport to Paul Robeson, this great artist and universally esteemed personality.

Paul Robeson's art is the common property of mankind but the U.S. authorities force him into silence, and are intent on stifling - by withdrawing his passport - that far-sounding voice, demanding peace.

I wish to join those millions who are fighting to reverse the decision of the U.S. authorities. In the name of freedom we demand, Paul Robeson shall be granted a passport! In the name of the peace-loving Hungarian people I send my greetings to the great partisan of peace, member of the World Peace Council, holder of the International Peace Prize, fearless advocate of the peace-loving people of America.

Yours truly:

/Erzsébet Andics/
Chairman
of the Hungarian Peace Council

Paris, 15/9/54.

6, Square Delambre.
XIV^{e}

Ci-inclus, l'article que j'ai écrit le 15 juin dernier en faveur de Paul Robeson à qui les États-Unis donnent peu à peu figure de martyr.

Votre tout dévoué.

René Maran.

du 11 juin 1954

Prudence ? Pensez-en ce que vous voudrez.

La France sera représentée, dans les grosses et moyennes cylindrées par *Talbot* et *Gordini*. Nous sommes sûrs que Levegh, avec sa Talbot, se comportera honorablement ...mais sa voiture n'est plus... ultra moderne. Quant aux *Gordini*, je crains pour elles le surmenage, conséquence inévitable de moyens financiers insuffisants. Par contre, nous avons les plus grandes chances de vaincre « à l'indice de performande » avec les *D. B. Panhard*.

Les *Ferrari*, très rapides, ne tiendront sans doute pas pendant 24 heures et ce sont plutôt les *Cunningham* (américaines) que je verrais comme les plus redoutables adversaires des *Jaguar*.

■

Manifestation sportive d'une ampleur exceptionnelle... spectacle de haute qualité... Kermesse populaire... les « 24 Heures du Mans », c'est tout cela, certes, mais c'est surtout le triomphe de la technique et, par cela même, un événement d'une importance économique considérable.

Cela explique la ferveur du public pour « la plus grande épreuve automobile du monde » : plus de 250.000 spectateurs y assistèrent l'an dernier. Il y en aura vraisemblablement davantage en 1954.

Roger DORSEL.

■

ENCORE UN « OFFICE » SUPPLEMENTAIRE !

Aurons-nous l'Office Pastoral de l'Afrique Noire ? **Cette rencontre de fonctionnaires et de bovidés va-t-elle ajouter au cheptel de bureaucratie qui transhume et paît sur l'échine de l'Union Française, de Brazzaville à Paris ? Sous prétexte « d'étudier la question », de démembrer les buffiesses Chillouk ou Foulbès, M. Scheiffer représente la France d'Abidjan à Niamey. En réalité, il s'agit de réchauffer les enthousiasmes guerriers, en régression, depuis Dien-Bien-Phu, chez les noirs. Néanmoins, la création de « L'OFFICE » est dans l'air, trois ministères déjà s'en disputent le contrôle et le peuplement : l'Agriculture « en veut », la rue Oudinot ne lâche pas ses vaches à lait ; la place Beauvau qui régit jusqu'aux Iforhas, prétend avoir son mot à dire. Moutons à laine des Tassili, moutons à poil de l'Aïr, chameaux nomadisants d'A.O.F. au Sahara algérien, tout ce monde meuglant, bêlant, fonctionnarisant aux rateliers d'Etat doit-il être compromis dans « L'OFFICE PASTORAL » ? Grave question sur laquelle se penchent commissions et sous-commissions, le Conseil Economique même et tous les Virgiles ou Olivier de Serre de nos administratives étables.**

Décidément seuls ne changent pas les sages du 1er ordre et les pires idiots vaut une pensée chinoise !

Ne changent pas non plus les prébendiers des premiers et seconds plans.

Pour Paul ROBESON

par René MARAN

On disait autrefois de notre pays qu'il était celui du bon sens et de la logique. Il n'en est plus de même aujourd'hui. Nombreux sont du moins les signes inclinant à le croire. Deux guerres successives paraissent les avoir à jamais enterrés.

Qu'il s'agisse de la guerre d'Indochine, du mécontentement anticolonialiste qui sévit à l'état endémique en Tunisie et au Maroc, de la haine sourde que les Malgaches nourrissent contre nous depuis qu'on leur a imposé silence avec la cruelle brutalité que l'on sait, de cette nervosité latente de l'Afrique noire, qu'on a pu noter récemment en Afrique Equatoriale Française, à Berbérati, lors du meurtre d'un Européen, tout prouve que nos pauvres hères de dirigeants sont moins des hommes d'Etat que des trublions formés à la foire d'empoigne.

Aveugles de l'intelligence ou non, ces gens-là ne sont même pas capables de se rendre compte qu'il n'y a pas grande différence entre le régime politique de deux des trois grandes nations qui ont contribué à sauver la nôtre, à une heure tragique, de l'esclavage nazi. En fait, si l'U. R. S. S. est le pays du socialisme totalitariste, il est d'autre part indéniable que le capitalisme a pris aux Etats-Unis une forme totalitariste n'ayant absolument rien à envier au totalitarisme russe.

Les mêmes causes produisent partout les mêmes effets. Les Etats-Unis en sont maintenant venus à refuser à leurs fils le droit de penser librement. Le macarthysme n'est que la publique affirmation des extrémités auxquelles aboutit fatalement ce complexe d'infériorité provoqué par la plus ignoble des peurs. L'U. R. S. S. d'abord, l'Allemagne d'Hitler, l'Italie de Mussolini et l'Espagne de Franco ensuite ont précédé les Etats-Unis dans cette voie, qui est celle de la dictature.

Mon ami Paul Robeson est fixé depuis quatre ans sur cet état d'esprit qui dépasse les limites de l'imbécilité. La Bêtise, selon Renan, est la seule chose au monde capable de donner une idée de l'infini. Le macarthysme lui ressemble en tout.

Paul Robeson ne l'ignore plus. Pourquoi aussi est-il allé, il y a un lustre, faire entendre sa voix en U. R. S. S. ? Il se peut que les journaux et la radio de ce pays lui aient prêté des propos qui n'étaient nullement les siens, et contraires à ceux que les bellicistes américains aiment entendre proférer du matin au soir. Quoi qu'il en soit, les milieux macarthystes l'ont pris aussitôt à partie et ont tenu ses dénégations pour nulles et non avenues.

A partir de ce moment-là, non seulement Paul Robeson a été, en quelque sorte, mis en résidence forcée aux Etats-Unis, mais on lui a interdit de séjourner partout ailleurs. On a même poussé beaucoup plus loin l'ignominie. Il n'a plus le droit, depuis quatre ans, d'exercer la profession qui le fait vivre dans le pays qui est le sien. On l'a condamné à y mourir de faim. C'est ce qui lui serait déjà arrivé, si ses amis et congénères n'avaient pris jusqu'ici sur eux de subvenir à ses besoins les plus immédiats.

Tout cela se passe de nos jours, sous nos yeux, au soi-disant pays de la liberté. La raison d'être américaine a mis au rang de ses victimes Paul Robeson, ce grand artiste de classe internationale, qui est, avec Marian Anderson, une des plus pures gloires américaines.

Que reproche-t-on, au fond, à cet homme, honneur de sa race, honneur aussi de la grande nation qui l'a vu naître ? On lui reproche d'avoir cette fraternelle générosité d'âme dont ses compatriotes blancs sont totalement dépourvus, ces élans de cœur qui puisent leur grandeur dans la pureté de leur désintéressement.

Il voudrait voir peuples et races communier dans la paix que nous réclamons tous à grands cris. Le crime qu'il a commis là est de ceux qu'on ne pardonne plus aux Etats-Unis ni en France. Il faut qu'on le sache désormais partout.

LES EDITIONS PARISIENNES
9, rue Lincoln - Paris ELY 20-83
LES CABINETS MINISTERIELS
Liste complète de tous les membres des cabinets des ministères du Gouvernement, de l'Elysée et des grandes assemblées

W. W. SMITH
DIRECTOR
PAUL H. ROBINSON
ASSISTANT TO THE DIRECTOR
CELIA T. WILLIAMS
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
ALFONSO JIMENEZ
LATIN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
CHARLES F. JONES
DIRECTOR LANGUAGE CLUBS
MARK FISHER
PUBLIC RELATIONS SECRETARY

CHRISTOPHE SCHOOL OF LANGUAGES
200 WEST 135TH STREET
NEW YORK 30, N. Y.

WADSWORTH 6-2780

TRANSLATION SERVICE
COACHING
CLASS OR PRIVATE

APPROVED BY
N. Y. STATE EDUCATION
DEPARTMENT
AND
VETERANS ADMINISTRATION

October 1, 1954

TRANSLATION OF LETTER AND ARTICLE FROM FRENCH INTO ENGLISH

6 Delambre Square
Paris
September 15, 1954

Please find enclosed the article I wrote last June 15 in support of Paul Robeson whom the United States is casting little by little into the role of a martyr.

Cordially yours,

Rene Maran.

A PLEA FOR PAUL ROBESON

It was formerly said of our country that it was the land of common sense and logic. It is no longer so today. At least many are the signs leading to that belief. Two successive wars seem to have buried them forever.

Whether we consider the Indochina war, the anti-colonial resentment that boils in an endemic fashion in Tunisia and Morocco, the muted hatred that the Malgaches nurture against us since they have been silenced by the cruel brutality that we know, this latent nervousness of black Africa that was shown recently in French Equatorial Africa at Berberati when a European was murdered, everything proves that the poor "eggheads" who lead us, instead of being statesmen are just bouncers trained at the carnival fair.

Empty-headed or not, these guys are not even able to realize that there is not much difference between the political regimes of two of the three great nations, which have contributed to save our people at a tragic moment from nazi slavery. As a matter of fact, if the USSR is the land of totalitarian socialism, on the other hand it cannot be denied that capitalism has taken in the United States a totalitarian form having absolutely nothing to differentiate it from Russian totalitarianism.

The same causes produce the same effects everywhere. The United States has now reached the point where it denies to its sons the right to think freely. McCarthyism is merely a public affirmation of the extremes to which leads inevitably the inferiority complex created by the most abject fear. The USSR first, then Hitler's Germany, Mussolini's Italy, Franco's Spain have preceded the United States on this path which is the road to dictatorship.

My friend Paul Robeson has for the last four years been wise to this state of mind which goes beyond the limits of imbecility. Stupidity, according to Renan, is the only thing in the world that can give an idea of infinity. McCarthyism looks like it in every respect.

Paul Robeson knows better now. Why, also, did he go to the USSR five years ago to make his voice heard? It is possible that the papers and radio of that country have attributed to him words that were not at all his, and contrary to those that the American warmongers like to hear from dawn to dusk. Just the same, the McCarthyist groups have immediately pounced on him and have considered his denials as null and void.

From that moment onward, not only has Paul Robeson been placed in somewhat restricted residence in the United States, but he has been forbidden to reside anywhere else. The ignominy was even carried much farther. He has been denied the right, during these last four years, to practice in his own country the profession at which he makes his living. He has been condemned to starvation. That is what already would have happened to him, if his friends and fellow Negroes had not taken it upon themselves to satisfy his most urgent needs.

All this is happening today, under our very eyes, in the so-called land of freedom. The American "right of existence" has put among its victims Paul Robeson, this great artist of international fame who is with Marian Anderson one of the most genuine American glories.

After all, what do they have against this man, who has done honor to his race and to the great nation which gave him birth? He is blamed for this fraternal generosity of the soul of which his white fellow citizens are entirely deprived; he is blamed for these gestures of the heart which draw their greatness from the purity of their unselfishness.

He would like to see all peoples and races commune in the peace for which we are all clamoring. The crime he has committed is one of those that are not forgiven any more in the United States, nor in France. This must be known everywhere from now on.

COPY

6, Square Delambre
XIV^{e}

Paris, le 25 mai 1954
Tel: Odeon 12-62

Messieurs,

I have renounced all political activity since 1936. I have never been and will never be Communist because I have too high, too noble and too passionate a feeling for liberty. For the same reason I have never been and will never be a fascist. My fraternal friend, Felix Eboue, who knew me well, said of me to whoever would listen to him that I was a born aristocrat with the most humane ideals. For thirty-three years this definition of my character has never stopped the people of the right from calling me a Communist nor the people of the left from seeing in me a reactionary.

I have then always and everywhere defended reason. Consequently I am in heart and spirit with you in the campaign which you are waging to secure full citizenship rights to the great and unfortunate Paul Robeson. Is it not sufficient to say to your leaders that the Statue of Liberty, which dominates the Port of New York, resolutely turns its back on the United States? Do they not understand that they cannot boast of defending free peoples while denying the most elementary liberty to one of the most illustrious of their sons? When will they resolve to be logical and stop lying to themselves as well as to the whole world?

It is only the totalitarian regimes which employ measures comparable to those which have been heaped on Paul Robeson for four years. The crux of the matter is that this artist of great prestige, who has done so much with his admirable voice for the glory of his race and of his native country, is doubtless no more a Communist than is Mr. Foster Dulles himself. What he has and what his white compatriot lacks is the spirit of ideal brotherhood which appears to be the characteristic of most peoples of colour, the truly Christian desire to see peoples and races live together in that just peace that we all desire.

Here then is what it has been my duty as a free man to proclaim.

Long live true liberty! Long live the liberty of all worthy in fact of that beautiful name! Down with totalitarianism in every form in which it manifests itself! Long live Paul Robeson! And thanks for having allowed me to testify publicly concerning all the admiration which he inspires in me, and the contempt I have for those who have been led by their stupidity, unavowed fear and inferiority complex to make a martyr of him.

(Signed) Rene Maran

LE CRI DE LA FRANCE du 11 juin 1954

Prudence ? Pensez-en ce que vous voudrez.

La France sera représentée, dans les grosses et moyennes cylindrées par *Talbot* et *Gordini*. Nous sommes sûrs que Levegh, avec sa Talbot, se comportera honorablement ...mais sa voiture n'est plus... ultra moderne. Quant aux *Gordini*, je crains pour elles le surmenage, conséquence inévitable de moyens financiers insuffisants. Par contre, nous avons les plus grandes chances de vaincre « à l'indice de performande » avec les *D. B. Panhard*.

Les *Ferrari*, très rapides, ne tiendront sans doute pas pendant 24 heures et ce sont plutôt les *Cunningham* (américaines) que je verrais comme les plus redoutables adversaires des *Jaguar*.

■

Manifestation sportive d'une ampleur exceptionnelle... spectacle de haute qualité... Kermesse populaire... les « 24 Heures du Mans », c'est tout cela, certes, mais c'est surtout le triomphe de la technique et, par cela même, un événement d'une importance économique considérable.

Cela explique la ferveur du public pour « la plus grande épreuve automobile du monde » : plus de 250.000 spectateurs y assistèrent l'an dernier. Il y en aura vraisemblablement davantage en 1954.

Roger DORSEL.

■

ENCORE UN « OFFICE » SUPPLEMENTAIRE !

Aurons-nous l'Office Pastoral de l'Afrique Noire ? **Cette rencontre de fonctionnaires et de bovidés va-t-elle ajouter au cheptel de bureaucratie qui transhume et paît sur l'échine de l'Union Française, de Brazzaville à Paris ? Sous prétexte « d'étudier la question », de démembrer les bufflesses Chillouk ou Foulbès, M. Scheiffer représente la France d'Abidjan à Niamey. En réalité, il s'agit de réchauffer les enthousiasmes guerriers, en régression, depuis Dien-Bien-Phu, chez les noirs. Néanmoins, la création de « L'OFFICE » est dans l'air, trois ministères déjà s'en disputent le contrôle et le peuplement : l'Agriculture « en veut », la rue Oudinot ne lâche pas ses vaches à lait ; la place Beauvau qui régit jusqu'aux Iforhas, prétend avoir son mot à dire. Moutons à laine des Tassili, moutons à poil de l'Aïr, chameaux nomadisants d'A.O.F. au Sahara algérien, tout ce monde meulgant, bêlant, fonctionnarisant aux rateliers d'Etat doit-il être compromis dans « L'OFFICE PASTORAL » ? Grave question sur laquelle se penchent commissions et sous-commissions, le Conseil Economique même et tous les Virgiles ou Olivier de Serre de nos administratives étables.**

Décidément seuls ne changent pas les sages du 1er ordre et les pires idiots vaut une pensée chinoise !

Ne changent pas non plus les prébendiers des premiers et seconds plans.

Pour Paul ROBESON

par René MARAN

On disait autrefois de notre pays qu'il était celui du bon sens et de la logique. Il n'en est plus de même aujourd'hui. Nombreux sont du moins les signes inclinant à le croire. Deux guerres successives paraissent les avoir à jamais enterrés.

Qu'il s'agisse de la guerre d'Indochine, du mécontentement anticolonialiste qui sévit à l'état endémique en Tunisie et au Maroc, de la haine sourde que les Malgaches nourrissent contre nous depuis qu'on leur a imposé silence avec la cruelle brutalité que l'on sait, de cette nervosité latente de l'Afrique noire, qu'on a pu noter récemment en Afrique Equatoriale Française, à Berbérati, lors du meurtre d'un Européen, tout prouve que nos pauvres hères de dirigeants sont moins des hommes d'Etat que des trublions formés à la foire d'empoigne.

Aveugles de l'intelligence ou non, ces gens-là ne sont même pas capables de se rendre compte qu'il n'y a pas grande différence entre le régime politique de deux des trois grandes nations qui ont contribué à sauver la nôtre, à une heure tragique, de l'esclavage nazi. En fait, si l'U. R. S. S. est le pays du socialisme totalitariste, il est d'autre part indéniable que le capitalisme a pris aux Etats-Unis une forme totalitariste n'ayant absolument rien à envier au totalitarisme russe.

Les mêmes causes produisent partout les mêmes effets. Les Etats-Unis en sont maintenant venus à refuser à leurs fils le droit de penser librement. Le macarthysme n'est que la publique affirmation des extrémités auxquelles aboutit fatalement ce complexe d'infériorité provoqué par la plus ignoble des peurs. L'U. R. S. S. d'abord, l'Allemagne d'Hitler, l'Italie de Mussolini et l'Espagne de Franco ensuite ont précédé les Etats-Unis dans cette voie, qui est celle de la dictature.

Mon ami Paul Robeson est fixé depuis quatre ans sur cet état d'esprit qui dépasse les limites de l'imbécilité. La Bêtise, selon Renan, est la seule chose au monde capable de donner une idée de l'infini. Le macarthysme lui ressemble en tout.

Paul Robeson ne l'ignore plus. Pourquoi aussi est-il allé, il y a un lustre, faire entendre sa voix en U. R. S. S. ? Il se peut que les journaux et la radio de ce pays lui aient prêté des propos qui n'étaient nullement les siens, et contraires à ceux que les bellicistes américains aiment entendre proférer du matin au soir. Quoi qu'il en soit, les milieux macarthystes l'ont pris aussitôt à partie et ont tenu ses dénégations pour nulles et non avenues.

A partir de ce moment-là, non seulement Paul Robeson a été, en quelque sorte, mis en résidence forcée aux Etats-Unis, mais on lui a interdit de séjourner partout ailleurs. On a même poussé beaucoup plus loin l'ignominie. Il n'a plus le droit, depuis quatre ans, d'exercer la profession qui le fait vivre dans le pays qui est le sien. On l'a condamné à y mourir de faim. C'est ce qui lui serait déjà arrivé, si ses amis et congénères n'avaient pris jusqu'ici sur eux de subvenir à ses besoins les plus immédiats.

Tout cela se passe de nos jours, sous nos yeux, au soi-disant pays de la liberté. La raison d'être américaine a mis au rang de ses victimes Paul Robeson, ce grand artiste de classe internationale, qui est, avec Marian Anderson, une des plus pures gloires américaines.

Que reproche-t-on, au fond, à cet homme, honneur de sa race, honneur aussi de la grande nation qui l'a vu naître ? On lui reproche d'avoir cette fraternelle générosité d'âme dont ses compatriotes blancs sont totalement dépourvus, ces élans de cœur qui puisent leur grandeur dans la pureté de leur désintéressement.

Il voudrait voir peuples et races communier dans la paix que nous réclamons tous à grands cris. Le crime qu'il a commis là est de ceux qu'on ne pardonne plus aux Etats-Unis ni en France. Il faut qu'on le sache désormais partout.

LES EDITIONS PARISIENNES
9, rue Lincoln - Paris ELY 20-83

LES CABINETS MINISTERIELS

Liste complète de tous les membres
des cabinets des ministères
du Gouvernement, de l'Elysée
et des grandes assemblées

21st May 1954.

Greetings to you Paul Robeson.

In as much we know that no amount of bombing in Kenya can frighten the gallant Kikiyus, or Malan's viciousness bring the non-Europeans to their knees, or Lyttleton's Colonial policies, talk West Africans out of their demand for independence; we are equally convinced that no amount of persecution can dent your matchless courage.

We regard the denial to grant you Passport facilities - tantamount to imprisoning your voice - a flagrant breach of elementary human rights. And this action by a Government which claims to be the world's leading democratic nation, underlines the very hollowness of the boast.

To us, your right to travel abroad does not constitute a personal issue. On the contrary, your identification with the oppressed of all nationalities, your unflinching support and struggle for the liberation of Africans, Negroes and Asians - plus the recognition as an Artist places you on a status of international import.

As surely as the world events are changing drastically human relations, despite the frantic efforts by the reactionary forces to hold back the passage of time, we are no less confident that we would soon be meeting you in person and once more your voice - "The voice of Freedom" - will ring through the villages and the valleys and the towns. In the mines, in the fields, in the factories -- in fact, everywhere -- the people would be welcoming their own Paul Robeson!

From a group of South African and
West African students in London.

ALL INDIA PEACE COUNCIL

14 Munshi Niketan
Kamla Market New Delhi

May 18, 1954

Dear friend:

Many thanks for your letter regarding the campaign for the restoration of Paul Robeson's passport which you are organizing in U.S.A. and in other countries.

We feel that it is a criminal attack on the Artists by preventing Paul Robeson -- the beloved musician of millions of people all over the world -- from going out to other countries to give his musical recitals. It is the moral duty of every artist and lover of art in all the countries to raise his voice in protest against this brutal attack on the fundamental rights of the artist.

We are contacting our well known writers, artists, musicians and other intellectuals to join the campaign. Very soon we shall issue a press statement in this connection with an appeal to all the lovers and admirers of Paul Robeson's Music to join this campaign.

Wishing you best of success in your noble and please convey our message to the artists and people of U.S.A. that we strongly resent the action of the Government of U.S.A. and they should immediately restore the passport to Paul Robeson so that his songs may be enjoyed by millions of people all over the world.

We shall let you know very soon the names of the important people who have signed this appeal.

Yours sincerely,

RAM KUMAR

For Cultural Section

C
O
P
Y

SOUTH AFRICA
(Johannesburg)

Dear Paul,

When the United States Government deprived you of your passport, they deprived the people of the world of your wonderful voice.

It is not a personal move against you -- it was a political move of world-wide importance.

That is why we here in South Africa are interested in the action now being taken by Americans to try to get your passport restored to you. We want to hear you sing. We have heard you on records. We want to see you, and hear you yourself.

To us you represent the real America, the true America, not of the H-bomb, McCarthy, blood and thunder comics and Mickey Spillane, but of the love of peace and real culture that we know exists among ordinary people everywhere. By preventing you from travelling, your Government is depriving itself of its finest ambassador.

In this country, you would be discriminated against under our Apartheid laws, and treated as 'inferior'; but we, the people, would welcome you with all our hearts.

We want you to come. We hope you will be able to -- soon!

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

W. M. Sisulu
J. E. Patse
T. T. Govencho
Ivan Scheombaucher
G. Broola
Arnold Selby
A. M. Kathrada, Sec'y
South African Indian Youth Congress
W. Kramer
S. I. Gangat, Treasurer
Johannesburg Indian Theatrical Association
Suliman Esakjee
Ursula Goodgall
Hoosu Hoolla, Joint-Honorary Secretary
Transvaal Indian Youth Congress
E. Mooela
C. Pochie
A. Jassat
R. M. Pillay
P. Joseph
Dasarajh Joseph, Sec'y
Fordsburg Peace Group
Ismail Noola
Jack Hodgson
E. Moyden
P. Tandui
Barney Desai, Chairman
Transvaal Indian Youth Congress

A. Sulioson
G. W. Borry
Y. Cachalia
S. Salagee
Peppy Ransat
A. Cajee
S. M. Gqiba

Violet Weinberg, Hon. Sec'y
S.A. Congress of Democrats
Johannesburg Region
Helen Joseph
O. T. Motshabi
L. L. Patel
Norma Cranko
Rua Hodgson
Bey Amlet
H. Areff

A. M. Feinstein
Youth Branch, S.A.Cong. of Democrats

Yetta Barellatt
A. H. Palie
A. E. Khota
Zahomed Cousins
M. Buaara

C
O
P
Y

P. O. Box 1355
Johannesburg
South Africa

UNION OF SOUTHERN AFRICAN ARTISTS

15th May, 1954

Mr. Howard Fast
Provisional Committee to Restore Mr. Paul Robeson's Passport
Suite 6, 139 West 125th Street
New York 27, N. Y.
U.S.A.

Dear Sir,

We wish to record our **protest** against the withholding of Mr. Paul Robeson's passport. We consider it to be an abuse of power for a Government, for reasons of political expediency, to deny to the rest of the world the pleasure of access to a great artist.

We feel particularly strongly in this matter since most of our members are African singers or instrumentalists who themselves suffer from prohibitions and restrictions arising from the abuse of political power. We deeply appreciate Mr. Robeson's work for our own liberation.

With best wishes for the success of your campaign,

We are,

Yours sincerely,

For the Union of Southern African Artists:

Guy Rauth, Chairman
Arthur B. M. Wanlê, Secretary
Daniel Roho, Treasurer
N. E. Rabs
Alf G. Fish
Dambeya Mauke

Georgetown, British Guiana

ACCEPT WHOLE HEARTED SUPPORT IN EFFORTS RESTORE YOUR RIGHTS BEST WISHES FOR SUCCESSFUL CAMPAIGN.

PEOPLE'S PROGRESSIVE PARTY

###

Janet Jagan
97 Laluni Street
Georgetown, British Guiana

May 20, 1954

Dear Friends:

It is indeed a great honour for me to join in with the thousands and thousands of people in all parts of the world who must feel as I do -- that the great Paul Robeson should be given the liberty to move freely. It has been very painful for people in the distant parts of the world to see this great artist denied the opportunity of sharing his beautiful talents with others. In British Guiana, the people have for long expressed a deep desire to listen to Mr. Robeson. We are hoping that when his passport restrictions are finally lifted, he will find it possible to visit us.

In British Guiana, we can perhaps appreciate Mr. Robeson's plight more than others, for we too, are today encountering the terrible hysteria which causes governments to act with such repression. Many of us today are similarly restricted from going abroad. In fact, many of us cannot even move out of the boundaries of our villages or districts.

Kindly extend to Mr. Robeson the greetings of the people of British Guiana and inform him of the profound respect we all have for him.

Yours sincerely,

JANET JAGAN

P.S. A message from your Committee came to my husband, but, as he is in jail he cannot add his name to this letter. However, I know that he would wish his name to be recorded as one who protested against the restrictions on Mr. Robeson.

(COPIES)

Dear Friends:
You may already have this information but I forward it .... in case.

From a friend in Bombay, India, June 21st: "The Committee to Secure Paul Robeson his passport was also good enough to send us their papers about the meeting on May 26th. We did write back but I think it was late. We were pleased to find that the Bombay Weekly "Blitz", the Bangalore "Deccan Herald" and the Lucknow "National Herald" had published it. The All India Peace Council has announced that it will take up the issue."

Sincerely

(Signed) Alice Citron, 570 W. 172 St., NY 32

TELEGRAMME TO MR PAUL ROBESON

WE SPEAK FOR MILLIONS ALL OVER THE WORLD WHO LONG TO HEAR YOUR GLORIOUS VOICE AGAIN STOP MAY YOUR EFFORTS TO REGAIN YOUR PASSPORT MEET WITH IMMEDIATE SUCCESS SO THAT ONCE AGAIN YOU CAN COME TO SING TO PEOPLE EVERYWHERE

J. L. HromadKa (?)　Jorge Amado　Leopald Infeld　Antoine Allard　Mao-Dun
Renoto Guttoso(?)　Cavalcanti　Sundarlal (India)　Ivor Montagu
Emmanuel di' Astier　Shostakovitch

(All signed signatures)

Haifa, 8th June, 1954

(COPY)

To the Secretary, The State Department,
Washington/ U. S. A.

Dear Sir,
As a simple woman without political orientation I am deeply concerned by the fact that your Government is denying the lawful passport to the beloved and famous singer
PAUL ROBESON
The songs of Paul Robeson have always inspired me with a feeling of brotherhood and love for your people and I have always regarded Paul Robeson a pride to his country.

By suppressing Paul Robeson's voice and limiting his freedom you are suppressing those sacred feelings that arise in people wherever they listen to his voice and are restraining the friendship which I have extended to your people hitherto.

Therefore, as a mother of children I appeal to you that country and Government be like a true mother to her children and citizens without prejudice to their conviction or race and restore the honour of The United States of America by restoring without delay the passport to our beloved Paul Robeson.

Yours faithfully,
(Signed) R. Oppenheimer
8, Herzlia Str.8
Haifa/Israel

Provisional Committee to
restore Paul Robeson's Passport,
Suite 6, 139 West 125th Street, New York 27, New York, U. S. A.

Dear Friends: The above appeal has been addressed by me to the State Department, Washington, and I beg to assure you of my deepest sympathy with your case. My best wishes to Paul Robeson, the undaunted fighter for peace and friendship among nations.

Yours faithfully,
R. Oppenheimer

COPY

SOUTH AFRICAN CONGRESS OF DEMOCRATS

P. O. Box 4088
Johannesburg
19. 5. 54

Provisional Committee to Restore
Paul Robeson's Passport
New York

Dear Mr. Fast,

On behalf of my National Executive Committee, I wish to convey to your Committee our very strongest support for the campaign on which you are now engaged to secure the restoration of Mr. Robeson's passport.

We here, in a country where deprival of passports has become the standard method of Government retaliation against the foremost fighters for peace and liberty, wish you every success. Paul Robeson's name means much to us, not just as one of the great peoples' artists of our time, but also as one of those outstanding, courageous Americans who have devoted their lives and talents to the happiness and well-being of their fellow men. Nothing would give us greater hope for the future than the knowledge that the people of your country, aided by friends in every land, have managed to free this gteat man from the restrictions arbitrarily placed upon, and to allow his voice to be heard once again in song and speech throughout the world.

We wish you well,

Yours faithfully,

Cutz

for National Executive Committee.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF PEACE

Montevideo, Uruguay

May 20, 1954

Mr Paul Robeson

Dear Friend:

The National Council of Peace of Uruguay has received with great pleasure the news of the initiative which many distinguished representatives of the culture of North America have taken in launching a grand campaign for the restoration of your passport. We would have wanted to promote with the greatest vigor the support of all Uruguayan lovers of culture and peace for the action of May 26 which will inaugurate the campaign. Unfortunately the information reached us late and we are only able to send today this expression of the enthusiastic support of the Executive Committee of our movement. We are certain, however, that in the days to come, many persons and organizations of our people will address themselves to the Department of State in order to request the return of the passport.

We are confident of this because you, friend Robeson, are well known and loved in our country. All who fight for peace and democracy know and love you because they have followed your great and valiant pilgrimage in defense of these ideals. Those who love culture and admire your art, so perfect and always so human, know you and love you. Those who are devoted to the people know you and love you because they feel that you are also a man of the people who by your ability have elevated yourself to great heights, but who has remained always faithful to the responsibility of defending the causes of the people.

Many of us have thought, for many years, that you should come to Uruguay to give concerts and to talk to us of peace. You would have the greatest artistic success and the most loving popular reception. Because we know how to differentiate between those North Americans who desire to drop hydrogen bombs and those North Americans who love peace, democracy and culture and who want to strengthen friendship with other peoples, based on mutual respect. The decision of the State Department to withhold your passport is an obstacle in the accomplishment of these ends, but we are firmly convinced that the campaign which is being started in the United States and which deserves and will have a great world xexpxnxxx resonance, will be able to conquer this obstacle. We are so convinced of this that as of now we invite you to visit us because we want to listen to your voice and express our friendship.

Meanwhile you and your friends may be assured that we will not spare our forces to cooperate in the success of this important battle for culture and for peace.

With our most cordial greetings,

For the executive committee,

JOSE L. MASSERA
General Secretary

C
O
P
Y

SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN CONGRESS

19th May, 1954

MESSAGE.

On behalf of the South African Indian Congress we salute Paul Robeson as one of the most outstanding artists of our time, a great champion of the oppressed people and a brave fighter for peace.

We deplore the high-handed action of the United States' State Department which restricts the freedom of movement of a man whose voice is a source of boundless joy to millions of people throughout the world and join with you in your demand for the restoration of his passport.

Paul Robeson, by virtue of his genius, is a beloved citizen of the world and the United States Authorities have no right to deprive us of the privilege of listening to his gifted and magnificent voice.

We know that when he sings he touches the innermost depths of human feelings and promotes friendship and understanding. It is because his voice springs from deep understanding of conditions that perpetuate the misery of mankind.

His spirit is free from all evil; the spirit of freedom is the key-note of his voice; it strikes terror in the hearts of those who steer the reactionary trends and act unjustly.

By withholding his passport the tyrants of White House can never withhold the forces of goodwill, peace and understanding.

This is an age of greater freedom, the world is marching forward. Reaction and evil must and will be destroyed by the will of the people.

PAUL ROBESON SHALL BE FREE.

YUSUF CACHALIA

C
O
P
Y

SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN CONGRESS

Constituent Bodies:
Natal Indian Congress
Transvaal Indian Congress
Cape Provincial Indian Assembly

P. O. Box 2948
Johannesburg
South Africa

19th May, 1954

Mr. Howard Fast,
Provisional Committee to
Restore Paul Robeson's Passport
Suite 6, 139 West 125th Street
New York 27, New York

Dear Friend,

I have great pleasure in enclosing herewith a message on behalf of the South Africa Indian Congress. On the occasion of initiating the campaign to restore Mr. Paul Robeson's passport to travel abroad.

In accordance with your request I informed a number of Organizations and individuals of the activities of your committee and trust that you will receive messages from them.

I am happy to inform you that a "Paul Robeson meeting and concert" will be held in Johannesburg on the 26th of May, 1954 in support of your campaign.

With best wishes for your success.

Yours sincerely,
(signed)
YUSUF CACHALIA

DENIAL OF PASSPORT TO PAUL ROBESON BY U.S. GOVERNMENT

The Peoples of the World have watched with mounting anger the persecution of the great artiste Paul Robeson in the United States. This persecution has resulted in his virtual exclusion from professional contracts for concert, stage, film, radio, television and gramaphone performances. Not content with this sections of racist "whites" have been instigated to physically assault audiences assembled to hear Robeson as at Peekskill in 1949. The Government of the United States has participated in this persecution by denying a passport to Paul Robeson over the past four years.

Paul Robeson and his art belong to the world. The bosom of humanity has ever cherished persecuted writers and artists. Not one, but a score of nations, including ourselves, would vie with one another for the honour of receiving Paul Robeson and hearing his golden voice. The fascists in the United States know that Robeson abroad would pass in triumph from country to country spreading his message of art and love, of peace and friendship among the races and peoples of the world. That is why Robeson is denied his passport.

By this act of despotism the U.S. Government has exposed its pretensions of "democracy". It has violated Article 13 of the UN General Assembly's Universal Declaration of Human Rights which provides that "Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country." Further, by obstructing the cultural intercourse of peoples, by this act the U.S. Government has committed a crime and sin against humanity.

Every honest man and woman in India and throughout the world must demand that the U.S. Government give back his passport to Paul Robeson.

SARAH AND DANIEL LATIFI
4, Harkness Road,
Malabar Hill,
BOMBAY 6 (India)
May 19th, 1954

COPY

WORKERS' MUSIC ASSOCIATION LTD
17 Bishops Bridge Road, London, W.2.

General Secretary: WILL SAHNOW
National Organiser: CHARLES RINGROSE

19th May 1954

Maude Green, Secretary
Provisional Committee to
Restore Paul Robeson's Passport,
Suite 6, 139 West 125th Street
New York 27, New York

Dear Secretary,

We are very glad to have your letter explaining what is being done on your side to restore citizen rights to Paul Robeson.

We have invited Paul to visit this country for the purpose of a concert tour under our auspices and thirty of the largest Co-operative societies in this country have written to us welcoming the opportunity to sponsor recitals in their different areas of the country. Furthermore, a collective letter of invitation has been sent him by the most distinguished of our British Vice-Presidents and another from Dr. Vaughan Williams. We are now ~~xx~~ busy collecting invitations from distinguished authors and writers in this country and from our eminent politicians. We have reported our desires to the U.S. Embassy in London and they have replied that they are making representations to the appropriate authorities in your country.

Therefore, as you may judge, we are entirely behind your efforts to restore Paul Robeson's rights and I think we may say we echo the sentiments of thousands of British people in every part of the British Isles when we send you our warmest greetings and wishes for success in your campaign. (Perhaps thousands is an understatement! It should read millions!).

If you have any suggestions as to how we might further the cause on this side, let us know. And rely upon our keeping the ball rolling here!

The London Co-operative Society, with nearly ten million members, were anxious to have Paul Robeson appear at their great International Co-operators' Day Rally in London on July 4th. We have explained the circumstances to them and I think it would have great publicity value if Paul could be persuaded to send us a tape-recorded message which could be transmitted to the thousands who will attend this Rally. In fact, there is no doubt that some tape recordings of your great Cultural Salute on 26th May, if sent to us, could be put to very good use by us over here. We leave the suggestion with you.

So may we add the Salute of our freedom-loving people of Great Britain to the great world voice that will be raised in New York to the honour of a great Artist and a great Man - and may your efforts, as indeed they MUST, succeed!

Yours Sincerely,

WILL SAHNOW
General Secretary

West African Students' Union
13 Chelsea Embankment
London S W 3

13th May, 1954

Dear Friends,

We welcome the news of your launching a campaign for the restoration of Mr. Paul Robeson's passport.

Paul Robeson has contributed so much to the building of a firm basis of friendship between the peoples of Africa and the United States, and the withdrawal of his passport has made us wonder x what really is the American way of life.

However, recognising that the American people as well as others throughout the world believe in human rights and in the need for promotion of cultural interchange, friendship and peace among nations, we add our support to your campaign. As a first step we have sent a letter to the United States Government and a personal one to President Eisenhower pleading that Paul Robeson's passport be restored.

In conclusion, allow us to raise our voice in salute to a great artist and a friend.

Yours sincerely,

V. O. IBENEME
President

21 Torrintgon Square
London W C 1
19th May 1954

My best wishes for the success of your campaign. Paul Robeson is one of the greatest international figures of our age. His voice, which hundreds of millions know, is but the expression of the man whom they admire and love. To deprive the world of his presence is a petty and mean act out of keeping with the great traditions of American democracy for which he is the best ambassador.

PROFESSOR J D BERNAL

✓

19 Lawford Road,
Kentish Town,
London N. W. 5 England
May 19th, 1954

Dear friend,

I received your letter with great interest, and willingly send you a message of support. Although I have never worked with Paul Robeson, he did work some years ago in the British film production industry, in which I am engaged. I confess that in those days I never really thought of him as an American, but rather thought that he would regard himself, like Tom Paine, as a citizen of the world; ("The world is my country and to do good is my religion," said Paine). It is perhaps more in recent years when he has fought so magnificently for the Negro people that I have realised what a wonderful citizen of the United States he is.

I wrote last night to the American Embassy in London, saying how I thought your country must gain credit by having him as a citizen, and expressing the feeling that it could only help relations between our two countries if he had a passport and could come here, should he care to honour us with a visit. I trust that these considerations may be of some assistance to the American Government in giving further thought to the whole case, as I am sure that the vast majority of the British people feel as I do about Paul Robeson.

May your salute to Paul Robeson be a success, and may it lead to an awakening of the conscience of the world.

Would you kindly note my new address (formerly 78 Hampstead Road). You might care to consider writing to the following for support:

list of names follows

The majority of the above are in the entertainment industry, and all have some interest in it.

It is unfortunately not often that details of the fight in the United States for equal rights for Negroes finds space in the British press, but in last night's London "Evening Standard" there was an interesting editorial welcoming the Supreme Court's "brave, unequivocal pronouncement on racial segregation in schools." The paper went on to say that "Doctrines of racial superiority, whose foundation lies in fear and suspicion, are ultimately destructive of the values for which our civilization stands." This is especially good, as it comes from a very Conservative source. I shall take the opportunity of writing the "Evening News" linking this with the case of Paul Robeson, and should it be published, will send you the clipping.

Yours sincerely,

CHRISTOPHER BRUNEL

P.S. I wonder whether you might be confusing me with my more illustrious father, Adrian Brunel? He is a film director, playwrite and author, who is an acknowledged authority on Tom Paine; I am a film technician and a member of the Executive of the Association of Cinematograph & Allied Technicians, (though writing you in a personal capacity). If you have not written my father, I am sure he would be interested.

(COPIES)

C/o 51 Lt. Bourke St.,
Melbourne, C. 1. Australia
24th June, 1954

Miss Maude Green, Secretary,
Provisional Committee to Restore Paul Robeson's Passport,
Suite 6, 139 West 125th St., New York 27, New York, USA

Dear Friend,
By now you will, no doubt, have received my letter of the 4th June in which I told you what I, and others, had done in response to your appeal for action on behalf of Paul Robeson.

I mentioned that one of the girls in our office intended taking copies of a letter to the U. S. State Dept. to social functions which she expected to attend. She ronoed several copies and distributed them among other people; and over the week-end, 81 signatures were obtained. The letters were mailed to the U.S. State Dept. on the 11th instand. Among the signatories were a number of trade unionists and church people, 1 Minister of Religion, 1 dental surgeon, housewives, workers, students. One of the functions was a Chinese Night and some of Robeson's records were also played. Following is the wording of the letter:

"The Secretary, U. S. State Department,
Washington, D. C., USA

We, the undersigned, request that the passport of Paul Robeson be restored.
The continued with-holding of his passport is against Article 13(2) of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and against the spirit of the United Nations Charter.
The Exchange of culture between countries is one of the strongest means of building world peace, and because of the love of music by all people and the high degree of artistry achieved by Paul Robeson, he could be of the greatest service to his country in helping to forge a link of friendship between America and other countries."

Since then, copies of this form letter have been sent to Wonthaggi, a mining town in Victoria, where the people have a great history of struggle for basic human rights and freedoms and where I expect your appeal would find good response. Copies have also been given to Mr. Clive Burchett, c/o Banksia Holiday Park, West Rosebud, Victoria. He is the brother of Wilfred Burchett, the well-known Australian journalist and writer, with whose work you are probably familiar.

Since last writing, I have also sent copies of your letter to the following:
Mr. R. Taylor, solicitor, 3rd Floor, 360 Collins St., Melbourne, C. 1.
Mr. J. Waters, Publisher, ditto
Australasian Book Society, "
Mr. J. Morrison, Secretary, Fellowship of Australian Writers, 4 Franklin St., Mentone, Melbourne
The Ballet Guild, 470 Bourke St., Melbourne
Mr. J. Lazarus, Barrister & Solicitor, Temple Court, (1st Floor Room 15) 422 Collins St.
Melbourne, C.1.
Mr. S. E. Wright, Hon Secretary, Peace Convention Bureau, 164 Phillip St., Sydney.
The Editor, the magazine "Meanjin", Melbourne University, Carlton, Melbourne
The Secretary, Actors Equity, 229 Collins St., Melbourne.

I would like to say here that in a covering note which I send with these copies I stated that I was not acting in any official capacity on your behalf, but that I was merely trying to help your committee by saving you the time and expense that would be involved in writing to these organisations from the U.S.A.
I am enclosing a letter which I received from the Tramways Union and which is self-explanatory. Enclosed is also a clipping from a Melbourne newspaper about a new organisation that has been formed. I think a letter from you would be more acceptable to them than a copy from me. The address of Sir John Lathan, who is the President is 83 Rose St., Armadale, Melbourne. Some people are rather sceptical about their intentions, but you cannot know what they will do unless you try them. However, that is for you to decide.

STOCKHOLM, 13th of May, 1954

Dear Paul Robeson:

I have seen in a Stockholm newspaper that some of your friends are going to arrange an official meeting in order to help you to be able to sing again in America and even in other countries. I was very glad to see it, because I have loved your voice since I heard you in the Concert Hall of Stockholm in 1939, when I was 19 years old. Therefore I do hope that your friends and those who appreciate you and your voice will succeed in winning what they want to.

I should like to tell you something. You see, in Swedish radio they have a morning program on Fridays to which homeworking wives can send in their gramophone wishes. I have many times thought that I should write to Mrs. Karin Juel, who is the leader of the program, and so some days ago I wrote to Mrs. Juel and asked her, if people had forgotten that in America lived a great singer by name of Paul Robeson. I was very astonished to hear Mrs. Juel answering me in the radio, when my husband and I were sitting drinking coffee in the morning. She said, that you were not forgotten and she told the listeners about your education and what you are fighting for. After that she played the record I have wished to hear, which was "Loch Lomond." I like xxx every records of yours but most I like St. Louis Blues. I do not know why, but perhaps it is due to the soft music in the background, which are so affectful for your voice. When some of my friends has his birthday I buy him a record of yours.

I hope that you soon will be able to come to Stockholm again. I am sure here are many people longing to hear you.

My kindest regards to you, Paul Robeson, and to your wife and I wish you the best things for the future. Forgive my bad English.

At last I have to tell you that I have a book about you written by Shirley Graham, who tells us about your childhood and your career in a lovely way. The book I use to lend to my friends. I have written this letter to you because you may understand that you are not forgotten.

Yours sincerely,

Karin Bjorklund
Stockholm, Sweden

To deny a great artist like Paul Robeson his right to give his art to the world is to destroy the very foundation upon which our culture and civilization is built. It negates every principle of democracy and freedom and follows a path of the worst type of tyranny.

CHARLES CHAPLIN

###

17, Victoria Street
Westminster,
London, S.W. 1

20th May, 1954

The Ambassador, United States Embassy
Grosvenor Square, W.1

Your Excellency,

I am a great admirer of Mr. Paul Robeson as an artist and it is a great disappointment to me that, owing tothe oppressive policy of your Government, Mr, Paul Robeson can no longer come to this country to sing and has been unable to do so for the last few years.

I trust that your country will soon return to the policy of true democracy and restore basic freedoms.

I am,
Your Excellency's most obedient
servant,

T. S. STALLABRASS

###

U. S. State Department, Washington, D.C. 25th May, 1954

The Swedish Section of the Women's International Democratic Federation protests against the withholding of Paul Robeson's passport by the American authorities. All over the world, also in our country, Paul Robeson, America's great singer, courageous fighter for peace, is loved and respected. Speaking for the many thousands of people in this country who feel the deepest admiration and friendship towards this great artist and who want for him the liberty to go wherenver he wants and to accept the invitations he receives from so many countries, we join the world opinion asking the State Department to restore Paul Robeson's passport.

ANDREA ANDREEN, President

(COPIES)

c/o 51 Lt. Bourke St.
Melbourne, C. I. Australia
4/6/54

Miss Maude Green, Sec'y, Provisional Committee to Restore Paul Robeson's Passport
Suite 6, 139 West 125th St., New York 27, New York, USA

Dear Friend,

I saw your circular letter regarding the campaign to have Paul Robeson's passport restored. Quite apart from the principles involved, my husband and I, like so many people everywhere, have always been ardent admirers of Robeson's. I was glad, therefore, to do whatever little I could to help in your campaign.

I am enclosing herewith a copy of a letter which I wrote to the US State Department and which many others willingly signed.

I also sent copies of your letter to the organisations listed below as I thought it would save you the time and expense involved in writing to them from the U. S. But perhaps you might like to send them follow-up letters at some future date if you get the response.

I can assure you that similar struggles as yours are taking place all the time in Australia and so there are very many people that are sympathetic to your appeal, quite apart from the popularity that Robeson enjoys as an artist and a man. For example, I told a friend about your letter. She immediately wrote to the U.S. State Department and got 14 others to sign it. She, in turn, told a friend of hers who also wrote and got 8 people to sign. They have probably sent you copies already. Another example...one of the girls who work in the same office as I intends to take a petition to the U.S. State Department to two social functions which she expects to attend over the coming week-end...and so the circles spread. I sincerely hope that they continue to spread so far and wide that all peace-loving and freedom-loving and democratic people would be drawn in, and that the flood created by their voices would drown the repression against which Paul Robeson and yourselves are now labouring.

List of organisations to which your letter was sent:- The Secretaries of:
Eureka Youth League, 104 Queensberry St., NTH MELBOURNE
Greek Democritus League, 217 Russell St., MELBOURNE, C.l.
Jewish Council to Combat Fascism and Anti-Semitism, 325 Collins St., MELBOURNE
Union of Australian Women, 4th Floor, 229 Collins St., MELBOURNE
Realist Film Association, 92 Flinders St., MELBOURNE, C.l.
Council for Aboriginal Rights, 364 Bourke St., MELBOURNE
Students Representative Council, University of Melbourne, CARLTON, N.3., MELBOURNE
Australia-China Society, 75 Wellington St., WINDSOR, MELBOURN
Australian Peace Council, 330 Flinders Lane, MELBOURNE
Australia-Soviet Friendship Society, 330 Flinders Lane, MELBOURNE
Democratic Rights Council, 330 Flinders Lane, MELBOURNE
Amalgamated Engineering Union, 439 Collins St., MELBOURNE
Aust. Paper Mills Employees Union, Trades Hall, 54 Victoria St., MELBOURNE
Aust. Federated Butchers' Union, ditto
Clothing Trades Union, "
Federated Liquor Trades Union, "
Painters' Union "
Sheet Metal Working Agricultural Implement & Stovemaking Union, ditto
Australian Railways' Union, Vic. Branch, 636 Bourke St., MELBOURNE
Builders Labourers' Federation, 35 Victoria St., MELBOURNE
Federated Ship Painters & Dockers' Union, 6 Lorimer St., SOUTH MELBOURNE
Tramway & Omnibus Employees Association, 636 Bourke St., MELBOURNE
Waterside Workers' Federation of Australia, Melbourne Branch, 480 Flinders St., MELBOURNE
Mr. B. Fitzpatrick, c/o "Australian News-Review," P. O. Box 727F, MELBOURNE, C. 1.

You may already have communicated with some of the above but I thought that I would still send them a copy in case you had not.

I shall continue to do whatever I can wish you every success in your worthy work.

Yours sincerely,
(Signed) I. de Boissiere

Stockholm

Provisional Committee to Restore
Paul Robeson's passport

Dear Paul Robeson: For your courage and your songs, giving voice to millions' wish for happiness and freedom, uniting over oceans those who want peace, we love you and thank you, hoping to meet you soon.

Andrea Andreen

###

Swedish volunteers in the war against fascism in Spain decided on their regular monthly meeting to protest against the refusal of passport for Paul Robeson, and demand the right for him to travel abroad.

Sincerely yours,

Per Eriksson   Hilding Wessel

###

We will again hear and see Paul Robeson here in Sweden.

Marianne and David Isaksson

###

Clarte

Alviksvagen 170, Bromma, Sweden
May 15, 1954

Dear friends:

I enclose a copy of a letter to the State Department. I wish you suceess ~~ix~~ in your work. It is of tremendous importance to us. I don't exaggerate if I say that the whole Swedish people regardless of opinions is longing to hear Paul Robeson in person. Please forward my best wishes to him. I met him in London in 1950, but he doesn't, of course, remember me among the friends that gathered one evening in the laboratory of Professor Bernal.

Yours sincerely,
JOHN TAKMAN

copy of letter to State Department:

~~Dear~~ Sirs,

Five years ago Paul Robeson toured Scandinavia. All his concerts in the biggest halls were attended by the most enthusiastic audiences we have ever seen, and an outdoor meeting in Stockholm gathered more than 40,000, which is the biggest audience I think an artist has had in the history of Sweden. Since then there has been a nationwide opinion for hearing this mighty voice again. Paul Robeson's records are frequently played over the radio and at popular meetings. But we want above all to have Paul Robeson tour Sweden again. Nobody here can understand the iron curtain preventing him to leave the United States. Please restore his passport. Yours,

JOHN TAKMAN, MD

NATIONAL UNION OF MINE WORKERS Scottish Area

5 Hillside Crescent
Edinburgh, 7, 18th May, 1954

Dear Paul Robeson,

Our Executive Committee at its meeting yesterday discussed with deep concern the fact that you are still denied a passport and are unable to accept the invitations from people the world over who are so anxious to hear your wonderful singing and to meet you again.

We are, therefore, renewing the invitation already sent to you to visit this country and to give a series of concerts to miners in the Scottish coalfield. We have also written to the U.S. State Department protesting against their denial of a passport to you and advising them of our invitation.

We hope that as a result of such intercession you may again be granted a passport and if so we should be delighted to hear from you that you would be willing to do these concerts for Scottish miners at a date as early as is convenient for you.

We wish you every success in the fight for freedom and culture.

Yours sincerely,

WILLIAM PEARSON

General Secretary

###

Hobart

Australian seamen S S Dehman support demand for travel freedom for you and all others.

Geof Wills

###

(COPIES)

STEPNEY PEACE COUNCIL

CHAIRMAN, A. Silverman,
11 Guynne House, Turner St., Stepney London E. 1

Sec., H. Sculthorp
19 King John St., Stepney

27 . 5 . 54

Dear Friend

I am instructed to extend to you the warmest congratulations of the above Council at the formation of your committee to campaign for the restoration of Mr. Paul Robeson's passport.

In this struggle we feel that you will receive the unqualified support of all Peace forces and of those individuals and organisations who still believe and are willing to struggle to maintain the right of freedom of speech and movement.

Knowing of Paul Robeson's fine record not only as a champion of his own Negro people but also as an outspoken opponent of all things that are repressive and unjust, we wish your committee good campaigning with the culminating result of the restoration of the right of freedom of movement by Mr. Robeson.

Yours is the struggle, not only for an individual's right to free movement, but a struggle for freedom for all peoples. More strength to your elbow. Yours sincerely,

(Signed) H. Sculthorp

---

33 Aspley Rd., Bedford, Eng.

Dear Sir,

I listened with great pleasure to the dear voice of Paul Robeson. If only we could hear and see him sing those songs again it would be like Jesus' coming back and putting a hand on your shoulder. Could not the real people of America show that they are fed of this McCarthy nonsense. Please do give us something to listen to, and to see, of THE REAL AMERICA. Let the people of Britain see the man and woman who made this Real America.

Yours in Friendship (Signed) H. Lees

P. S.: I am Scotch. Was 10 years in America and now in England and was here during the War. And was in Scotland during World War I. I have seen more than enough of the miseries of War.

THE BRITISH PEACE COMMITTEE

81 City Road, London, E. C. 1

14 . 6 . 54.

Dear Mrs. Greene:

We enclose a copy of our June Newsletter, which gave the first publicity in Britain to the campaign to restore Paul Robeson's passport. As we went to press before any reports of the May 26th events arrived in Britain the notice had to be based on your preliminary material but we gave it as good a show as possible and feel sure it will produce results.

We are bringing out an enlarged special issue on July 2nd which is being planned for street sales. We should like to give further publicity to the campaign in this issue. So would be very grateful if you could let us have the latest news of the campaign - by June 24th at latest.

In case you have not heard direct - a notice of the campaign based partly on American material and partly on our report appeared in the Daily Worker on June 11th.

With warmest greetings and all good wishes,
(Signed) (Miss) Pat Gregory
for the EDITORIAL COMMITTEE BPC NEWSLETTER

19, Cherry Orchard, Staines, Middlesex, England

Dear friend Paul

We do so hope you will get your passport back. We are writing to the U. S. Embassy telling them how much we long to hear you sing again.

We often talk of you and listen to your records.

All Best wishes
From (Signed) Gilbert & Queenie Elliot

The Deanery
Canterbury

24th May 1954

Miss Maude Green, Secretary
Provisional Committee to Restore Paul Robeson's Passport
Suite 6
139 West 125 street N Y C 27 U S A

Dear Miss Green,

To deny a passport to Paul Robeson, is to do a great disservice to the artistic world outside the United States. Paul Robeson is a great artistel his work should be for the world and indeed, if he travelled through the world, it would help much to seal the friendship of your country and ours. As it is, the denial of the exercise of his art, either at home, or through the civilized world, is to add fuel to those fires which are already smouldering in a most unhappy way -- fires of hostility to the name of the United States as that of an imperialist oppressor.

It is doubly sad to me to see that great power, which should be the successor of and the practiser of the great freedoms of the Anglo-Saxon and Celtic world, which gave its first quota to your continent -- to see those freedoms slowly and painfully extinguished. I am sure that there are many in your country who feel this as sadly as I do, and are struggling to let the old spirit of the United States regain the saddle. May God speed your efforts.

Yours very truly,

Hewlett Johnson

C
O
P
Y

Union of the Workers of Manuelita S.A.
Affiliated to the Confederation of
Colombian Workers
Republica de Colombia Dmto.
del Valle del Cauca.
Palmira, Colombia

May 28, 1954

To the Provisional Committee to Restore Paul Robeson's Passport
Suite 6, 139 West 125th Street
New York, N.Y.

With greetings to the Provisional Committee, enclose copy of letter sent to U.S. Secretary of State:

The executive committee of the Union of the Workers of Manuelita, S.A., representing 1800 employees of this enterprise, respectfully address you in protest against the manner in which the U.S. State Dept. is trying to deny Mr. Paul Robeson his passport, on the ground that his travel abroad would be contrary to the interests of the U.S.

Our organization believes that Mr. Robeson, like all artists who give their talents, can thereby only benefit the country of his birth. We therefore consider that the U.S. State Department is completely in error in denying his passport to Mr. Robeson who seeks only to enrich the culture of America.

As a result of this view, our organization appeals to the State Department to return Mr. Robeson's passport so that he may travel freely to all countries.

(Signed): Lisandro Benitez

(COPIES)

25, Long Lane
Dalton, Huddersfield, Yorkshire, England

Dear Friends,

I am writing to let you know that I express my full solidarity with your campaign to obtain the restoration of Paul Robeson's passport so that once again the people of the world can hear his voice. On July 5th I sent an air-mail letter of protest to the U. S. State Dept., Wash, D. C., USA saying - "I write to express my disgust that the United States Government will not allow Paul Robeson to hold a passport and therefore deny him the right to accept the invitations that have gone to him from all parts of the world.

"I sincerely hope that the present attitude will be immediately reversed and the passport restored so that once again the people of this country will be able to hear his magnificent voice."

Best wishes to you in your struggle. Sincerely,

Geoffrey Darby

P. S. Sorry I could not afford to send this letter by air mail.

---

208 Coventry Road, Ilford, Exxes, Britain
12th July, 1954

Provisional Comm. To Restore Paul Robeson's Passport

Dear Friends,

At a recent Celebrity Concert held in this town and attended by some 500 people the artists present and taking part signed the following petition which has been sent to the U. S. Embassy in London:-

> "We, the undersigned professional and amateur musicians taking part in this Ilford Town Hall Concert, welcome the news that a COMMITTEE TO RESTORE PAUL ROBESON'S PASSPORT has been formed under distinguished auspices in the USA.
>
> "We wish speedy success to the nation-wide and world-wide campaign, launched by this Committee, to restore Paul Robeson's right, as an American citizen and world artist, to his passport.
>
> "It is our sincere wish that the day is not far distant when Paul Robeson's magnificent voice will again be heard in Britain."

Amongst the signatories to this petition were Miss ANNA POLLAK, leading mezzo-soprano, Sadlers Wells Opera Company; Miss ELIZABETH FRASER, BBC Concert Pianist; EWAN MACCOLL, widely known as BBB "Ballads & Blues" singer and also in connection with Theatre Workshop; & FRANCIS DAY, Conductor of The William Morris Singers. Others who signed were local amateur operatic singers, well-known and esteemed amongst Ilford music-lovers.

I sincerely hope your campaign has got off to a flying start and is well on the way to speedy success. The widest sections of the British people know and love Paul Robeson, and the more they know about the actual situation in which he is and the efforts to end the shameful persecution to which he is subjected, the greater will be their response to your splendid initiative. With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,
(Signed) Dave Goodman

---

43 Briarfield St.
Graforth, Newcastle-on-Tyne,3, England

Provisional Comm. to restore Paul Robeson's Passport

Dear Madam,

I have sent an air mail letter today to the U. S. State Dept., Washington, D. C. adding my name to the list of those desiring that this wonderful singer be allowed to travel freely about the world. His voice is a joy to listen to, and having listened to and seen him at close quarters, I cannot believe that he has evil in him. It is a blot on the good name of America to keep him "tethered". Yours sincerely,

(Signed) Mrs. Margaret E. Scott

(COPIES)

THE WILLIAM MORRIS GROUP

Flat 3, 60, Winchester Street
Christchurch, New Zealand
18th June, 1954

The Secretary, Provisional Committee to Restore Paul Robeson's Passport
Suite 6, 139 West 125th Street, New York 27, New York

Dear Friends:
As the Secretary of the above Group I have been asked to write in response to your letter dated May, 1954.
As a Workers Group trying to promote a love of art and music, we are wholeheartedly behing you in your campaign to get Paul Robeson back his passport. Of recent years this great artist has too long been shut away from the peoples of the world. With the great upheaval around us today, music should break all barriers and help bring about the Peace that Paul Robeson believes in. We admire Paul Robeson as a fine man with a great voice, who gave thousands pleasure in the past and will again with the supreme efforts of this campaign bring back that happiness.

I enclose copies of letters sent to the U. S. State Dept. and American Embassy, Wellington.
We are also giving your campaign publicity in the local newspapers here.
We wish you success,

Yours sincerely,
(Signed) Mrs. Helen Kay, Secretary

21st. June, 1954

The Secretary, United States Embassy
Wellington

Dear Sir: As Secretary of the above group, I have been asked to write you in support of the campaign to restore Paul Robeson's passport.
As a workers' Group trying to promote a love of art and music we are giving it all the support we possibly can. Why should the American Government prevent this great artist from bringing pleasure to thousands all over the world? As a Democratic country you are setting a bad example by keeping Paul Robeson a prisoner in his own country, and we demand that you restore his passport. We feel very strongly on this and we are gaining support from other citizens and are giving it publicity in our local papers.
I have also sent a letter of protest to the U. S. State Dept.

Yours faithfully,

Helen Kay, Secretary, William Morris Group

U. S. State Department
Washington, D. C., USA

Dear Sir: As above with last paragraph: I have also sent a letter of protest to the U. S. Embassy in Wellington.

Melvin House, 5 Hellihole Road
Stromness, Orkney, Scotland
14th June 54

The Paul Robeson Passport Committee
Suite 6, 139 West 125th Street, New York 27, New York, USA

Dear Sirs;
Put down my name as supporting your fight for Paul Robeson. Wishing you complete success

Yours sincerely,
(Signed) G. S. Robertson

(COPIES)

NATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE BRANCH MANAGERS' ASSOCIATION

James Carrier,
Hall Cottage, Kirk Hallam
Ilkeston, Derbyshire

August 11th 1954

Paul Robeson Passport

Dear Sir,
I would like to associate myself with the appeal issued in the Nottingham Evening Post tonight.

I think if you contacted the Imperator, AMORC Temple, Rosicrucian Park, San Jose, California, USA, some Cosmic help might be given to help in your work. With best wishes for your success,

Yours traternally,
(Signed) James Carrier

---

74 Edwardshane, Sherwood, Noggingham, Eng.
Aug. 14th 1954

Sirs,
This letter written by me was sent to three local papers, i. e., Nottingham Guardian and Journal Nottingham Evenings News, Nottingham Evening Post.

All three papers kindly printed the letter. I hope that as a result, some response has been received by you.

I was activated with making this gesture, first by the cultural desire and secondly by demands of freedom for the individual.

Yours sincerely,
(Signed) John W. Kenyon (Councillor)

Elladene, 38 Dovecote Lane
Beeston, Nottingham, England

To Whom Concerned:
Having seen that there is to be an appeal re Paul Robeson for passport, I wish to send my very strong appeal. There is only one Paul Robeson, and there must be thousands who miss hearing his beautiful voice.

I wish you every success, being both a singer and accompanist myself for many years, realize what the public are missing.

Yours sincerely,
(Signed) (Mrs.) Ella Scrimshaw

UNION OF CZECHOSLOVAK WRITERS
Praha 1, Betlemská, 1

June 24th, 1954

Dear Friends,

Czechoslovak writers have heartily welcomed the setting up of your Committee and wish you every success in your endeavours that Paul Robeson's great art may once again carry American folk songs throughout the world and thus strengthen friendship between the peoples of the whole world and the people of the United States.

At Prague's Winter Stadium and in the concert halls of many cities throughout our country Paul Robeson gave performances which made an unforgettable impression on us and aroused respect for Paul Robeson as artist and as a rare, courageous man. These appearances have made us wish to hear him again and to be able to greet in his person all that is best, noblest and bravest in the people of the United States, all the highest qualities created by progressive culture in North America.

We greet you cordially, dear friends, and ask you to convey our sincere best wishes to Paul Robeson.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) Josef Sekera, General Secretary (Signed) Jan Drda, President

---

DISTRICT PEACE COMMITTEE
Beawar (Ajmer-India)
21st August '54

General Secretary, Provisional Comm.
Dear Friend,

We have read with pleasure the news that world campaign has been started to defend the rights of Mr. Paul Robeson for which the provisional committee has been organised of which you have the honor to be the Secretary.

We, the representatives of the people of Beawar realise the importance of the great task you have taken up and wholeheartedly support your move.

We have already written on this question expressing our feeling to the Ambassador of USA in India and the Secretary of States of your Government.

It is hoped that he will be defended with untiring zeal and wish you success.

Yours sincerely,
(Signed) Shantilal R. Deseir)

Gorse Bank, Old Newark Rd.
Mansfield, Nottingham, Eng.,
11th Aug. 1954

We, the undersigned wish to support the campaign for the restoration of Paul Robeson's passport.

(Signed) John J. and Edith Anderson

THE PEOPLE DAILY
84th Street, Letsaigan, Mandalay, Burma
2 - 7 - 1954

To Provisional Committee
Dear Friend,

We are glad to inform you that the appeal which you sent to us had been published in our paper The People Daily on 24th: May issue, adding our appeal to our reading public to protest against the action of U. S. Government.

We hope you will appreciate this. For peace and friendship with the People all over the world especially with Americans.

Yours sincerely
(Signed) Daw Amah
For the People Daily

(COPIES)

(Form letter sent individually by the following:

D. E. Press, 64 16th Street, Orange Grove, Johannesburg, S. A.
Cassin Patel, 55 Market St., Johannesburg S. A.
Percy Cohen, 22 Millsan House, Twist St., Johannesburg
M. O. Moolee, 62 2nd Street, Johannesburg
G. E. Rouse, 70 Siemast Road, Doornfontein, Johannesburg
M. Dindar, P. O. Box 6590. Johannesburg
Jan E. Birenhardt, P. O. Box 1355, Johannesburg
Ram Aloojee, 43 Market St., Johannesburg
A. Chotheg, 35 Market St., Johannesburg
I. Kakar, 43 Market St., Johannesburg

Dear Paul,
When the United States Government deprived you of your passport, they deprived the people of the world of your wonderful voice.
It is not a personal move against you - it was a political move of world-wide importance.
That is why we here in South Africa are interested in the action now being taken by Americans to try to get your passport restored to you. We want to hear you sing. We have heard you on records. We want to see you, and hear you yourself.
To us you represent the real America, the true America, not of the H-Bom, McCarthy, blood and thunder comics and Mickey Spillane, but of the love of peace and the real culture that we know exists among ordinary people everywhere. By preventing you from travelling, your Government is depriving itself of its finest ambassador.
In this country, you would be discriminated against under our Apartheid Laws, and treated as "inferior"; but we, the people, would welcome you with all our hearts.
We want you to come. We hope you will be able to - soon!

With best wishes,
Yours sincerely,

MODERN YOUTH SOCIETY

P. O. Box 4552, Cape Town, South Africa
7th June 1954

Mr. Paul Robeson

Dear Mr. Robeson,

Fifty members of our society met one evening last month (May 28th) to listen to records of your wonderful voice and to hear about your lifetime spent fighting for the cause of freedom, justice and peace.

I am forwarding to you the text of the resolution which was carried unanimously at the meeting:

"As a society of African, Coloured, Indian and White youth, we send greetings to you and add our voices to those of millions throughout the world who are demanding the restoration of your passport to travel abroad.

"As in America the Non-white people in South Africa are suffering under the heavy yoke of racial oppression. The name of Paul Robeson gives us strength in our struggle for friendship and freedom. Your wonderful voice which used to ring in all corners of the earth with the songs of the people, spreading friendship and understanding wherever it was heard, has been silent too long.

"We know that the American Government is trying to stifle people like you who represent the hopes and longings of ordinary Americans for a world free from the nightmare of the H bomb, the desire to dominate the world and the obscene culture of sex and crime. It is people like you who are the real Americans - the Americans we young people in South Africa want to know and love. Even if the Malan Government would not welcome you, we promise you that there are millions of South Africans longing to see you and hear you sing."

Yours sincerely, (Signed) Mary Butcher (Secretary)

(COPIES)

Thingholtsstr. 27. Reykjavik
July 6th 1954

In the name of human rights of freedom we protest against that the passport has been taken from the world famous singer Paul Robeson, and we claim for that his~~s~~ passport shall be restored immediatly, so that the people of the world may hear him sing. As great personality he and fighting man also is beloved of whole manking. Give back to him his passport.

(Signed) Thora V. Andresson, editor

SOUTH AFRICAN PEACE COUNCIL

P. O. Box 10528 JOHANNESBURG

4th July, 1954

Provisional Committee to Restore Paul Robeson's Passport
Suite 6, 139 West 125th Street, New York 27, New York, USA

Dear Friend,

We would like to take this opportunity of expressing our support for the campaign to restore Paul Robeson's passport.

As a peace council we fully support cultural exchange between the peoples because such exchanges lead to friendship and understanding and thus further the cause of peace. Interference with such exchanges, particularly in the case of one who has made an outstanding contribution to the work for peace, can only be regarded as an act to undermine friendly relations.

My Council wishes you every success in your campaign so that people all over the world may hear the magnificient voice of Robeson singing for peace.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) Harold Wolpe, Secretary
For South African Peace Council

EDICIONES PUEBLOS UNIDOS
Sociedad Anonima
Montevideo, 28 de junio de 1954
(R. O. del U.)

Senor Howard Fast
Suite 6, West 125 Street, New York 27, New York. EE.UU.

De nuestra consideracion:

Estamos interesados en editar en idioma espanol sus obras "Sacco y Vanzetti" y "Clarkton" y solicitamos su autorizacion. El segundo libro has sido ya traducido por nosotros al idioma espanol, pero necesitamos un ejemplar del primero, "Sacco y Vanzetti", para preparar su traduccion.

Rogamos urgente respuesta y que nos remita el original ingles para preparar la traduccion.

Saludamos a Vd. muy atentamenta.

J. Lascole Por Ediciones Pueblos Unidos S. A.

C
O
P
Y

(Via Western Union Cables)

Montevideo, Uruguay

May 25, 1954

Provisional Committee to Restore Paul Robeson's Passport
Suite 6, 139 West 125th Street
New York, N.Y.

Uruguayan musicians associate themselves with the movement to return his passport to Paul Robeson, that our great artist may be free to express his art--thus enriching world culture.

(Signed):

Mussetti
Eizmendi
Chorberg
Bornstei
Haeberli
Perazzo
Frangoni
Boronat
Vinitzky
Fazzni

COPY

Paris, le 25 mai 1954
Tel: Odeon 12-62

6, Square Delambre
XIV^{c}

Messieurs,

I have renounced all political activity since 1936. I have never been and will never be Communist because I have too high, too noble and too passionate a feeling for liberty. For the same reason I have never been and will never be a fascist. My fraternal friend, Felix Eboue, who knew me well, said of me to whoever would listen to him that I was a born aristocrat with the most humane ideals. For thirty-three years this definition of my character has never stopped the people of the right from calling me a Communist nor the people of the left from seeing in me a reactionary.

I have then always and everywhere defended reason. Consequently I am in heart and spirit with you in the campaign which you are waging to secure full citizenship rights to the great and unfortunate Paul Robeson. Is it not sufficient to say to your leaders that the Statue of Liberty, which dominates the Port of New York, resolutely turns its back on the United States? Do they not understand that they cannot boast of defending free peoples while denying the most elementary liberty to one of the most illustrious of their sons? When will they resolve to be logical and stop lying to themselves as well as to the whole world?

It is only the totalitarian regimes which employ measures comparable to those which have been heaped on Paul Robeson for four years. The crux of the matter is that this artist of great prestige, who has done so much with his admirable voice for the glory of his race and of his native country, is doubtless no more a Communist than is Mr. Foster Dulles himself. What he has and what his white compatriot lacks is the spirit of ideal brotherhood which appears to be the characteristic of most peoples of colour, the truly Christian desire to see peoples and races live together in that just peace that we all desire.

Here then is what it has been my duty as a free man to proclaim.

Long live true liberty! Long live the liberty of all worthy in fact of that beautiful name! Down with totalitarianism in every form in which it manifests itself! Long live Paul Robeson! And thanks for having allowed me to testify publicly concerning all the admiration which he inspires in me, and the contempt I have for those who have been led by their stupidity, unavowed fear and inferiority complex to make a martyr of him.

(Signed) Rene Maran

(COPIES)

NPARIS VIA RCA 34 15 1555

LT COMMITTEE PAUL ROBESON SUITE 6 139 WEST 125TH RUE NEW YORK27

APPORTONS NOTRE APPUI CHALEUREUX CAMPAGNE POUR RESTITUTION PASSEPORT A GRAND ET CHER PAUL ROBESON JEAN ROIRE DIRECTEUR CHANT DU MONDE 32 RUEBEAUJON PARIS 1202P

HELSINKI 9.7.1954

To the State Department of USA

We, the members of the District Committee of the Democratic Federation of the Youth of Finland in Helsinki and Uusimaa, have on our meeting discussed the invitation, sent by the Festival Centre of Finland to the American Citizen Paul Robeson to come to Finland.

The participators of our meeting unanimously agreed with the Invitation of the Festival Centre and we ask the State Department of USA to return to Paul Robeson his passport and give him the possibility to go to Finland.

Yours faithfully

District Committee Helsinki and Uusimaa of the Democratic Federation of the Youth of Finland

(Signed) Pentti Rouvali, Chairman

HOUSE OF COMMONS 12th. July, 1954.

Miss Maude Green, Secretary,
Provisional Committee
Suite 6, 139 West 125th Street, New York, 27. N. Y.

Dear Miss Green,

Your State Department surely cannot any longer be under any illusions as to the harm being created by the withholding of Paul Robeson's passport. This great artist was appreciated on this side of the Atlantic not only for his magnificent voice and presence, but because he represented the beginnings of articulate strivings coming from the under privileged and humanity's ultimate aim - its oneness.

In paying tribute to an artist who has delighted and enthralled me and my friends, I beg America to appreciate the harm to our western way of life, which is being caused by this denial of freedom and this resort to economic strangulation.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) Maurice Orbach.

Thinghol~~bohr (?)~~ tsstr. 27
Reykjavik 6/7 1954

In the name of Man's rights and justice we claim that the passport shall be restored to the world famous Singer and the beloved personality Paul Robeson.

(Signed) Kristinn E. Andresson (writer)

(COPIES)

42 Telscombe Rd.
Peacehaven, Sussex, England
11 June 1954

The Paul Robeson Campaign
Dear Friends,

This in support of appeal to allow that great World Artist Paul Robeson to have some of the freedom Mr. Foster Dulles and his Wall St. backers keep boasting about - freedom to travel and freedom to express his political opinions. The Wall St. "1000 Americans" seek to establish a fascist state and browbeat all their so-called "allies". Would that such men as Abraham Lincoln and Franklin D. Roosevelt could come to life and address these traitors to the people for a few minutes. Wishing you all success.

Yours sincerely,
(Signed) G. H. Montgomery and family of wife and 6 children & one already sacrificed in the last war

---

Billbrook House, Winchcombe St.
Cheltenham, England
May 28th. 1954

To the Committee,
Dear Sirs,

Thanks for your letter refering to Paul Robeson (Passport. I enclose copy of letter sent to the USA Embassy in London. I hope of success.

Yours faithfully,
W. Guelke

(Copy)
To the USA Embassy,
Dear Sir:

I am writing on behalf of Paul Robeson who has been denied a passport these last 4 uears. I am most astounded, that a harmless singer should be treated so unjustly. Robeson is not a criminal, then on what grounds has he been refused a passport. Is it because he is colored? or is it because of his political opinion?

I am not a communist, but everybody has a right to his sincere opinion, wether he is Conservative, Liberal, Socialist or Communist. I am 76 years old, but all through my life until quite recently, the USA was considered the country of the most liberty for the individual. Already the USA has lost much sympathy under the masses here. But I know through relatives and friends living in the USA that there is still that freedom, tolerance and goodwill among the people and it is a pity that such a wonderful country should lose its prestige abroad, through petty tyranny meted out by a few in power.

Therefore I urge the USA government to extend the passport to Paul Robeson. I should be glad to hear him sing if he comes to England. Thank you.

Yours faithfully,
W. Guelke

52, Church Rd., Handforth, Cheshire, Eng.
June 7th, 1954

Provisional Comm. to Restore Paul Robeson's Passport
Dear Friends,

We were delighted to hear, through your letter, of your movement to secure the restoration of Mr. Robeson's right to travel abroad.

We are weary of hydrogen bombs and of Senator McCarthy; we want only to live in peace and friendship with the America represented by Robeson and Einstein, and, if we may express our selfish wish, to hear again the great voice of Paul Robeson in this country.

Please be assured of our wholehearted support. With best wishes, Yours sincerely,
(Signed) T. R. and P. E. Kaiser

P. S.: Your letter was addressed to our previous residence (25A Ladybarn Rd., Fallowfield, Manchester 14) and unfortunately did not reach us in time for us to send a message to your May 26th meeting. Perhaps you will note our change of address.

28 Aldbourne Rd.
London. W. 12
England
May 16th, 1954

Dear Friends:

I am deeply honoured to join the campaign to restore Paul Robeson's right, as an American citizen and world artist, to his passport. I shall always treasure the memory of hearing him and meeting him in London. The denial of freedom of movement to one of her great sons is unworthy of the country of Abraham Lincoln and Jefferson. Restriction of freedom has never led to security or freedom.

Today progressive people everywhere look critically at the U.S.A. Such petty, tyrannical acts of what is in effect persecution, have lowered the prestige and reputation of America in the eyes of his progressive friends.

Few people could do more, if as much, to help raise America's prestige and restore her reputation, as Paul Robeson, were he free to go about the world.

It may not be in the interests of those who clamour for war, but it is certainly in the best interests of the American people that Paul Robeson should be free, in song and speech, to tell the world about the peace-loving progressive America that has never ceased its fight for peace and freedom, for an America that shall lead and not inhibit progress.

The fight for Paul Robeson's passport is part of the fight of all of us, everywhere in the world, for a secure, happy and civilized life for all.

I wish you all success in your campaign.

Yours sincerely,

BEATRICE KING

Longmeadow Street
Somerset, England

May 17th, 1954

Dear Paul Robeson:

As a firm believer in the right of the Artist (whatever his political beliefs may be) to world-wide freedom, for carrying the beauty of his Art to all Nations, Peoples, and Languages, I send you my greetings, and my warm hopes that I may hear you, once again, sing "Water-boy, where are you roaming?" in the most beautiful male voice I have ever heard. You have helped me, with that song, in two of my plays; you sang it for me, in London, some 14 or 15 years ago; and I hope that I may have the happiness of hearing you do it again before I die.

Do you remember that, as a play-producer, I gave you a criticism of one of your exits, which you accepted? Do you also remember how we met again at the home of Dick Sheppard, when he was Dean of Canterbury? And how it was for one of his small children that you sang to us again?

In the dear memory of that great lover of Peace and Goodwill to all Nations, I send you this greeting.

Yours very sincerely,

LAURENCE HOUSMAN

BUDAPEST

WHOLEHEARTED SUPPORT EFFORTS RESTORE PASSPORT YOUR SONGS INSPIRATION TO ALL YOUTH WARMEST GREETINGS.

WORLD FEDERATION OF DEMOCRATIC YOUTH

WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS May 21, 1954

Dear Friends,

It is with pleasure and a deep feeling of solidarity that the WFTU supports the campaign for the restoration of Paul Robeson's passport. It is convinced that the united action of democratic people throughout the world and in reaction to the unjust and illegal measure of the United States government will force the latter to concede the right to travel to this true son of the American people.

The undemocratic action of the State Department is an insult to all peoples. The worlds' workers who know and love the voice of Paul Robeson, are with you. They express to him their solidarity and protest energetically against this discriminatory act on the part of the American authorities.

Sincerely yours,

HENRI JOURDAIN
Secretary of the WFTU

COPY

WESTERN UNION

NBH096 23 INTL-N PRAHA VIA MACKAY RADIO 26 1740 -
PROVISIONAL COMMITTEE RESTORE PAUL ROBESONS PASSPORT -
SUITE 6 STOP 139 WEST 125th STREET NEWYORK7 -

EXPRESS SOLIDARITY YOUR CAMPAIGN -

- CZECHOSLOVAK PEACE COMMITTEE FUCIKOVA
VICE PRESIDENT -

WESTERN UNION

NBH 113 16 INTL-SANTIAGODECHILE ORD VIA WU CABLES 26 1337 -
ROBESON -
SUITE 6 139 WEST 125 STREET NEW YORK 27

CHILEAN PEOPLE WANTS THE GREATEST SINGER HERE -

- NERUDA

WESTERN UNION

NBHO 57 16 PD INTL FR-N GEORGETOWN BG VIA WUCABLES 26 1000
- MAUDE GREENE - 139 WEST 125 ST SUITE 6 NYK -

- GUIANA YOUTH MOVEMENT SOLIDARITY ROBESON -

- BRINDLEY BENN -

WESTERN UNION

C108CC 1F PD INTL N JOHANNESBURG 51 24 1400 VIA RCA
LT PAUL ROBESON, SUITE 6, 139 WEST 125THST NEWYORK 27

TEN MILLION OFFERED NONWHITES AND EUROPEAN DEMOCRATS CONDEMN US GOVERNMENTS PASSPORT REFUSAL AS FASCIST ATTACK LIBERTY AND CULTURAL RIGHTS X SUPPORT WORLDWIDE DEMAND SEE AND HEAR PAUL ROBESON WORLDS GREAT ARTIST AND FIGHTER PEACE AND FREEDOM

YUSUF M DADOO 47 ENDST JOHANNESBURG
1008A MAY 24 1954

ALL AMERICA CABLES AND RADIO

COMITE PROVICIONAL PARA RESTITUIR PASAPORTE PAUL ROBESON: Suite 6, 139 West 125th Street NUEVA YORK 27, NUEVA YORK, E.U.A.

CSF.164/54-Trabajadores Ferroviarios Ramas Anexas Transportes Aéreos Bolivia, se solidariza con cc. del Arte de los Estados Unidos, pide mayor acción fín concedan Pasaporte al conocido cantante PAUL ROBESON. Acusen. POR LA CONFEDERACION NACIONAL.
Juan Sanjines Obando

CONFEDERACION DE FERROVIARIOS DE BOLIVIA AYACUCHO # 284 3er. Piso

MONTEVIDEO, URUGUAY

May 21, 1954

Dear Friends:

Knowledge of the world campaign to restore the passport of the great singer, Paul Robeson, brings to the initiators my most profound support.

It is impossible that at this hour when all of the people of the world want to establish and strengthen cultural and fraternal relations, that such a great artist, universally loved and admired, should be prevented from leaving his country because of policies hostile to culture, to individual rights and to the friendship of peoples.

I am fully convinced that the Uruguan public will feel happy and honored to be able to hear Paul Robeson and to tender him its love and support.

Assuring you of the success of such a just campaign, and with my promise to interest my colleagues, the writers and the Uruguayan intellectuals of my acquaintance, I salute you cordially.

ALFREDO GRAVINA

KINGSTON JAMAICA

PEOPLE OF JAMAICA REMEMBER PAUL WITH UNDYING LOVE WHOLEHARTEDLY JOIN IN STRUGGLE FOR RESTORATION OF HIS RIGHTS

PEOPLE'S EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATION

###

PEOPLE'S EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATION
64 Barry street, Kingstonm, Jamaica

20th May, 1954

Dear Friends:

We enclose a copy of our protest in connection with the arbitrary action of the United States government in denying Mr. Paul Robeson his passport, which has handed to the U.S. Consul here.

In addition, we will be sending copies of this to other organizations and individuals asking them to join us in the protest to restore this passport of this great American artist.

Yours fraternally,

PEOPLE'S EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATION

WOMEN'S ALLIANCE OF GUATEMALA AND PANAMERICA

Guatemala, May 16, 1954

Dear Friends:

The women organized in the Women's Alliance of Guatemala warmly salute the great artist Paul Robeson, whose art, love of peace and of friendship among peoples, have so endeared him to all humanity. We are confident that the people of North America will know how to defend right and justice bravely, in support of the present campaign for the restoration of the passport of one of the favorite sons of the American continent.

Our fraternal solidarity is with you.

DORA FRANCO Y FRANCO
Secretary General

###

Guatemala, May 17, 1954

To the American Ambassador, American Embassy, Guatemala

Dear Sir:

The Women's Alliance of Guatemala greets you respectfully and offers its protest against the injustice, that in the country of Washington and Jefferson, Lincoln and Franklin D. Roosevelt, the great artist Paul Robeson is denied the right to a passport to come and go. His art belongs not only to the people and country of the United States, but to all humanity.

Art should have no frontiers. All peoples claim as their own the exquisite and moving art of this United States artist, whose government has sentenced him to be an exile in his own country, discriminating against him and persecuting him, as if he were not a glory to national and international musical art. Thinking of Paul Robeson solely as an artist, he has alredy won the esteem and enthusiasm of the peoples, but taking into consideration his sensitive and broad spirit, which loves peace, liberty and friendship among peoples, his figure is enshrined in the heart of all humanity. To do justice to Paul Robeson will be of greater benefit to the United States than to him. To restore Robeson's passport will help us to a better understanding of the United States, leading us to believe that it is not anti-democratic, that ~~MxExkk~~ McCarthyism has not been victorious in the beautiful country of Emerson and Walt Whitman.

With much faith in the people of the United States, that in the case of Paul Robeson they will have the last word,

We are, sincerely yours,

WOMEN'S ALLIANCE OF GUATEMALA

C
O
P
Y

WESTERN UNION

G15CC 1F PD INTL - N LONDON 43 26 1233 VIA MACKAY RADIO
LT MAUD GREEN RENAISSANCE CASINO
138 ST 7THAVE NEW YORK (138th St. and 7th Ave.)

WE ENGLISH WRITERS SEND GOOD WISHES AND HOPE TO WELCOME ROBESON IN LONDON SOON. DORIS LESSING, MAURICE WHITBREAD, DEREK KARTON, MAX COHEN, MONTAGUE SLATER, JACK BEECHING, TONY ADAMS, JACK LINDSAY, MILES TOMALIN

JOHN ST. JOHN - 912A MAY 26 1954

WESTERN UNION

NBG 120 LONG 67 DL 1 EXTRA - FD TORONTO ONT 26 145 P-
PAUL ROBESON, CARE RENAISSANCE CASINO = 138 AND 7 AVE -

IN SENDING OUR WARMEST GREETINGS TO YOU WE SPEAK FOR MANY THOUSANDS OF CANADIANS WHO WANT YOU TO COME BACK TO SING WITH THEM AS YOU HAVE DONE SO MANY THRILLING TIMES BEFORE STOP THE FIGHT TO RESTORE YOUR PASSPORT AND FREEDOM TO TRAVEL AND SING IN CANADA AND WORLD AS MUCH OUR BATTLE AS YOURS AND OUR MAGAZINE OF CANADIAN CULTURE PLEDGES ITS FULL SUPPORT.

- MARGARET FAIRLEY EDITOR NEW FRONTIERS -

WESTERN UNION

R6CC 2R 17 PD INTL
LAPAZ VIA ALLAMERICA 25 834P
LT PAUL ROBESON
138th ST 7th AV NY

SOLIDARITY CAMPAIGN RESTORATION PASSPORT CORDIALLY

JOSE ANTONIO ARZE / UNIVERSITY

1120P MAY 25 1954

WESTERN UNION

B94CC 8D INTL PD
N MELBOURNE VIA RCA 18 24 1455
LT PAUL ROBESON RENAISSANCE CASINO
138TH STREET NEW YORK

HOPE TO HEAR YOU SOON IN AUSTRALIAN CONCERT HALLS

IRWIN
823A MAY 24 1954

C
O
P
Y

F. E. N.
Syndicat National
de
L'ENSEIGNEMENT SUPERIEUR
et de la
RECHERCHE SCIENTIFIQUE

Secretaire General:
L. BARRABE
Ecole Normale Superieure
45 Rue D'ulm, Paris-V

E. Schatzman
98 bis Dd Arago
Paris 14°

25 Mai 1954

Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
Suite 6, 139 W. 125th St.
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Du Bois:

I believe that this world protest that you organise in order to restore Paul Robeson's right to a passport should be successful; even if it were not, the result of the campaign would be a general reinforcement of fight for democracy and peace in your country and throughout the world. I personally believe that a great artist like Paul Robeson should have the same rights as the other citizens of his country, unless the state department thinks that it is just because he is a great artist, with a great influence on many people, that he should be denied equal rights to the other people.

My organisation will consider carefully the case and I'll let you know soon which decision has been taken.

With my best wishes for your courageous action in to-day's United States!

E. SCHATZMAN

C
O
P
Y

American Embassy
Rothschild Blv.
Tel Aviv,
Israel

25.5.54

Dear Sirs,

Audience of Paul Robeson Concert at Jitzchak Sadeh Workers and Youth Club in Tel Aviv, join the millions in all parts of the world who demand the return of his passport.

The voice of Paul Robeson has made many, many friends to the American song and music, and to **its** freedom loving heritage.

We want to hear Paul Robeson sing again, all peoples want to hear his voice - a bell of liberty to freedom loving people everywhere.

Let him consacrate his genius to the cause of peace and friendship among peoples all over the world, to strengthen the cultural relation among all peoples.

We demand of the U. S. Government to return Paul Robeson's passport to his owner.

Audience of the Concert of Paul Robeson's Song,
The Committee of "Jitzchak Sadeh"
Workers and Youth Club.

Copy: Provisional Committee to Restore Paul Robeson's passport,
Suite 6, 139 West 125th Street, New York 27, U. S. A.

WESTERN UNION:

..NBH078 17 PD INTL VIA FZ NOT AT RENAISSANCE CASINO
- N LONDON VIA MACKAY MAY 31 2005

- LT MAUD GREEN -
- 139 WEST 125 ST SUITE 6 NYK -

SIXTY LONDON MUSICIANS WISH YOU SUCCESS

- STONE

C
O
P
Y

10 Scanlen Street
Queenstown
South Africa
19th May, 1954

Provisional Committee
to
Restore Paul Robeson's Passport
139 West 125th Street
New York 27, N. Y.

In the name of all that is Right and Honourable, in the interests of World Culture and the Humanisation of the peoples of the earth, we in Africa solemnly call upon the State Department of the United States of America to restore to Paul Robeson his freedom of movement beyond the confines of the United States.

Yours etc.
M. M. Moerane
L. W. Gingcana
R. Z. Nodlaba
R. M. Qwalela

---

10 Scanlen Street
Queenstown
South Africa
19th May, 1954

To Paul and Eslanda Robeson
139 West 125th Street
New York 27, N. Y.

Dear Friends,

The arrival of a circular letter announcing the date 26th May for a rally to agitate for the re-establishment of the human right of one of you to travel in freedom reminds me that I have not yet thanked you for the card of greetings which you sent out earlier this year in connection with the Negro History Week. That is a grand institution which I wish we could establish out here. It would certainly do much to acquaint our people with the achievements of the race, and to give courage and inspiration to all who in these parts are longing and working for the dawn of a better day.

Now for the rally: If we here were not living under just such a regime as in many respects obtains at your end, we might find it somewhat difficult to understand why any Government should abrogate to itself the power of restricting without just cause any sane man's right to free movement and the excercise of his energies in lawful pursuits; but we know only too well what greed and the glut of power can do. Right here and now we are witnessing deportations of patriots from their homes to isolated parts of this country. You will have had some inkling of the goings-on from our organ, the "Torch." To be somewhat personal, even your present humble servant, though not technically deported, has had to move from Queenstown in search of a job. That small, country town has lately been acquiring the reputation of one of the chief centres of the liberatory movement, and so the powers that be have swooped down upon it and dispersed some of us by the simple device of depriving us of our employment. We have instituted legal proceedings

more-

in the Supreme Court, but are not hoping for much from that quarter. What we cannot give up is the struggle itself. We just have no alternative. If we falter we are doomed. "If there is no struggle there is no progress," and, as the Grand Old Man of the Movement has so well phrased it, "We will not be satisfied to take one jot or little less than our full manhood rights."

Our very best wishes go with you. We hope you may soon recover the right to move freely again even though we know that as things stand we over here can never have the joy of a personal contact. However the lives of both of you are, and will remain an inspiration to Africa.

Yours sincerely,

M. M. Moerane

P. S. Although I am now living at P. O. MFUNDISWENI in Pondoland about 350 miles east of Queenstown, my correspondence is safest addressed to the latter place. My wife and youngest child are still there. In fact that is still my home, and will continue to be so until with the application of the Group Areas Act I shall have been dispossed of my house.

C
O
P
Y

7 Mendelsohn Rd.
Roosevelt Park
Johannesburg
14th May 1954

Dear Maude Greene,

I received your letter about the campaign to win back Paul Robeson's passport -- I support you every inch of the way! We will do what we can here. (1) Already letters are going out to get South Africans to send your committee messages of support and we hope to be able to organise a fair number of them. (2) On May 26 the Johannesburg Youth Forum (an education and discussion club, newly formed) will hold a local "Salute to Paul Robeson" evening. Will send you a report of this. (3) Could your Committee send an article on Paul Robeson for publication in our monthly magazine "Fighting Talk," on the editorial board of which are members of the African National Congress, the South African Indian Congress, the Congress of Democrats. An article of 1000-1500 words, with a new photograph of Robeson, would be greatly appreciated and would spread news here of your campaign. You should send the article to my address.

Very best wishes and good luck!

Ruth First

C
O
P
Y

WESTERN UNION:

A73CC ZR 35 PD INTL
N LONDON VIA RCA 25 1915
LT GREEN SUITE 6, 139 WEST 125TH STREET NEW YORK 27

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE IRISH DEMOCRATE JOIN YOU IN REQUESTING RESTORATION OF AMERICAN PASSPORT TO PAUL ROBESON TO ENABLE HIM TO SING IN BRITAIN AND IRELAND

DESMOND GREAVES
343PM MAY 25 1954

WESTERN UNION:

A46CC ZR 24 PD INTL
N LONDON VIA MACKAY RADIO 1645 MAY 25 1954
LT GREEN SUITE
6 139 W 125th ST NY 27 USA

GREETINGS PAUL ROBESON HOPE SINCERELY TO SEE AND HEAR YOU AGAIN SOON

7 LONDON OFFICE WORKERS

123PM

WESTERN UNION

A11CC ZR INTL PD - N LONDON VIA MACKAY RADIO 91/89 1156 MAY 22 1954
LT ROBESON PASSPORT COMMITTEE, SUITE 6, 139 WEST 125ST NEWYORK 27 √

IN NAME OF MAGNA CARTA BY WHICH ALREADY IN THIRTEENTH CENTURY ENGLISHMEN WON RIGHT OF UNIMPEDED TRAVEL FROM AND TO THEIR HOMELAND AND WHOSE TRADITION IS SHARED BY AND LINKS OUR TWO COUNTRIES I WISH JOY AND SUCCESS TO CAMPAIGN TO RESTORE THAT RIGHT TO PAUL STOP MAY HIS NOBLE VOICE AND PRESENCE SOON BRING US AND OTHER FOLKS MUCH NEEDED REMINDER FUNDAMENTAL VIRTUES AND CHARACTER OF AMERICAN PEOPLE WHOSE BEST AND GREATEST AMBASSADOR HE WILL EVER BE.

IVOR MONTAGU 941AM

POST CARD

TO WISH PAUL ROBESON MANY HAPPY RETURNS OF HIS BIRTHDAY.

HARRY POLLITT

COPIES

Maiden Newton, Dorset, England

No government on earth, dear Paul Robeson, can deprive me of your unforgettable singing. I remember it as though I had heard you yesterday, and I welcome this opportunity to thank you.

If the State Department would take a more long-sighted view of the best interests of the United States they would realise that by withholding your passport they are not only robbing the world of a great artist: they are holding back an ambassador who would do a great deal towards reviving a waning European goodwill towards the U.S.

Sincerely,

Sylvia Townsend Warner

---

78 Redcliffe Square
London, S. W. 10
18/5/54

My dear Paul,

I am delighted to hear that a move is again being made to restore your passport. It is many years since I and my friends have heard you sing in London. There is no doubt about the reception that awaits you here from your innumerable admirers here.

There is also hope of my completing the head I begun of you many years ago when you were hear. So as an admirer of your singing and a sculptor, I wish you every success in this campaign.

Yours sincerely,
RONALD C. MOODA

Trinity College
Cambridge

5/14/54

Mr. Maurice Dobb begs to send to Paul Robeson in person and to the Provisional Committee for the Restoration of Paul Robeson's Passport his warmest wishes and support in their campaign to regain his rights as an American citizen and as an artist of world-wide renown.

Signed - MAURICE DOBB
(M.A., Ph.D; Fellow and Lecturer of Trinity
College, Cambridge).

C
O
P
Y

104, Kew Green
Kew,
Richmond Surrey

17th May, 1954

Message to the PROVISIONAL COMMITTEE TO RESTORE
PAUL ROBESON'S PASSPORT:

Since returning from the United States eighteen months ago, people in all walks of life have expressed to me their utmost concern and shock regarding the seizure of Mr. Robeson's passport. They have enquired if there was anything they could do to assist him.

I found the same concern in Holland and in France.

To list but a few of the groups who have mentioned their concern: the Miner's Institute of Tredegar, Wales; members of a number of Scottish and English film societies; members of Dutch film societies, journalists and artists, and in France -- members of the cine-clubs.

These people, and many others, will do their utmost to support the campaign to get Paul Robeson's passport restored.

Especially concerned are the many Negro workers, students and nurses from Africa and the West Indies who are now working in England.

We xxx all desire to see Paul Robeson again in OTHELLO and to hear him sing. We will pull together to do our best on his behalf.

When the Department of State denies a passport to Paul Robeson, they do the United States the greatest damage; Paul Robeson's name is a "household word" abroad, which means simply that he was loved and honoured where so ever he went.

Marie Seton, author

C
O
P
Y

19 Whitehall Lodge
Pages Lane, London N.10
May 11th 1954

Provisional Committee to
Restore Paul Robeson's Passport
Suite 6, 139 West 125th Street
New York 27, N. Y., U.S.A.

Dear Friends,

I am grateful to you for the opportunity to express support for the campaign of the Provisional Committee to Restore Paul Robeson's Passport.

The action of the present rulers of the United States in refusing a passport to one of the great world figures of art and of humanity, is an affront and an outrage not only against Paul Robeson and against democracy in the United States, but equally against the fundamental principles of civilised international relations and human rights of peoples of all countries.

Paul Robeson is very dear to audiences in Britain who have been equally inspired by his artistic genius, his personality and his loyalty and courageous service to the cause of humanity.

This refusal of a passport is a typical act of the infamous cold war policy pursued by the present rulers of the United States to draw their iron curtain across the world and seek to hinder international intercourse and peace and friendship between the nations of the world.

You may be sure that all people in Britain will support the campaign conducted by your Committee to right this wrong.

Yours Sincerely,
R. Palme Dutt

BRITISH SOVIET FRIENDSHIP SOCIETY, 36 Spencer St., London, E.C.1

PS/NC 13th May 1954

Provisional Committee to Restore Paul Robeson's Passport
Suite 6, 139 West 125th Street
New York 27, N. Y.

Dear Friends,

Very many thanks for your circular about Paul Robeson's passport.

Our Officers wish me to say that our Society has the very highest respect for Paul Robeson, both as an artist and for the very great work which he has done for peace and friendship with the Soviet Union.

We certainly wish you the very best of luck in your work for securing a return to him of his freedom to travel abroad.

Yours Sincerely,

PAT SLOAN
General Secretary

C
O
P
Y

PEOPLE'S PRESS PRINTING SOCIETY
75 Farringdon Road, London, E.C.1
Secretary: David Ainley

12th May, 1954

Maude Greene, Secretary,
Provisional Committee to
Restore Paul Robeson's Passport,
New York 27, N. Y., USA

Dear Friend,

Your activities for the restoration of Paul Robeson's passport are of vital importance to democracy the world over, and I wish you every success in your efforts.

Over here Paul is no longer just a world-famous artist, he personifies the strivings of people the world over, irrespective of race, creed or colour, for decency, humanity, equality and peace.

It was my great pleasure to meet Paul Robeson last time he was in Britain, and to feel the powerful impact of his breathtaking love and presence.

As organiser of the Daily Worker in London I booked Paul for one concert and tried to get him for a national tour, but the ban on his travel intervened.

I am sure I speak for millions of people in Britain when I say that success in your efforts will be a victory for mankind.

It would be a unique privilege to once again meet Paul Robeson in England.

Sincerely yours,

PAT DEVINE

THE AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY
CANBERRA, A. C. T.

Box 4, GPO
Canberra, A C T

Dear Committee,

I have received a copy of your letter asking for support. It seems to me evasive on the basic question involved in Paul Robeson's case, namely, how far can a man claim the benefit of principles which he does not accept.

Paul Robeson has for a long time expressed his approval and support for governments which restrict the travel of their citizens to an even greater extent than does the government of the United States. His position in many international organisations which extend to Communist ruled countries would give him greater influence with Communist governments than most other American citizens but, so far as I know, this influence has never been used in favour of freedom of travel and he has made no protests over such cases as the refusal of the Rumanian government to allow children to join their father in America as a means of bringing pressure on him, the refusal of the Soviet government to allow Russian wives to join their British husbands or the refusal to allow Jews to emigrate to Israel, to mention only a few examples.

~~Since Paul Robeson's public really wishes to attain its~~

Since Paul Robeson's public record seems fairly clearly to indicate that he approves the general principle that a government should restrict the travel abroad of its citizens whenever it considers this to be expedient I do not see that he has any legitimate grievance when this principle is applied against him by his own government.

If your committee really wishes to attain its ostensible objective I would suggest that its most effective step would be to persuade Paul Robeson himself to support the democratic principle that it is undesirable for a government to restrict the travel of its citizens and to demonstrate this support by publicly expressing solidarity with his fellow sufferers in countries with whose governments his protests would exert some influence.

As a British citizen who favours co-operation between the British Commonwealth and the United States for the support of democracy I have frequently criticized the tendency of the United States government to imitate the policies of totalitarian governments in its restrictions on travel. It is unfortunate that, on the basic question of principle, Paul Robeson has aligned himself with Senator McCarran and not with the supporters of freedom.

Yours truly,

LINDSAY OR BIRKER

VIJAYA ROAD
KURANA
NEGOMBO, CEYLON

19th May, 1954

Dear Sirs,

To us in this faraway but lovely tropical Island of Ceylon, the name of Paul Robeson is as hooured as it is in his own homeland, the U.S.A His birthday is always commemorated by the Robeson Society here which has many hundreds of members. His songs are deeply loved and widely appreciated.

In fact his voice and personality have left an abiding imprint on the heart of Ceylon. The Robeson fans in Ceylon, like thos all the world over, look forward to the day when this great singer will be able to tour this physically doomed and spiritually dead planet, and with his heaven-endowed voice rouse the sould of mankind to arise and save itself.

Very sincerely yours,

EDGAR DE SILVA

ASSEMBLEE DE L'UNION FRANCAISE May 13, 1954

I am very happy to learn that my friend Paul Robeson will at last be able to sing throughout the world, thanks to the return of his passport. I send you my heartiest wishes.

To Paul Robeson and to Eslanda my faithful friendship.

EUGENIE F. EBOUE-TELL

###

Paris, May 24, 1954

Gentlemen:

You will kindly find attached the text of the letter we addressed to the Secretary of State on the subject of Paul Robeson's passport. We are in the process of collecting signatures at the National Library of Paris, and I think that we will exceed the goal of 50, which is already secured.

All decent people will join with you in the just cause you have undertaken. Cultural exchange must not be intered with by political, racial or other considerations. It is tragic that the United States, country of liberty, sets such an example and we deplore it all the more because the Government of France itself is allied in all things with the Department of State, as is evident in the recent ~~xx~~ abominable banning of the Soviet ballet in Paris.

Accept, I beg of you, my warmest regards.

Mme HONORE, 97 Bd St Michel, PARIS 5

###

Paris May 21, 1954

Mr Foster Dulles
Excellency:

The undersigned, members of the staff of the National Library of Paris, having diverse political, philosophical and religious beliefs, having learned that the great American artist, Paul Robeson, has been refused his passport and permission to travel abroad, I wish to intercede and urge your reconsideration of this question, divorcing it from all political considerations. They are aware of the tremendous renown of Paul Robeson and believe that the ban placed upon this artist singing in foreign lands can only harm the cause of the United States. They hope that the State Department will appreciate this point of view of sincere friends of the great American people and will allow other peoples to hear once more this master of vocal music who honors America.

You have, Excellency, the assurance of our most distinguished consideration.

(followed by 50 signatures)

204 Buckley Street
Essenden W 5
Victoria Australia

Dear Friend:

I was asked to let you know that I have written to the Secretary of the U. S. State Department yesterday, 29~~5~~/5/54, protesting about his treatment of Paul R9beson, in ignoring Article 13 (2) of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. There were about 14 signatures and addresses.

Mrs. J. Clayton also wrote to him and had about 8 signatures. She quoted Article 13 (2).

Yours fraternally,

R. WHITE

KVINDERNES DEMOKRATISKE VERDENSFORBUND

Copenhagen May 21, 1954

Dear friends,

We want to send a warm greeting to Paul Robeson thanking him for his song and his fight for peace.

We want to join the stream of protests against the withholding of Paul Robeson't passport hindering this great people's artist in travelling abroad to all the people all over the world who are longing so to meet him again.

RUTH HERMAN

INTERNATIONAL UNION OF MINE, MILL AND SMELTER WORKERS

Vancouver 3 B C

May 20, 1954

Dear Brothers & Sisters:

The work that you are undertaking to reinstate Paul Robeson's passport and make it possible for this World Citizen to meet with his friends and followers outside the United States is a duty for all people as it is a crime against all humanity that Paul Robeson is fonfined by your government in the United States. It is an embargo, an unfriendly act against all nations. Paul has millions of friends in Canada. We have demonstrated that emphatically when from this small corner of British Columbia almost forty thousand people travelled to the Border to see and hear Paul and will do so again this year. This can be repeated in many parts of Canada.

We get plenty of tinhorns coming from the United States telling Canadians how to live. These people do plenty of damage to the reputation of your great people and there is a growing anti-Americanism in this country with the most valid of reasons. The refusal to allow Paul Robeson to go abroad shows that the powers to now be in control of the United States are doing the greatest harm to the real people that inhabit those 48 States and are most anxious to give the impression to people in Canada that McCarthyism has won the day and that there are no voices of men and women in the States who disagree with McCarthy.

Recently, when some people were going to bring McCarthy to speak at meetings in Canada, there was such a tremendous uproar that this monstrosity had to cancel his meetings. But I believe if we had to listen to McCarthy a dozen times, we would even put up with that if Paul Robeson was allowed to sing and speak just once. That may be a heavy price but we would probably think nothing of it.

Best success to your campaign and in your endeavors. You are doing something for the people of the whole world that will be appreciated. Wipe that stain from the United States we knew so well and admired in the past.

Fraternally,

E L WALKER - Secretary Treasurer	Harvey Murphy - Regional Director
Olive Anderson - Ass't Sec-Treas	K A Smith - District President

32 Woodline Crescent
Sydney Australia
14.5.54

To the State Department

Dear Sir:

As an Australian I want to appeal to you to lift the ban on the passport of the world's great artist, Paul Robeson. He is no possession of America to ban from the other countries of the world, but belongs to the whole world, his great art is as essential to the peoples of the world as what life is itself.

UNO Declaration of human rights, signed by ~~your government~~ your guaranteed freedom for all citizens freely to leave and return to their own countries.

Therefore I hope you will restore to Paul his passport.

Faithfully,

A TAYLOR

###

229 White's Road
Lota Brisbane Q
19th May, 1954

Dear Friends:

Thank you for your letter, and the chance to do something to protest against this injustice to a great artist and his world audience.

The withdrawal of Paul Robeson's passport affects every one of us in the world outside America -- not only by the denial of musical experience, but by the implied acquiescence in the restriction of personal freedom.

But do we acquiesce? I am confident that the success of your appeal, and the success of your warm "Cultural Salute" will prove that we do not.

On the contrary, we are indignant.

For the last seventeen years we Australians have been willing, wanting, and waiting for Paul to come to us on a concert tour. He has said he would like to come. We are now more than ever willing, and wanting -- but not prepared to wait on the U. S. State Department.

As the mother of a month old baby my opportunities to do much to help you are limited, but the impulse just that much stronger. As time is a factor I took the liberty of making copies of your letter and sending them out to about fifty organisations and individuals so that more people may know of what you are doing, and have the chance to help.

Please find enclosed the list of names and addresses your letter was airmailed to; also a copy of a letter sent to the U.S. Embassy xk in Canberra.

Please let Mr. Robeson know that there is solid support in Australia to his claim to a passport.

Greetings to your May 26 gathering, and best wishes for success.

Sincerely yours,

NANCE MACMILLAN

###

229 White Road
Lota, Brisbane Q
May 20, 1954

Mr. A. Peaslee U S Ambassador CANBERRA A C T

Dear Sir:

It has been brought to our notice that several prominent U.S. citizens have had their passports withdrawn. Among them world renowned artist Paul Robeson.

In common with many many people we feel that Mr. Robeson's talents belong to the world, and deem it an injustice -- not only to Mr. Robeson but to his vast potential audiences -- that his personal freedom, and ours, should be restricted in this manner.

We understand that people in America are organising in support of Mr. Robeson's efforts to establish his right to a passport, and we would be grateful if you would convey our opinion in the matter to your State Department in Washington.

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,

NANCE MACMILLAN
ALMA PAGE
LILIAN LANDER

32 Woodline Créscent
Ryde Sydney Australia
14.5.54

To the Committee

Dear Friends:

Many thanks for your letter. You are certainly doing a splendid job, All the best to you all, lots of greetings to you from down under, and hoping Paul will soon have his passport so as to be able to visit the peoples of the world, to share with them his great art. We often hear requests on the radio for Paul Robeson's records.

ALF TAYLOR

###

Dear Paul:

I am just one of the world's people, in fact I am a railroad worker, who along with millions of my brothers acclaim you as our great artist and humanitarian, and it is we of the world who are endeavoring anxiously to restore to you your passport so as you can come among us, to impart to us your great art which is as essential to all of the world as life itself is, as I have pointed out to the State Department you are not a possession of America but a possession of the whole world, so therefore, the ban should cease.

Paul, I am forwarding this to you via the Committee for Restoration of your passport. All the very best to you and lots of greetings from down under.

ALF TAYLOR

###

To Mr. ~~[illegible]~~ Peasely, American Ambassador, Canberra, Australia

Dear Sir:

I am writing to you to request that your government lift the passport ban imposed on that great artist of the people, Paul Robeson. I would remind you that the UNO Declaration of human rights, signed by your government, guaranteed freedom for all citizens freely to leave and return to their own countries. Paul Robeson, being such a great artist, belongs to the peoples of the world, and therefore must be allowed to come and go in all countries. His great art is as essential to the world as what the sun rays is to life. Therefore I feel you will impress upon your government the importance of lifting his passport ban.

Faithfully,
A TAYLOR

May 20, 1954

Dear Paul Robeson:

During your last visit in Oslo, after the Paris Peace Congress, you sang your way into the hearts of larger audiences than have ever been seen in Oslo. To the workers, to the plain men and women of our country, your art was a tremendous inspiration.

After I fell ill last, during all my long stay in hospital, disabled and cut off from every kind of work, I have come to appreciate even more the value of your art and what you have given us. The memory of you singing "Joe Hill" has helped me through many moments of despair, by giving me courage. I know the people in Norway, like men and women all over the world, want to hear your mighty voice again, and I shall do my best to make other people support the just claim that you should once more be allowed to leave your country to sing abroad.

Yours sincerely,

Mimi Sverdrup Lunden, author,
former chairman, Democratic Women's
Union, former Vice-President,
Committee of Peace Defenders
in Norway.

TRADE UNIONS INTERNATIONAL OF WORKERS OF THE BUILDING, WOOD
AND BUILDING MATERIALS INDUSTRIES (WFTU)

Helsinki, May 21st, 1954

Dear Friends:

We had your letter in which you informed us that Paul Robeson, the well-known singer and active fighter for peace, have not been able to travel abroad for four years, because the U.S. State Department has not given him passport, and has at the same time made his living more difficult in his own country.

The attitude of the rulers of your country exposes the "liberties" that in reality are dominant in the country of dollar; it gives an answer to the question: where in fact the forces are to be found which erect iron curtains between nations.

We have noticed with satisfaction the formation of a committee to fight for granting passport to Paul Robeson.

The Secretariat of our Trade Unions International expresses in the name of its six million members its cordial solidarity with you in your just fight for the defence of Paul Robeson. At the same time we inform you that we have encouraged all our member organisations to start a campaign of protests with the end of releasing Paul Robeson from the fetters the U.S. government has put him.

We wish you, dear friends, the best success in your activity.

For the Secretariat

AARNE SAARINEN
General Secretary

ALL INDIA PEACE COUNCIL
New Delhi

Dear Friend:

We are sending you a copy of our appeal for the campaign for the restoration of Paul Robeson's passport along with the copy of the covering note which we are sending to artists, writers and other intellectuals as well as to all our Peace Committees asking them to get signatures ~~xoxexpxx~~ in support of his campaign.

We shall let you know from time to time what we are doing about it.

All success to your campaign in defense of the simple rights of a great artist.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

ANYA LENS

For Secretariat

###

For the last four years Paul Robeson the great Negro singer has been denied his passport by the U. S. Government.

A Provisional Committee has been formed in New York which launched a world wide campaign on May 26, demanding the restoration of the passport of Paul Robeson.

We appeal to all sections of the Indian people to support this campaign by signing this appeal which will be sent to the U. S. embassy in Delhi, with a copy to the Provisional Committee in charge of the campaign, expressing the united stand of the people of our country in defense of the rights of a creative artist to live and spread his art to the world and to keep open the avenues of cultural interchange.

Messages of support from individuals as well as groups can be sent to the Provisional Committee to Restore Paul Robeson's Passport, Suite 6, 139 West 125 Street, New York 27, N. Y.

###

APPEAL

The Indian people demand the restoration of the passport of the great Negro singer Paul Robeson.

Paul Robeson's voice belongs to the peoples of the world. In denying him his passport, the U. S. Government is not only preventing the world from hearing a great artist but is denying this world famous singer ~~xs~~ his means of livelihood.

Paul Robeson is not only known and loved for his deep melody of suffering and struggle, of love and happiness, but to the Indian people he is the symbol of the struggle for freedom against all oppression.

The voice of this stalwart Negro in defense of freedom and for peace has rung through the decades, stirring oppressed people all over the world, and making them conscious of their rights.

This great champion for the rights of the Negro people and of all colonial people cannot but be dear to the hearts of every Indian who have always stood for the freedom and rights of every individual.

The Indian people demand that the passport of Paul Robeson be restored to him, and that no fetters be put in his way to move from place to place and from continent to continent, singing his song of freedom and peace, bringing joy and hope to millions of people all over the world.

###

Kring Het Gouden Hoofd
Uiterwaardenstraat 18
Amsterdam C.
Netherlands

Dear Mr. Robeson:

Writing in behalf of a group of Amsterdam artists and intellectuals, who assemble under the sign of the Gouden Hoofd (meaning: The Gold Head), we should be very glad indeed, if we could have the pleasure of seeing and hearing you in our midst.

Our club evenings, if one may call them so, embrace many activities: disputes, lectures, music. We are preparing now for the next season, and as there was a rumour here, that you would come to England and Holland again, we are eager to hear if you could find some time for us in September or October and sing for us.

One of our ~~ex~~ presidents is Mr. Theun de Vries, the Dutch author you have met on the Pushkin-festivals in 1950.

He gives you his best greetings and cordial wishes and hopes to see and hear you amongst many of your Dutch friends and admirers.

Waiting for a reply, which will be, so do we hope, a favorable one, we remain

Kring Het Gouden Hoofd

p/o A. With

John Wolfard
Praterstrasse 32/13
Vienna II, Austria

May 21, 1954

Dear Mr. Robeson:

May I take this opportunity to join with others in extending to you a Cultural Salute and to wish you and the Committee a tremendous success in forcing our government to restore your passport? I write you as one passportless person to another, for our government has also cancelled my passport at a time when I was already out of our country. While you cannot get out, I cannot return toour country unless I am willing to abandon my wife and our two children, for she, as a British subject, has been denied a visa to come to the U.S.

Our government is not only denying you your right to travel and earn your living but it is also denying the millions of people throughout the entire world the right to hear you sing -- millions of people who love and honor you as a great artist, a great man, a great and fearless leader of your people.

As the only American on the xx Vienna staff of the World Federation of Trade Unions, I can say that among our staff, which is made up of people from all over the world, you are one of the best-known and popular of Americans. One of our greatest pleasures is to have an evening of songs by Paul Robeson. I have over fifty collected now on a tape recorder from phonograph records from the USSR, from the USA and other places. In this respect I want to indicate my personal appreciation for the records you recently gave our representative to the United Nations, which I have duly registered on tape.

I can speak for the entire staff here when I say we support you one hundred per cent in the struggle to have your passport restored and we hope that all the honest and peace-loving people of the United States will rally to end this injustice to you and to all people whose rights are threatened or attacked because their ideas are not those of a McCarthy, a Velde, a McCarran, a Jenner or a Brownell.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN WOLFARD
Praterstrasse 32/13
Vienna II, Austria

THEATER CARRE AMSTERDAM HOLLAND

Dear Sirs,

We have been informed by friends of ours that you intend to make a European trip with the vocalist Paul Robeson.

In case you have not been negotiating so far with anybody else in Holland we should like to have your idea about working with us for the arranging of a series of concerts in our country.

We are managing one of the biggest theaters in Holland and besides that we have an experience of a long range of years in planning performances of leading artists in the principal towns of this country.

If agreeable to this artist we should like to invite Paul Robeson for a period of say about a fortnight during October or November of this year and we request you to give us details about the conditions.

Paul Robeson is very well known here from the extential sale of his disks and we feel sure that concerts given by him will be a great success.

Expecting to hear from you by return of mail, we remain, dear Sirs,

Yours faithfully,

Theater Carre

12th May, 1954

Provisional Committee

Dear Friends:

With indignation we heard about the measures which have been taken against the great artist and one of the best representatives of the American people, Paul Robeson.

We, working in an Amsterdam office, are sure that thousands and thousands peaceloving and democratic citizens of Amsterdam share our opinion, and will sustain us in our strong protest against these anti-democratic measures.

We all whole-heartedly sympathize with your action, as we regard the art of Paul Robeson of high significance for our country xxx to promote a better understanding of America, to promote feelings of friendship and peace between the peoples of the earth.

(many signatures)

242 Willesden Lane, London, N.W. 2.
ENGLAND

12.5.54

Miss Maude Green
Secretary
Provisional Committee to Restore Paul Robeson's Passport
Suite 6
139 West 125 Street
New York 27, U.S.A.

Dear Miss Greene,

Your letter dated May 1954, which I received the day before yesterday, contains the most welcome and interesting news. This is a cause which I am sure will evoke a great response and I shall be more than happy to assist in every way I can.

you
May I ask/therefore to mail me as soon as possible more copies of the letter and the small folder, together with biographical notes and photographs of Paul Robeson. (Perhaps it would be best to mail the letters first as we will wish to do what we can for the Cultural Salute.)

Also I should be glad to receive regular copies of "Freedom" if that can be arranged.

I suggest that we keep in touch with one another, as I would like to know of all new developments in the campaign, as well as getting the latest information and leaflets, etc. For my part, I will keep your Committee informed of developments here.

With every good wish,

Yours sincerely,

MRS. NORMA TURNER-SAMUELS

19 a St. Mark's Crescent
Regent's Park, N.W. 1,
May 1954

To the Provisional Committee to Restore Paul Robeson's Passport

Dear Friends,

I join with great pleasure the campaign to urge the restitution of Paul Robeson's passport, that his unique contribution to world culture, which makes him an ambassador not only of his people, the Negro race, or of the American people, but of all that is best and finest in humanity as a whole, should again be made possible. Only by such gestures can the American government prove to the rest of the world that her stature is sufficiently great to put her present hysteria into its pitiful and ludicrous perspective, and make her full contribution to international understanding, moved by the spirit of love instead of the spectre of fear, suspicion and hate.

With all good wishes,

Very sincerely,

DOROTHY BROOKS

Workers Music Association Ltd.
17 Bishops Bridge Rd., London W. 2.
London, England

3rd March, 1954

Dear Paul Robeson,

It has taken us longer than we expected to get round to all our eminent Vice-Presidents here and collect their signatures to an invitation to you to visit this country but now I am happy to be able to enclose this letter and, in addition, one which we obtained from Dr. Vaughan Williams.

We shall be glad if you will acknowledge this letter to us so that we ~~may be well prepared shall~~ know it has reached you and we trust you may be successful in obtaining your passport even if limited to this project of ours.

Please let us know the result of your application as soon as you can so that we may be well prepared. In the meantime we shall be making representations to the American Embassy here.

As I think I have already told you, the means to ensure your passage to this country have been raised and are available when required.

Our greetings and best wishes to you -- and may we all soon have the great pleasure of seeing and hearing you again.

Yours sincerely,

WILL SAHNOW

General Secretary.

###

from same organization

Dear Mr. Robeson,

We the undersigned Vice-Presidents understand that the Association is extending to you an official invitation to visit this country for the purpose of a concert tour under its auspices.

We cordially support this invitation and, as representative British professional musicians, assure you that such a visit would undoubtedly be greatly appreciated by thousands of music-lovers here.

Trusting the project may soon be realised,

Yours sincerely,

BENJAMIN BRITTEN, JOSEPH LEWIS, ALAN RAWSTHORNE, ARTHUR BENJAMIN
GEOFFREY CORBETT, PHIL CARDEW, INGLIS GUNDRY, ARNOLD GOLDSBROUGH?
BERNARD STEVENS, RUTLAND BOUGHTON, EDWARD J DENT, ELIZABETH MACONCHY,

May 24th, 1954

Dear Friends:

PAUL ROBESON

I have your form letter, but I had already been approached by the Musicians Assoc. here to write a letter of invitation to Paul Robeson, and this I immediately did. Your letter rather overlaps with what is being done at this end, perhaps.

Let us hope that this monstrous -- and ridiculous -- injustice to a great artist will be set right. I am glad this campaign is being launched and am sure it is receiving world-wide response.

Sincerely,

ETHEL MANNIN.

***

From R. Vaughan Williams,
10 Hanover Terrace
Regents Park
London N.W. 1

December 20th, 1953

Dear Mr. Robeson,

I should like to add my name to those who I understand are writing to you hoping that you will pay us another visit.

I ought to explain that I am a great admirer of your art, but as so far as I know your political views, I am strongly opposed to them.

I feel sure that as a man of honour if you come to England on the invitation of your artistic admirers, you will not use the occasion for the dissemination of political propaganda.

Yours sincerely,

R. VAUGHAN WILLIAMS

May 18, 1954
Manzano 29
Col. Florida, San Angel
Mexico 20, D. F.
Mexico

Dear friends,

I hope you can make use of the attached statement.

A friend told me that the campaign for Robeson's passport has come to the attention of some Mexican intellectuals. I presume, therefore, that you may receive communications from people here.

Coridally yours,

ALBERT MALTZ

When the government of the United States denies a passport to Paul Robeson on political grounds, one is made to wonder, not about Robeson, but about the government. Here, it would seem, is a government that secretly must want war. Or else why should it try to silence one of the world's leading exponents of peace?

Indeed, the "house arrest" of this great artist -- burdensome and unfair to him -- is a deeper tragedy for the American people. Quite clearly the right of Robeson to sing and speak throughout the world is inseparable from the right of the American people to decide whether they will have peace or war. So long as Robeson is denied his freedom, the American people have lost some of theirs.

ALBERT MALTZ

###

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

21 Torrington Square.

Pollard, Stallabrass & George Martin
Solicitors and Commissioners for Oaths

17. Victoria Street
Westminster
London S.W. 1.

14th May, 1954

The Secretary,
The Provisional Committee to Restore Paul Robeson's Passport,
Suite 6, 139 West 125th Street,
New York 17, New York

Dear Madam:

I am shocked to learn that for four years Paul Robeson has not been free to leave the United States. He is one of the greatest singers in the world, and I cannot see that whatever his political views may be, it would affect the quality of his voice or the pleasure that he has given and can still give to millions of people. Music is something which is supposed to override national boundaries and to be independent of national affairs and suspicions. No government in the Western world has so far prevented us from hearing Paul Robeson on gramophone records and I must say that to deny us the right in England to see and hear him in person is most extraordinary. The denial of liberty anywhere is a matter of concern to all free men and, while not desiring to interfere in any way in the United States politics, I cannot help observing that this denial of a passport to Paul Robeson is a matter of concern to all believers in freedom and does not help the international causes for which the U.S.A. is standing. We all abhor the methods of the Communists and Fascists but we must not lose our own freedom while opposing these cases we abhor.

Yours faithfully,

R. S. W. POLLARD

51 Fountayne Road
London. W. 16.
May 22, 1954

Paul Robeson,

Dear Friend,

We have missed you, but you are not forgotten in Britain.

Here too, we are working for the day when you will be able to leave America for a spell, and sing to us. In your efforts to obtain justice for the Negro people, you have been an inspiration to all the working people of the world.

But that is not all, for us today, you represent the America of tomorrow. An American whose name will not be associated with atomic horror but with peace.

We give our full support to the campaign to restore your passport, and are certain that with the help of all honest Americans, success will be achieved.

Yours in friendship,

MRS. BELLA BERG
MR. NEVA BERG

9 Oak Hill,
Woodford Green,
Essex, England

19th May, 1954

Dear Friends:

I write on behalf of the members of Woodford and District Peace Committee to express our support for your courageous attempt to restore Paul Robeson's passport.

We have written to the American Ambassador in London and I/ quote an extract from the letter below:

"Mr. Robeson is an artist of great stature who has moved and inspired countless ordinary people in all the countries of the world, and, in a sense, his art belongs to the peoples of the world. Surely to shut him off from his vast audience not only casts a slight on the institution of American democracy, but also helps to perpetuate misunderstandings between nations. Through the medium of his magnificent voice, Mr. Robeson could bring the people of America, so often maligned and misunderstood, closer to other peoples, and in this way could make an effective contribution to world peace. We hope and trust that the finest traditions of American liberty will come forward to redress this wrong."

You are the people who are striving to help keep alive these traditions of liberty in this dark, difficult time in your country's history.

We admire you and wish you every success.

Yours sincerely,

RUTH MCKIE

2, Myrtle Court,
Johns Mews,
London, W.C. 1.

18/5/54

Dear Paul Robeson,

We add our demand to that of all other men and women of good will throughout the world, that your right to follow your profession and travel abroad shall not be withheld.

We insist that the genius of humanity shall not be cut off from us. We are entitled to receive the inspiration of your speech and song. We shall not rest until we can hear again your voice of voices.

Warmest greetings, and swift success in your struggle.

Yours very sincerely,

FRANCISCA and J. G.
CROWTHER

CLOISTERS,
TEMPLE,
LONDON, E. C. 4.

17th May, 1954

To Paul Robeson and The Provisional Committee
to Restore Paul Robeson's Passport,
Suite 6, 139 West 125th Street,
New York 27, New York.

Dear Friends:

I have long been grieved by the denial of a passport to Paul Robeson. From my personal point of view, it deprives me of the chance to see this warm human person; from his own point of view, when added to the other unjust persecutions which he has to endure, it must be nearly intolerable; from the point of view of the whole cultural world, it is a grievous robbery of all the millions who want to hear his glorious voice raised in the service at once of art and of humanity; and from the point of view of elementary human rights and civil liberties, this denial offends against all the traditions of freedom for which the United States has long been known and praised.

I sincerely hope that great torrents of protest will now stream in, and that the State Department will bow before the people's will and, in accordance with the true old American traditions, will restore Paul Robeson's passport.

Yours very sincerely,

D. N. PRITT

60, Brooke Road,
London, N. 16.
22nd May 1954

To Paul Robeson

Dear Friend,

It is some years since we last saw you in this country but you have not been forgotten.

We were thrilled by your heroic stand at Peekskill and have drawn great inspiration from the thought that you represent another America. An U.S.A. whose watchword is Peace and respect for the rights of all ~~peoples~~ peoples.

Your own struggles for the rights of the Negro people in America have been recognized in Britain as part of the international battle against slavery. Today, however, we join with the Negro and white people of America to repay a little of the debt humanity owes you.

So that you are able to help us we must ensure that you are free to travel. We wish every success to the Provisional Committee in its efforts to obtain the restoration of your passport. We promise to do whatever we can to insure that success.

Yours till Victory,

FRANK DIGGON
and other signers

57, Charlswood Street,
London, S.W.I.
13th May, 1954

My dear Paul,

It is with great pleasure and enthusiasm that I hear of the launching of a campaign in New York City on May 26 for the restoration of your right to a passport.

The news will give much encouragement to your many friends here in Britain who are striving to make their voice heard on this matter both in Whitehall and in Washington.

We feel, indeed we know, that the facts of your case are too little known in Britain. Recently a postal clerk in London, a school teacher in the Midlands, and a textile worker from Lancashire, have each asked me: "Why doesn't Paul Robeson come over again to sing to us?" And when I replied, "Because the U. S. State Department will not allow him to come" another question came back -- "Why?"

Let the millions of ordinary decent people of every country raise their voice in protest like a mighty ocean swell so that the State Department is left in no doubt whatsoever as to its isolation.

This injustice which you suffer dishonours America's best traditions and is a standing reproach to all progressive mankind.

We must not, we cannot, rest until our united efforts have redressed this grievous wrong.

All my best wishes.

DESMOND BUCKLE

21a Eton Rise, London, N.W. 3.
May 12, 1954

Dear Paul Robeson,

I am writing on behalf of the Adelaide Group of the National Assembly of Women to wish you and the American people who support you speedy success in your endeavours to restore your right to your passport.

We housewives and mothers, who include representatives of the teaching and medical professions, journalists and artists, long for the day when we shall be able to welcome you again to our land. Not only have you brought immeasurable delight to the British people with your wonderful singing and acting, xx but you are loved also for your immense courage and integrity in your championship of the rights of all peoples throughout the world.

It is indeed a slur on the name of America that one of its finest sons should be denied freedom. We are writing to the U.S. Embassy in London to protest at the withholding of your passport and to urge its immediate restoration to you.

Be strengthened in the knowledge that you have the love, esteem and support of millions of British men and women among whom we are proud to be.

Yours very sincerely,

ROSE GRANT

NATIONAL UNION OF MINE WORKERS Scottish Area

5 Hillside Crescent
Edinburgh 7
18th May, 1954

Provisional Committee

Dear friend,

I have to advise you that your letter in connection with the restoration of Paul Robeson's passport was submitted to our Executive Committee at its meeting yesterday.

The Committee agreed unanimously to give every support to the aim of your Committee and in addition to renew the invitation already given to Paul Robeson to visit this country and give a series of concerts to Scottish miners.

With this in view we have sent a letter to the U. S. State Department, a copy of which I enclose. I also enclose a letter to Mr. Robeson himself and shall be glad if you will ensure that it is forwarded to him.

We wish you and the Committee every success in the task which you have undertaken.

Yours sincerely,

WILLIAM PEARSON
General Secretary

###

The Secretary, U. S. State Department 18th May, 1954

Dear Sir:

Once again we are writing to protest against the fact that Mr. Paul Robeson has still been denied a passport by your Department. We can assure you that people all over Britain would welcome an opportunity to hear again this magnificent singer who ranks amongst the world's finest artistes.

As you may be aware, Paul Robeson in 1950 visited Scotland at the invitation of the Scottish Miners' Union and gave concerts to our miners throughout the coalfields. So much was this appreciated and so great the demand from our members to hear him again that we endeavored about a year ago to arrange for him to make another visit to the Scottish coalfields.

We were advised at that time that he was unable to accept this invitation because he had been refused the necessary passport. Our Scottish Executive Committee, therefore, at its meeting yesterday decided to renew this invitation while protesting strongly against the fact that this great and cultured artiste should not be permitted to travel in other countries and allow people all over the world to hear his wonderful voice.

We, therefore, ask you urgently to reconsider this matter and to grant the necessary passport to Mr. Robeson to visit this country and give a series of concerts in the Scottish coal-field at as early a date as is convenient to him.

Yours faithfully,

GENERAL SECRETARY

ISRAEL Tel Aviv

May 18, 1954

Dear Mr. Paul Robeson:

I am a girl from Israel. I hope you will understand me, however my English is bad. You know my father from the Congress for Peace and Friendship, which was in the year 1949 in Paris. My father's name is Alexander Penn. He is a poet. He always tells me about you and I have heard a lot of things about you, especially from the dancing group of Pearl Primus (Frances Pinkitt, Charles Blackmill and Ruth Reese) which I visited in Israel almost three years ago.

I am writing this letter for I want you to know that I want you to be a free man and a happy man in your free country. In Israel there are many people who like to hear your song.

We love you for you are for us a sign of peace and friendship, a sign of gentle which the evening of every peace person doesn't want to let you touring countries.

I my room there is your picture which I took it from "Ogonyok". Every time when I look and see I wish you in my heart all the wishes that can be worthy a man like you.

On this occasion I want to send my wish for all the people in the United States who fight for peace and friendship among the people in the world.

Thank you for giving us the power for fighting and for studying from you, brave man and dear.

I wish you many happy blessings, good luck, and happy life (long life) forever.

I wish you good luck for your concert which will be on Friday, May 26th.

SHILGA PENN

###

May 19, 1954

Dear Mr. Paul Robeson:

First time yesterday I wrote you a private letter and now there are some of my friends who want to send you their wishes. We want you to know that we are with you and will be with you at your fighting for peace and friendship. We are the youth of Isreal know that it is very difficult to stand against the people who just want war. We say in "full mouth" "We want peace in the world." Be strong, our friend Paul Robeson, we are sure you will win if you stand in your opinion -- Peace in the world.

(several signatures)

(COPIES)

10 Dickson Ave., Preston, Lanceshire, Eng.
16 June, 1954

Dear Paul Robeson,

My Committee sent you their warm greetings and blessings. We were very sorry and much surprised when you were deprived of your right as an American citizen and your passport as a great world artist. We have today written the United States Ambassador, London, requesting him to do his utmost to restore your status and passport as soon as possible.

Your visit to Prestonwith your Negro accompanist was memorable and you made many friends in this dear town, the home of the poet Francis Hampson (Thompson?).

You were modest and sincere; your voice had depth, feeling and spiritual conviction. We are convinced you are a splendid Ambassador of Peace, Goodwill and Understand among the Nations. Such men as you are greatly needed today.

We look forward with pleasure to your next visit to Preston.

"God bless you"
Yours sincerely,
(Signed) George Eyton Holt Chairman, Preston Peace Comm.

AMALGAMATED ENGINEERING UNION
General Office: 110, Peckham Road, Lond, S. E. 15
Branch Sec'y's Address New Malden Branch No. 96 NE
D. E. Wilson, 19 Stroudes Close, Worcester, Park, Surrey, England 4/7/1954

Dear Sir and Brother,

The following resolution was passed unanimously at the Branch meeting 29/6/54:-

> This branch notes with pleasure the launching in New York of the campaign to win back the right of Paul Robeson to travel outside the United States of America.
>
> We support the demand for the restoration of hiss passport and look forward to seeing him in England and hearing the wonderful voice of this stalwart fighter for peace and the emancipation of the coloured peoples.

Good luck in your efforts. Yours fraternally,
(Signed) D. E. Wilson

SECRETARIAT OF WORLD PEACE COUNCIL
Estate-Haus, Wien IV (Austria)
Mollwald-Platz 5 Vienna, June 8th, 1954

Provisional Committee to Restore Paul Robeson's Passport

Dear Friends,

Following on your letter informing us that a "provisional Committee to restore Paul Robeson's passport" had been set up, we wrote to the Peace Committees in the various countries informing them of your appeal and asking them to examine the possibility of supporting the campaign launched by your Committee on behalf of that great artist and eminent defender of peace, Paul Robeson.

We are certain that this campaign will get broad support in the different countries and we ardently hope that your work will be successful. It is a valuable contribution to the efforts of all defenders of peace to develop cultural and artistic exchanges and to strengthen friendship between the peoples, particularly between the people of the United States and the other peoples of the world.

We hope you will keep us informed of how the campaign develops. With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
For the Secretariat of the World Council of Peace
(Signed) Jean Laffitte, General Sec'y

(Signed) A. Varela
Responsible for Cultural Questions

(COPIES)

242. Willesden Lane, N. W. 2
London, England
30.8.54

Dear Mr. Robeson,

Many thanks indeed for your kind letter which was waiting for me when I returned from holiday.

It was good to read of the success of your concert at the Peace Arch, but before that of course we read that your passport had yet once again been refused you. It would be very useful if you could let me have details of the Court Process, and of the various steps taken. There are many legal friends in the country who would be interested in that aspect of your campaign.

Mr. Tom Driberg, M. P., and I are working together to win support also for your efforts. The summer vacation has slowed things up a bit, but we hope to have some positive news for you in September, and I will keep in touch with you. We have the promise of publicity in one or two well-known and respected journals once the thing gets started, and I would be glad to receive any recent photographs you may have as well as biographical notes and, of course, current news items.

As you know, there is a great public waiting for you in our country, and we will do our best to assist you to visit us again soon. With every good wish

Yours very sincerely,
(Signed) Norma Turner-Samuels

SOUTH AFRICAN COLOURED PEOPLE'S ORGANISATION (S.A.C.P.O.)
35, Ravenscraig Road, Walmer Estate, Woodstock, Cape Town, S. A.

Chairman, E. A. Deane
Secretary, R. K. September

14th. July 1954

Paul Robeson
Sir,

Our organization wishes to add its name to those already supporting you, in your attempt to have your passport returned.

As an artist and a fighter for freedom and peace, our community holds you in high esteem. We hope that the day is not too distant when we too will be priveleged with your presence in our country.

Respectfully yours,
(Signed) R. September, Secretary

WORKERS' MUSIC ASSOCIATION LTD
17 Bishops Bridge Rd., London, W.3, London
13th August 1954

My dear Paul Robeson,

We were very glad to have your news and although some weeks ago we read in our press that your application had failed we now hope this was premature and that you will yet succeed. I believe steps are being taken here to organise a campaign on much wider ground than we can cover in the "restoration of passport" issue.
Meantime I am addressing a letter to Arturo Toscanini since reading in a recent biography that his experiences in Italy in 1931 were very similar to your own - when his passport was taken away, his family ill-treated and his property threatened by the Fascist authorities there.

Since we have not before communicated with him we do not know what reception our appeal will get but we think everything well worth trying!

We send you our greetings and assure you of our constant effort on this side. Keep well and fighting fit! Yours sincerely, (Signed) Will Sahnow, General Secretary)

(COPIES)

PAUAMATTA DISTRICT UNION OF AUSTRALIAN WOMEN

48 Warwick Rd., Meuylands, N.S.W., Australia
7th June 1954

M. Green, Secretary, U. S. Provisional Committee
Suite 6, 139 West 125th Street, New York 27, New York, ,USA

Dear Madam,

Enclosed herewith are copies of letters forwarded to, - U. S. State Dept., Washington,DC, and U. S. State Embassy, Canbeua, Aust., asking for the restoration of Paul Robeson's passport.

We would also like to say that your committee has our support in this matter and we do wish you every success.

Yours faithfully,
(Mrs.) D. Mitchell, President

The Secretary, U. S. State Dept.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir, ✓

The women of our organisation are very deeply concerned about the with-holding of the passport of the world famous singer Paul Robeson.

We feel that the people of the world are being denied the right to personally see and hear this great artiste, and therefore, it is the earnest wish of our women that this passport be restored, so that we, along with millions of others will have the honour and pleasure of seeing and hearing Paul Robeson in our country.

(Signed as above)

The U. S. Ambassador, U. S. State Embassy
Canberia, A.C.T.

Dear Sir,

No doubt you are aware of the with-holding of the passport of world famous singer Paul Robeson.

It is the earnest desire of the women of our organisation that this passport be restored, so that we, along with millions of other Australians, will have the great honour and pleasure of seeing and hearing this great singer in our country.

We would like you to send us any information that you might have on this matter, particularly as to why this passport has been with-held.

(Signed as above)

---

1 East Crescent St., McMahans Point
North Sydney, Australia 6/6/54

Committee to restore Paul Robeson's P.Port
Dear Sirs,

I would like to give my full support to your committee.

That a singer of Paul Robeson's calibre should be banned from singing round the world while so called singers who screech and cry at us are allowed complete freedom of movement is criminal to say the least.

One of my ambitions in life is to hear Paul Robeson sing first hand and I hope through the efforts of your committee and the support of the people he will once again be able to make a world tour, and I know he will find a very appreciative audience wherever he goes.

Yours sincerely

(Signed) Gerald Morgan (P.T.O)

(COPIES)

BUILDING WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION OF AUSTRALIA
Victorian Section:
J. C. Chandler, State Secretary
51-53 Little Bourke Street, Melbourne C.1

2nd June, 1954

The Secretary, Provisional Committee to Restore Paul Robeson's Passport,
Suite 6, 139 West 125th Street, New York 27, New York, USA

Dear Friend,

We acknowledge the receipt of your circular letter of last month regarding the campaign to get Paul Robeson's passport restored and we are enclosing herewith a copy of a letter that we have written to the U. S. State Department.

Following is a list of other unions to which you might write:

Amalgamated Engineering Union, 439 Collins St., Melbourne.
Aust. Paper Mills Employees Union, Trades Hall, 54 Victoria St., Carlton
Australian Railways Union, Victoria Branch, 636 Bourke St., Melbourne.
Builders' Labourers' Federation, 35 Victoria St., Melbourne.
Aust. Federated Butchers' Union, Trades Hall, 54 Victoria St., Carlton.
Clothing Trades Union, Victorian Branch, 54 Victoria St., Carlton.
Federated Liquor Trades Union, Trades Hall, 54 Victoria St., Carlton.
Federated Ship Painters & Dockers' Union, 6 Lorimer St., South Melbourne.
Painters' Union, Victoria Branch, Trades Hall, 54 Victoria St., Carlton.
Sheet Metal Working Agricultural Implement & Stovemaking Union, Trades Hall, 54 Victoria St., Carl.
Tramway & Motor Omnibus Employees Association, 636 Bourke St., Melbourne.
Waterside Workers' Federation of Australia, Melbourne Branch, 480 Flinders St., Melbourne

We have also sent a copy of your letter to the Federal Office of our Union in Sydney, New Wouth Wales.

Trusting that your campaign will receive the widespread support that it deserves.

Yours faithfully,
(Signed) J. C. Chandler, State Secretary

JCC/IdeB

(Same letterhead as above) (Copy)
The Secretary, U. S. State Department
Washington, D. C., USA

✓

Dear Sir,

We write in respect to the with-holding of a passport by the State Department from the American singer and actor, Paul Robeson.

This is against Article 13 (2) of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which states that "Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country;" and the United States of America, being one of the Great Powers, is expected to give leadership to the rest of the world in putting the United Nations Charter into effect.

In addition, we are of the opinion that the exchange of culture between countries is one of the strongest means of building world peace; and because of the universal love of music by all people and the very high degree of artistry achieved by Paul Robeson, he could be of the greatest service to his country in helping to forge a link of friendship between America and other countries.

We also feel that restriction of his travel affects not only Paul Robeson but the people of the world as well because they are thereby deprived of the opportunity of enjoying the art of this great American.

We strongly urge, therefore, that Paul Robeson's passport be restored to him and this blot on the tradition of American democracy removed.

Yours faithfully,
J. C. Chandler, State Secretary

(COPIES)

To: Mr. Paul Robeson   Tokyo, June 7, 1954

Dear Mr. Paul Robeson:

We received a letter from Provisional Committee to Restore your Passport yesterday. We are indignant at the unreasonable trespass you suffered, we think it is a trespass to the foundamental human rights.

We support your respectable action for world peace from heart.

All Japanese loved peace will have to struggle against the obstruction of our international friendship and war policy.

With best Wishes,
(Signed) Ichiro Ayukawa

Address: c/o Tsukiji Transport Co.
2-15, Irifunecho Chuoku, Tokyo, Japan

We support your action for world peace, and protest against the unreasonable oppression on you.

(Signed) Ichro Ayukawa
Hideo Takahashi
Mitsuo Harada
Kyoko Suzuki
Yoko Chida
Kazuhiro Ito
Eikichi Kakihari
Masaaki Katsumata
Shigeaki Mihata
Kazuo Yodogawa
Yuriko Emura
Masaji Ueno
Kiyo Yokota

ALL INDIA PEACE COUNCIL
(Cultural Section)

Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew, President
Romesh Chandra, General Secretary
Pandit C. N. Malaviya, M.P., Treasurer

July 5, 1954

Dear Friend:

We had written to you two letters earlier in connection with the campaign to restore Paul Robeson's passport but we have not heard from you till now and are wondering if the letters ever reached you.

All India Peace Council had issued an appeal - a copy of which was sent to you earlier - to various well known India writers, Artists, Musicians, other cultural workers and various literary and cultural organisations. The response was very encouraging and the signatories include some of the well-known Artists in India culture. Below we are giving a list of some of the prominent people who have signed the appeal and who have demanded that Paul Robeson's passport be restored to him. This news was published in almost all the important newspapers. ✓ Many cultural organisations and cultural workers have sent protest letters directly to the U. S. Embassy in Delhi.

We had written to you earlier that we are intending to organise a public meeting in Delhi to strengthen the campaign and win support of more people. We had requested you in our earlier letter that if it is possible for you, you kindly send us a recorded message of Paul Robeson for our public meeting and which can be sent to other cities in India. Please let us know at an early date if it would be possible for you to send us the recorded message.

Following are the names of some of the signatories:

1. Sukumar Das (Calcutta) Artist and Art Teacher
2. Sarama Bhounik (Calcutta) ditto
3. Dr. Jayant Khatri (Mandvi) Author
4. Miss K. A. Sethna (Bombay) Artist
5. Padma Mudgal (Delhi) Famous singer and Radio Artist
6. Vinay Chandra (Delhi) Famous singer and Principal of Music School
7. R. G. Anand (Delhi) Indian National Theatre
8. G. P. Wadehra (Delhi) Indian National Theatre
9. Vivekananda Mukherjee (Calcutta) Editor 'Juganthar'
10. U. N. Srinivas Bhat (Mangalore) Editor 'Aruna'
11. Banarasi Das Chaturvedi (Delhi) Writer and Member of Parliament
12. Kiron Sinha (Santiniketan) Artist

(COPIES)

ALL INDIA PEACE COUNCIL -2-

13. R. M. Sharma (Hyderabad) Hindi Author
14. Vishnu Prabhakar (Delhi) Hindi Author
15. Devendra Issar (Delhi) Urdu Author
16. Jang Bahadur Singh (Delhi) Member, Legislative Assembly, Delhi
17. Vallathol (Travancore-Cochin) Well known poet
18. Saeed Ansari (Delhi) Principal, Teachers' Training Institute, Delhi
19. Shri Shri Sri (Madras) Poet
20. V. V. Oak (Bombay) President, Bombay Art Society

Hope to hear from you soon.
With best wishes,
Yours sincerely,
(Signed) Ram Kumar
For Cultural Section

---

2 July 1954
Katugahahene, Ceylon

Dear Mr. Paul Robeson:

This is my second letter to you as you had been silent to my first one. I hope you would at least send a brief reply to this.

As everywhere in the world the progressive people of Ceylon knows you, and your very name brings Peace along. Your voice is now and then heard over the radio, and along with it brings hope and inspiration to people like us, who are black in colour, and who are as yet in bondage. What great pride do we have when we hear of you, Mr. Robeson. I have just tried to learn some of your songs, "Lazy Bones" and "Carry me back to green pastures". The second song is really appealing, but it's rather difficult to pick up some words. I shall therefore be thankful to you if you could send me the words of these songs, and the new Peace Songs you have sung recently at the various congresses, and also a nice photo of yours to be framed and to be hung in my room. I hope you will never forget to reply to this.

Thanking you,
Yours cincerely,

Upali-Abeygunawazdena
Katugahahena, Ceylon

---

4 Suffolk St., Auckland C3, New Zealand

To the Committee to Restore Paul Robeson's Passport
Suite 6, 139 West 125th St., New York 27, New York, USA

Dear Sir,

Recently we listened to a "Paul Robeson" evening which consisted of hir recordings with a commentary between the records, supplied by our host. One of the records contained songs sung across the Canadian Border--because Paul Robeson had been refused a passport to travel to Canada to sing and speak.

To those of us who enjoy listening to his inspiring and delightful singing, as well as to Paul Robeson himself, this is an injustice and a denial of freedom. It is specially ironic that the Nation, USA, which calls itself the "Land of the Free and Land of Liberty" should be the country which denies Paul Robeson the freedom to travel the world singing.

We look forward to the dat the great Scots poet, Robert Burns, envisaged when he wrote in "A man's a man for a' that" the following verse,

> For a' that and a' that, It's coming yet for a' that That man to man the world o'er
> Shal brithers be for a' that.

Yours sincerely, (Signed) Molly Rafferty

(COPIES)

There is also a Mr. John Ford, a radio commentator, who can be got in touch with at Radio Station 3 KZ, c/o Trades Hall, 54 Victoria St., Melbourne, who, after playing a couple Robeson records on his radio session a few days ago, said that it was a pity that Robeson did not make more records today instead of spending all his time at peace meetings. I would have liked to write to him but had not the time, perhaps you would do so.

I am sorry that this is such an untidy letter but I generally dash these things off during my lunch hour with not enough time even to compose properly.

We know how busy you must be but we would very much like to know how the campaign is going, so drop me a few lines when you get a chance, will you?

With best wishes,
Yours sincerely,
(Signed) I. de Boissiere

THE AUSTRALIAN TRAMWAY AND MOTOR OMNIBUS EMPLOYEES'ASSOCIATION
Victorian Branch
Unity Hall, 636 Bourke Street, Melbourne, C. 1

18th June 1954

Mrs. I. DeBoissiere
c/- 51 Lt. Bourke Street, Melbourne C 1.

Dear Madam,
A letter of protest has been forwarded to the United States Embassy in Melbourne, re Mr. Paul Robeson, as follows:-

"At the last meeting of the Executive of the above Association, held on Tuesday, 8th June, 1954, a resolution was carried to the affect that a protest be forwarded to the United States Embassy in Melbourne at the with-holding of a passport to Mr. Paul Robeson, by the United States, State Department.

I would be obliged if you would forward this protest to the United States Government on behalf of this organisation."

Best wishes,

Yours fraternally,

(Signed) C. O'Shea, Secretary

(Copy for your information)

6, Linnell Drive,
Hampstead Way, London, N. W. 11
11th June, 1954

The American Ambassador
American Embassy, London, W. 1.

Your Excellency,

We, the undersigned, wish to protest that Paul Robeson is not allowed the ordinary rights of citizenship and has not been permitted to leave his country for over four years. To deny a great artist like Robeson the right to give his art to the world is against the traditions of freedom and democracy about which your statesmen are always speaking.
There are millions of people in this country who would welcome a visit from this man. We cannot understand your country's attitude over this, and would urge you to do everything in your power to remove this ban. Yours faithfully, Sgd. J. B. Thompson, H. Howard, M. Mendelsohn, A. Mendelsohn, C. Harper, B. Thompson

(COPIES)

WOMEN OF HORNSEY PEACE GROUP
(NON-PARTY)

Chairman	Treasurer	Hon. Secretary
Mrs. M. A. Blackwood	Mrs. I. Hogson	Mrs. B. Young
40 Collingwood Avenue, N. 10	16 Leaside Mansions, N. 10	127 Alexandra Park Road, N. 22

18th June, 1954

Paul Robeson, Esq.
c/o Restore Robeson's Passport Committee
Suite 6, 139 West 125th Street, New York, U. S. A.

Dear Friend,

The above group wishes to express very strongly its support for the efforts being made to restore to you your passport.

We believe that your efforts for world peace should win for you the respect and admiration of all thinking people whether or not they are in agreement with your individual viewpoint, and should certainly not be made a reason for what amounts to economic persecution.

We also believe that an artist of your outstanding ability should be able to use his great gift for the enlightenment and enjoyment of the whole world, and we trust that the campaign to enable you to move freely about the world to this end will gain sufficiently broad support to bring about a change in the attitude of the American Government.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) B. C. Young, Hon. Secretary.

SUOMEN FESTIVAALIKESKUS r. y.
Simonkatu 8 D, Helsinki, Finland

23rd June 1954

Provisional Committee to restore Paul Robeson's passport
Suite 6, 139 West 125th Street, New York 27, U. S. A.

Dear Friends,

Our organization working for confirming international relations of Finish youth with the peace-loving youth all over the world and leading the preparations of the youth of our country to the 5th Festival of Peace and Friendship has in the meeting held on the 22nd of June made the resolution to invite through your committee Mr. Paul Robeson, the celebrated artist, to a concert tour to Finland next autumn.

Thousands of Finish friends and admirers of Paul Robeson wish for to see him and to listen at his first-class art. Therefore in the hope that possibilities for his visit to Finland will be secured we have applied to the U. S. State Department.

We remain
Yours sincerely,

Suomen Festivaalikeskus ry.
(Signed) Osmo Kock, chairman

The U. S. State Department, Washington, D. C.

Gentlemen,

In the meeting held on the 22nd of June our organisation made the resolution to invite Mr. Paul Robeson, the celebrated American singer, to a concert tour to Finland next autumn. On this account we take the liberty to apply to you asking for the security to Mr. Robeson to do this travel by restoring to him his passport lawless taken from him.

Thousands of Finish friends and admirers of the great artist of your country are awaiting your affirmative attitude in the matter. In this expectation we remain,

Yours faithfully,
Suomen Festivaalikeskus r. y. (Signed Osmo Kock)

(COPIES)

AMALGAMATED ENGINEERING UNION
General Office: 110 Peckham Road, London, S. E. 15

Branch Secretary's Address
W. Williams,
72, Warnerville Rd., Liverpool 13

Liverpool 23 174 L. E.
22.6.54

To: The Paul Robeson Committee

Dear Sir
I am instructed on behalf of the members of this branch, to wish you every success in your efforts to have the passport of Paul Robeson returned to him.

Yours fraternally,

(Signed) W. Williams, Sec.

BULGARIAN CINEMATOGRAPHY
N 96, Rakovski str.
Sofia, Bulgaria

MAUD GREEN, Secretary for the Provisional
Committee to Restore Paul Robeson's Passport
Suite 6, 139 West 125 St., New York, N. Y.

The staff in the Bulgarian Cinematography is looking at every cultural and fighting act for peace of the world-famous singer, Paul Robeson, with living interest.
They all, as the citizens and the youths in our peaceful country, have the hearty desire to see and hear the artist and singer Paul Robeson.
Our appeal to the American Ministry of Foreign Affairs is, to restore Paul Robeson's passport, and to give him license for foreign concerts, so that, through him, the peoples in the world to have the possibility to put the foundations of a cultural exchange and strengthen the friendship and the peace in the world.
We hope, that Paul Robeson's visit in our country will be of great importance for the friendly relations between our two folks.

For the Staff by the Direction of the Cinematography,
by the Ministry of Culture:
(Signed) N. Chererdjrchs (?)

AMALGAMATED SOCIETY OF WOODWORKERS
WALKER BRANCH - 1283 Walker Road Newcastle on Tyne, England

June 5th 1954

Dear Friend,
My branch at their meeting last night gave consideration to the refusal of the United States Government with regard to Paul Robeson's passport. This act we believe is a violation of the principles of freedom and we support any action which has as its purpose the restoration of this elementary right.
Our branch consists of over 250 woodworkers from all industries, of all political beliefs and creeds and in supporting this call we extend friendship.

18th June 1954

Dear Friends
I have been on Holiday, hence the variation of dates, nevertheless I can assure you that the enclosed resolution has the whole hearted support of the members of this Branch.

Yours sincerely
(Signed) Wm. Crawford, B. S.

(COPIES)

NOTICIERO DE LA C.T.A.L.
Plaza de La Republica No 6 50, Piso, Mexico, D. F.

Comite Provisional para Restituir su Pasaporte a Paul Robeson.
Suite 6, 139 West 125th Street, Nueva York 27, N. Y.

Estimados compañeros:

Enviamos a ustedes un ejemplar del numero 244 del "NOTICIERO DE LA CTAL". En la pagina 17 encontraran ustedes una nota relativa a la circular que nos enviaron recabando la solidaridad para con Paul Robeson.

Además de dicha nota, debemos señalar a ustedes - que la CTAL envió una circular a las centrales nacionales en iqual sentido.

Les rogamos nos mantengan informados acerca del - desarrollo de la campaña de solidaridad, la cual tendre -- mos much gusto en reflejar en las páginas de nuestro Noticiero.

Saludos fraternales.

Mexico, D. F., 28 de Junio de 1954.
POR EL COMITE DE EDICION DE LA REVISTA

(Signed) Jose Morera, Secretarios (Signed) Pedro Martinez, Redactor

---

WORKERS MUSIC ASSOCIATION LTD
17 Bishops Bridge Rd., London, W.2.

28th June 1954

Dear Paul Robeson,

The enclosed invitations from the writers Naomi Mitchison and the composer Gerald Finzi have now been received by us and we gladly pass them on to you hoping they will assist you in your efforts to get your passport restored. Further action is being planned here to interest other eminent people in the project and you will no doubt be hearing either direct or through the new Committee recently set up in New York with whom we are in contact.

We hope you received our letters of 22nd March and 4th May in the absence of any acknowledgment from your side.

With greetings and best wishes from your many friends here,

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) Will Sahnow

Ashmansworth nr Newbury Berks
May 12th 1954

Dear Mr. Robeson: I am delighted to add my invitation to those of my friends or colleagues amongst English composers, in the hope that you will be able to visit this country again, where your reputation as a great artist remains fresh in the minds of many thousands of people.

Yours sincerely, (Signed) Gerald Finzi

ETHER MANNIN OAK COTTAGE. Burghley Road. London, S. W. 19

May 13th 1954

Dear Paul Robeson,
It is very good news that you hope to visit England again. I am sure a great many people in this

country will be glad to 'sponsor' you and put you and Essie up if need be, and I am certainly one of them! I do hope you get here. You will have a great welcome both from the British public and from the friends you both knew in the old days, including

Yours very sincerely,

(Signed) Ethel Mannin

CARRADALE HOUSE
CARRADALE, CAMPBELTOWN, ARGYLL
Telephone 234

May 14th

Dear Paul Robeson

I don't know if you will remember me from old days, but I remember you well! I do hope, when you are in this country that you will come north and stay with me for a few days. I can't tell you what it would mean to the fishermen of Carradale if you could sing them something! They are bad on the visual arts, but they still have a real sense of music and sing their own songs with great beauty and power.

I am sure you will have lots of friends in Glasgow and will need to be there, but you could easily slip over to Carradale - twenty minutes by plane. And of course any of the rest of the family who are with you.

Yours sincerely

(Signed) Naomi Mitchim

I/7 1954

Give Paul Robeson back his passport.

(Signed) Stella Arnadottir
Iceland pt. Vejlefjord Sanatorium, Danmark

40c Evelyn SDNS
S. Kensington, London, S. W. 7
Thursday. 1 July

To Paul Robeson
Dear Brother
Two weeks ago we held a recital of Gramophone records at our flat, and the whole evening was devoted to the playing of your records. We heard about 20-25 in all ranging from some of your film recordings, Negro spirituals - folk music, Peekskill and Ballad to Americans not forgetting "Old Man River".
Also during the evening a statement made by you, and printed in the publication "For a Lasing Peace" was read out. Some one suggested that a letter be sent to you, from this gathering of 18 citizens of Kensington, expressing our appreciation, and support for the great stand you are making for world peace, and freedom of thought.
We hope this letter will be one of many thousands pouring in, to support your campaign for the restoration of your passport.

Yours fraternally

(Signed) Derek Hollamby

(COPIES)

MILDRED BURGUM, 110 West 94 Street, New York 25, New York

June 21, 1954

Dear Mr. Robeson

I am enclosing a poem which I hope you will like. With every good wish for the campaign to secure your passport.

Cordially

(Signed) Mildred Burgum .

PAUL ROBESON

When your great voice sings
Every heart that hears
Rings its music
Around the world
To where the ground
Stirs with spring

Hands lie listening
Touching other hands

Like the pulse of time
Like the pulse of Love
Wherever our human kind
Give birth
Even in the far Aleutian reaches
Of the earth
They hear your promise

Love needs no passport
Time is not bound
No visa is issued
To spring to stir the ground

Hands rise listening
Reaching other hands

When your great voice sings

Mildred Burgum

AUSTRALIAN PEACE COUNCIL

Joint Hon. Secs.
Rev. Victor James
Rev. F. J. Hartley

2nd Floor, 330 Flinders Lane,
Melbourne, C.1, Vic. MB 2831

5 July 1954

Provisional Committee to Restore Paul Robeson's Passport,
Suite 6, 139 West 125th Street, New York 27.

Dear Friends:

We are in receipt of your material concerning the Robeson passport issue, and are anxious to see everything done that can be done to right this outrageous and almost incredible situation.

We are trying to arrange the widest publicity for the matter.

As an earnest of our good faith, we enclose a letter which has recently appeared in the press. Further letters are being written to a number of publications.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) S. Murray-Smith, For Executive.

(COPIES)

(Copy)
The Secretary, U.S. State Department
Washington, D. C., USA

Dear Sir,

We, the undersigned, protest against the continued denial of a passport by the U. S. Government to Paul Robeson.

Restriction of an individual's freedom of movement is not only undemocratic but is against the principles of the Declaration of Human Rights. Besides, your Government's action deprives this artist of the opportunity of finding a means of livelihood abroad, and such action is unworthy of a country with the status and responsibility that America holds in the world today.

In addition, the exchange of culture for the maintenance of world peace is a direct recommendation of the United Nations Charter. We support this and believe that, because of the popularity of music, a singer and actor of Robeson's calibre can be of inestimable service in promoting friendship between his country and the people of the world; and we feel that the United States of America, being one of the Great Powers, should give leadership to the rest of the world in putting the United Nations Charter into effect.

We request, therefore, that Paul Robeson's passport be restored and the people of the world be thereby given the opportunity of enjoying the art of this magnificent singer.

Yours faithfully,

(Signed)
I. De Boissiere, Flat 11, 3 Savige St., Ascot Vale
I. Ryan, 68 Newman St., Thornbury
I. R. James, Cathedral Place, Melbourne, C.2.
F. Purse, Fed. Sec'y, Bldg. Workers Indust. Union
E. Whitcombe, 129 Tinning St., Brunswick
A. J. Cregan, 65A Wattle Rd., Hawthorn, E. 2.
D. Johnston, 445 Pascoe Vale Rd., Strathmore
J. O'Mara, 9 Mathieson St., Highett.
~~C. Willman, 20 Page St., Albert Park~~
J. McCulloch, 41 Albert St., Abbotsford
Ann Beckett, 46 Elliott Ave., Balwyn
L. Spicer, 64 Barkly St., East Brunswick
M. Chandler, 6 Colleen St., Nth Coburg.
Bernard Heinze, Liverpool St., Kilsyth.
Geoff McDonald, c/-53 Lt. Bourke St., Melb.
F. Sturrock, 416 Station St., Nth Carlton.
P. Ellis, 25 Galmanno Crescent, Strathmore
H. H. Carter, 86 Auburn Rd., Auburn
C. Willman, 20 Page St., Albert Park
A. R. Lee, 197 Edwardes St., Reservoir
F. J. Thorn, 19 Edmond St., Brunswick
Blears (Mrs), 25 Balmanno Crescent, Strath.
A. Wallace, 94 Wingrove St., Alphington

Sailors Delegate S. S. Koomilya
c/-McIllwrath & McEacharn
Pt. Adelaide, South Australia
14/6/54

Dear Sir

We, the Seaman Union members of S. S. "Koomilya", support the campaign for the restoration of passport to the famous American singer and patriot, Paul Robeson.

We support the demand for free travel for him and all democratic Americans.

We, the free thinking people of Australia, would like to see and hear this great singer in person and not only on record.

I write this on behalf of the Seamen's Union members of the S. S. "Koomilya".

(Signed) L. G. Blackstock
Sailors delegate

---

242 Willesden Lane, London, N. W. 2 England
19 - 7 - 54

Miss Maude Green, Secretary Committee to Restore Paul Robeson's Passport
Suite 6, 139 West 125th Street, New York 27, USA

Dear Miss Green,

Many thanks for your prompt reply to my request for more copies of the Provisional Committee's letter. However, I have not as yet received any further material - biographical notes, photos, or copies of "Freedom".

We are making some slight progress here although now it is vacation and many people are out of town. In approaching several people I have found that they have already received that

(COPIES)

original letter (extra copies of which you sent me) and therefore it would be a great help if I could have some idea to whom it went.

Any additional material would also be helpful. I see that in this week's National Guardian Paul Robeson has written a letter to the people of France. Perhaps he would also write one to the many men and women, famous and not so famous, who in Britain have expressed their desire to hear him sing again in our country and who have extended invitations to him.

With good wishes,

Yours sincerely
(Signed) Mrs. Norma Turner-Samuels

INTERNATIONAL CONCERT, THEATRICAL & VARIETY AGENCY
13, Zamenhoff Str., Tel-Aviv, Israel

May 24th, 1954

Mr. Paul Robeson
Suite 6, 139 West 125th St., New York 27, N. Y., USA

Dear Mr. Robeson,

Enclosed please find a copy of a letter which I sent to the U.S. State Department in Washington in your matter.

Please find also a copy of your letter which I beg you kindly to return me addressed as per the first days of May 1954.

I send you also two contracts and I beg you kindly to return me one of them signed by yourself as soon as possible.

Awaiting your kind answer, all the best to you,

Yours faithfully,
(Signed) Adam Holender

P. S.: Please sign also the enclosed obligation and send it back with the contract. Thank you. If possible, please send me too some of your recordings. I thank you in forward.

(Same letterhead)
U. S. State Department, Washington, D. C. Tel Aviv, May 24th, 1954

Dear Sirs,

I have the honour to bring kindly to your notice that I have contracted Paul Robeson, the American Negro Singer, for a serie of 30 concerts in Israel. To my great astonishment I received a letter from the artist requesting the annulation of the contract.

Mr. Robeson writes me that he would like to come to Israel and to give a serie of concerts but there is a difficulty at this point and that is his doubt whether he would get the right from his Government to leave the U.S.A. for Israel.

As I can't understand the reason of his inability to come to Israel, and as Mr. Robeson doesn't mention anything in this matter, I beg you kindly to inform me, if possible, if it is true what Mr. Robeson ~~infxxxxx,xif~~ writes about his inability of accepting contracts for the above mentioned reason, or, if it is an attempt of his to elude the contract, as it occurs often with great artists when they elsewhere better conditions.

Awaiting your kind answer, for which I thank you in forward, I remain,

Yours faithfully,
(Signed) Adam Holender

N SOFIA VIA MACKAY RADIO 1725 JUNE 10 1954

LT MAUD GREEN SECRETARY FOR THE PROVISIONAL COMMITTEE TO RESTORE PAUL ROBESONS PASSPORT
SUITE 6 139 WEST 125 STREET NEW YORK 27 N. Y. USA

THE PRESIDIUM OF THE BULGARIAN WRITERS UNION RESOLUTELY PROTESTS ON BEHALF OF ALL BULGARIAN WRITERS AGAINST THE TAKING AWAY OF THE PASSPORT OF THE PROMINENT SINGER AND FIGHTER FOR PEACE PAUL ROBESON STOP IN THE NAME OF PEACE IN THE NAME OF THE CULTURAL COOPERATION AMONG THE PEOPLES PAUL ROBESONS PASSPORT MUST BE RETURNED SO THAT HE MAY IN THE FUTURE TOO SPREAD ALL OVER THE

PAGES MISSING IN THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT

(COPY)

2 Evans Street
Georgetown 17, British
June 34d 1954 Guiana

Dear Sir,

I wish to assure you of the solidarity of my wife and myself in your present struggle to secure your passport. The frightful behavior of the American Government with its witch-hunts is enough to raise the sympathy of anyone except fascists. We know that throughout all this you and many people like yourself have been standing firm. We support your struggle for three reasons. First, because the denying of it is alien to democracy, secondly because you will be able to travel about and make a living for yourself, and thirdly because you will be able to delight the world once again with your songs. We look forward for a visit from you someday. Hence we support your struggle.

We admire you so much that our second son bears the name Robeson and our last daughter born two days ago bears the name Eslanda.

Dear Friend we salute you and those like yourself - the defenders of peace. Peacy by which the culture of the peoples will spread throughout the world.

Yours very truly,
(Signed) Brindley and Patricia Benn

Edgor Anderson
14 Page Street
New Amsterdam, Bendice
British Guiana
13 . 7 . 1954

Dear Mr. Robeson,

It is with sincerity that I address you these few lines, hoping that your passport, and your freedom to renew your artistry will be restored, for you to continue your great work. The American government should be ashamed of its fascist actions, but we, the people, hail you as a living ....(?) for we know that your doings are just, and you have set one couple as a leader, for one day Socialism will this fight. The American government forget these words said by the great Benjamin Franklin, "Where freedom dwell there is my country!" If the younger generations should have ......(?) respect for the saying, then you and the younger generations to come should be given freedom of speech and movements.

Before I close, I must join with the other freedom loving people of this world to compliment you on not moving a thousandth of an inch in your fight for freedom. The world is in great need of more leaders like you, against this fascist rule. I close by complimenting you and hope that your passport, and your freedom to dwell in the entire U. S. and the world would be restored very soon. Long live the fight for freedom, and win we must. I close by saluting you and long may you live to carry on this fight.

Yours truly
(Signed) Edgar N. T. Anderson

(Same as above)
Edgor Anderson
14 Pitt St., New Amsterdam
Bendice, B. Guiana

Dear Comrades,

It affords me great thought to write to this God send Committee who are endeavoring to restore the rights of this world renowned artist. I join with all the God fearing people of the world and hope that you'll be fortunate in your demands to have some done, for it is a great shame of the American government to restrict Paul Robeson's freedom with all this talk of democracy still Mr. Robeson has not the right to express his love for another country he appreciates. This man who has done so much for America, a man who is famous throughout this world, and is he loved by every race. Just because he has expressed his love for another country his passport was taken away from him and his ability to perform as an artist was suppressed.

Unless the American people see to it that Paul Robeson's passport is given back to him and the ban on this great artist is restore for him to make a livelihood, than all this talk of democracy is all tommy rot. I join with all the peace loving people throughout the world who believe in freedom and thorough democracy, that Paul Robeson's passport should be returned to him immediately. I remain, Yours Truly, Edgar Anderson

(COPY)

The Provisional Committee
Suite 6, 139 W. 125th St., New York 27, NY

The Adelphi Village
East Canje Berbice
British Guiana
8th June 1954

Dear Sir and Madam,

The Executive Committee of the Adelphi Group of the "People's Progressive Party, the workers and residents of this area has requested me to inform you that we have all joined with the rest of progressive people all over the world in protest against the treatment meted out to you by the United States State Department in refusing to grant you a passport to travel abroad.

We feel it is a denial of a human right and we would be doing ourselves an injustice if we do not protest vigourously against this act of the parties concerned.

In British Guiana we are undergoing the same kind of treatment because as leaders and we agitated for the workers to have better living and working conditions. As the People's Democracy we are being tortured as Communists, but despite all the arrests, imprisonment and fines we are determined to fight the issue to the bitter end, until we have gained complete self government. The struggle will go on to free ourselves of the imperialist yolk that is around our neck.

And so we have pledged ourselves with the rest of people all over the world to give you our full support in demanding from those concerned the right to your passport, so that we can have the opportunity to see and hear an artist of international fame.

Oh what a day that will be in this Guiana of ours.

I am fraternally yours,
(Signed) Victor S. Downes, Secretary

Montevideo, mayo 23 de 1954

Senor Dr. W. E. Dubois
Suite 6, 139 W. 125 St., New York 27, NY, USA

I endorse heartily your petition to the government of the United States of America to restore the passport of the great artist Paul Robeson so that he may travel abroad.

The song of one of the most noble exponents of contemporary lyric art cannot be imprisoned, even though in the country of Lincoln today a citizen of American cannot be heard.

It is necessary, therefore, to defend, together with the rights of man, the universal rights of the artist. A lyric artist lives only if he sings: his silence is equivalent to death, and we cannot resign ourselves to the existence of an electric chair for the voice and mind of Paul Robeson.

Let resound anew for his people and for the world this great exponent of contemporary vocal art!

With best wishes and hopes that you obtain for this illustrious son of North America proper justice, this man who moves and unites the hearts of the most diverse peoples of the earth.

S. S.
(Signed) Atahualpa del Cioppo

s/c: Paysandu 1394. - Montevideo, Uruguay.

TALLER DE GRAFICA POPULAR
Apartado Postal 14047

Mexco, D. F., Mayo 17 de 1954

Dear Paul Robeson:

The artists of the Taller de Grafica Popular join enthusiastically in the cultural tribute given very justly to you by a group of North American intellectuals on the coming 26th of May.

The members of the Taller, sons of a people who have won their liberty at a cost of enormous sacrifices, understand in all its magnitude and heroism the struggle that you are waging for the rights of the noble Negro people and for peace between nations. The fight for the dignity of the downtrodden is the fight for the dignity of all the people of the United States, a people that oppresses another forfeits its own dignity. The liberty of the people is indivisible and if some suppress the liberty of some people, their liberty is curtailed. This is what happened to Nazi Germany, which trying to dominate the world, began destroying the liberties of its own people, assassinating and torturing millions of Jews, and ending disastrously in the past world war in which it was destroyed.

For that reason the members of the Taller de Grafica Popular salute you and join the world-wide movement demanding the restoration of your passport and your right to use it all over the world which knows of your stubborn service in the most important of all causes - that of peace and human dignity. The Committee of the Taller will send as a demonstration of its homage to you a sketch of you done by our comrade Leopol de Mendez.

Fraternally,
FOR EL TALLER DE GRAFICA POPULAR
(Signed) Angel Bracho, Presidente

(Same Heading--Taller)
To Provisional Committee to Restore Paul Robeson's Passport.

Dear Friends:

In accord with the request of the Confederacion de Trabajadores of America Latina, we have written to the State Department and to the United States Embassy in Mexico, joining in the world-wide movement for the restoration of the passport of the great North American singer Paul Robeson. Copies of these communications accompany this letter, as well as a greeting from the Taller de Grafica Popular to Robeson himself. We ask that you please put it in his hands.

Fraternally
(Signed) Angel Bracho

CONFEDERACION DE TRABAJADORES DE AMERICA LATINA
Plaza de La Republica 6, 5° Piso, Mexico D. F.

Committee to Restore Paul Robeson's Passport
Dear Friends:

We have received yiur communication, informing us of the formation of a "Provisional Committee" for Restoring the Passport of the famous Negro singer and fighter for democracy and peace, Paul Robeson.

The Secretariat of the Centeral Committee of the Confederacion de Trabajadores de America Latina decided to help this campaign of solidarity to restore the passport, and with this objective translated into Spanish the complete text of your call and sent it to our central affiliates, to unions non-affiliated, and also to artists, musicians, etc. in the City of Mexico.

Attached is a copy of the materials we have distributed.

At the same time we send you our best wishes for the greatest success for the Cultural Salute to take place on Wednesday, May 26, at the Renaissance Casino. Please give our fraternal greeting to Paul Robeson.

With our greatest consideration and appreciation, we are happy to greet you

"For the Emancipation of Latin America"

Mexico, D. F., Mayo 21 de 1954
P. The Secretariat of the C. T. A. L.
Vicente Lombardo Toledano, President Jose Morera, Secretary, Antonio E. Cabrera, Secretary
Ildefonso Aleman, Secretary

FEDERACION DE OBREROS Y CAMPESINOS
de la Region de Orizaba
Av. Colon Num. 55 U. G. O. C. M. Apartado Postal 146, Orizaba, Ver.

Committee to Restore Paul Robeson's Passport

(COPIES)

FEDERACION DE OBREROS Y CAMPESINOS
de la Region de Orizaba
Av. Colon Num. 55　U. G.O. C. M.　Orizaba, Ver.　Apartado Postal 146

To the Committee for Restoration of Paul Robeson's Passport

Through the Central Committee of the C. T. A. L. we received the communication on the campaign to restore Paul Robeson's passport, we were interested in the information and the petition in favor of said campaign, and we are enclosing a copy of the letter we have sent the President of the United States of North America concering this affair.

We do not know if this will arrive by the date on which the national and international campaign will be initiated, but we united ourselves with this Committee and hope that the struggle you have undertaken will succeed.

Without other particular, we remain very fraternally,
"For the Emancipation of the Workers"
Orizaba, Ver., Mex. mayo 22 de 1954
F. The Executive Committee

El. Srio. Gral.
(Signed) Benito Hernadez

Srio. de Conflictos
(Signed) Gonzalo Ibanez.

CONSEJO PUERTORRIQUERNO DE PARTIDARIOS DE LA PAZ
Apartado Postal 1655　San Juan, Puerto Rico　a 17 de julio de 1954

Provisional Comm. for Restoring Paul Robeson's Passport

Very Esteemed Friends,

This Council resolved in its regular session today:

> To unite with the world-wide protest over the revocation of the passport of the Greatest North American singer Paul Robeson and the world campaign to restore to him this said document.

The potent voice of Paul Robeson is the true voice of the great North American people and the ridiculous revocation of his passport by the government of the United States is an example of the sinister bellicose and mccarthyite position of the State Department, which deprives millions of men and women in the world of the delight of hearing ~~him~~ it.

This Council, whose President and Secretary have been equally aggravated by the State Department with the revocation of their passports, will send their protest to those government circles responsible for conspiring against the liberty os citizens of the United States and against the manifest desire for peace of the North American people.

Fraternally,
(Signed) J. Enamorado Questa, Secretary

COMITE DE PARTIDIARIOS DE LA PAZ DE LA CUIDAD DE CARAS
Madrices A Ibarras 6-1 (Altos)　Caracas, Venezuela - 4 de Junio de 1954

President and other mem ers of the Provisional Committee to Restore Paul Robeson's Passport

We have received the information of the formation in that city of the organization to initiate an intensive campaign against the revocation from the great singer Paul Robeson of that document to which he has full right as a~~n~~ North American citizen and which will permit him to travel abroad and bring the art of his native land to many nations.

Notice of the formation of this Committee has aroused great enthusiasm in democratic circles of Venequela, because it proves that, despite the continuing threats of the war-mongers, the supporters of broad cultural interchange and of general broad relations between peoples will be always active, raising fraternal voices above the adsurd cry of the opponents to all understanding.

It is then to your Committee, whose activities are opposed also the same war-like forces, that we send this message of solidarity and esteem, which we ask that you convey to Robeson, and at the same time condemn the denial during the past four years of this great citizen and artist's right to travel.

Our Committee has been and will continue to be on the side of those who, like Robeson, have placed their arte at the service of the cause of peace and of friendship between peoples. And, consequently, does not hesitate on this occasion to unite its voice with those throughout the world asking that all obstacles be removed which prevent this breat singer from having the broadest vehicle for conveying his sentiments.

Fraternally,
For el Comite de Partidarios
(Signed) Secretary

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

AMSTERDAMSE BACHKRING 22th Mai 1954

Dear Sirs:

Our Musical Circle "Amsterdamse Bachkring" has made a tradition to give to its members each year some especially well chosen concerts, on top of the yearly execution of Bach's "Matthaus Passion". One year we gave a concert with the never to be forgotten delightful singer Kathleen Ferrier, the next year we had the very remarkable sextent "Alma Musica" executive Bach's "Musicalisches Opfer" and this year or the next we would like to offer our members a recital of religious songs by Paul Robeson.

Our concert-hall is an old church, perfect of acoustic, and the soloists who come each year to sing in the Passion, Peter Pears, Nancy Evans etc., are all extremely impressed by the intense devotion which is felt during the concerts. We are sure Mr. Robeson will feel this extraordinary serene sphere the moment he will try the acoustic of the building, if his very busy life ever allows him to come over here, where he has so many admirers who are longing to enjoy his wonderful music.

Trusting you can put us into contact with the great artist in order to discuss the necessary details, we beg to remain, Dear Sirs,

Yours sincerely,

Ed. Althoff

Director Amsterdamse Bachkring

(COPIES)

INSTITUTUL ROMAN Penteu RELATIILE CULTURALE CU STRAINATATEA
Bucharest B-dul Dacia 29

To THE PROVISIONAL COMMITTEE TO RESTORE PAUL ROBESON'S PASSPORT, NEW YORK CITY

I have had the opportunity to see the famous Paul Robeson several times, to hear him speak and sing. He has spoken with pride about the people--black and white--of the United States, who love peace and struggle for it. He has sung the songs of joy, sadness and hope of the American people who hope to live at peace and are striving for progress, for peaceful and good understanding among nations.

Paul Robeson has made a very deep impression on both me and on all his listeners.

Paul Robeson is a great citizen of his country and a great artist. It is an honour for the United States to have Paul Robeson as a citizen - a fighter for peace known by the whole progressive mankind, a great and perfect artist known and beloved by millions and millions of people from all over the world.

I have learnt that Paul Robeson has for the last four years been denied a passport by the U. S. State Department so that he could travel beyond the boundary of the United States of America. This attitude of the State Department is illegal and profoundly wrong. Paul Robeson, a citizen of the United States of America is a great citizen of the world as well.

You have no right to deprive other peoples of Paul Robeson's ardent words and wonderful songs.

We insistently ask you to grant Paul Robeson the right this great artist and fighter for peace has got, that of visiting the countries of Europe.

ZAHARIA STANCU.

I have learnt of late that the great singer, Paul Robeson, is hindered to leave the USA.

Paul Robeson's songs have enjoyed and encouraged millions of men and women all over the world.

In our country he is known and appreciated for his wonderful songs, for everything he has done for the advanced art and culture.

The connection with the people throughout the world and with the artists of all peoples is indispensable for his song, as it contributes to strengthen fraternal relations among the peoples of the world, to consolidate peace.

I protest with all my energy against the arbitrary measure taken in order to prevent Paul Robeson's being received among those who love and appreciate his song full of humanity and which expresses the peoples' aspirations for peace and friendship.

SABIN V. DRAGOI (Merited Artist of the R.P.R.

(TELEGRAM to U. S. State Dept., Washington, D. C.)

I love art and I hold in high esteem all those who represent it with dignity. Among these, a seat of honour is occupied by Paul Robeson, one of the most appreciated and beloved artists in the world, for his artistic and civic consciousness.

Therefore I claim for delivering a passport to Paul Robeson so that he might cope with the peoples' desire and accept the invitations from numerous countries where, through his concerts this great artist could represent the culture of the American people.

NICULESCU G. BASU

(TELEGRAM TO US STATE DEPT. WASHINGTON DC USA

Together with the men of culture from all over the world I protest against the denial to deliver a passport to the great artist and fighter for peace, Paul Robeson, denial that disregarding the most elementary rights deprives at the same time the art lovers of the possibility to hear an artist of ours all.

ACADEMICIAN MIHAIL SADOVEANU

(COPIES)

TELEGRAMS FROM BUCURESTI VIA FRENCH 30 -- July 30, 1954

As Paul Robeson is a musical genius whom the whole world must appreciate and know his great talent I consider as an unforgivable fault the refusal to grant him a passport through which he could convey to the audience beyond America the emotions which his artistic activity can call up to the welfare and civilization of mankind therefore I protest against the denial of delivering a passport to him jioning my request for the retraction of this act to the numberless requests and protest that I know reach you from all the corners of the world.

LUCIA STURDZA BULANDRA Peoples Artist of the RPR State Prize Laureate

---

Art is not only the common language of all the peoples but it is also the most valuable means of knowing and understanding each other. A great artist belongs not only to a single country but to the whole mankind. Beethoven, Mozard, Schumann, Chopin, Ceaicovski, Rachmaninov, Verdi, Carusso and Shalyapin have expressed through their art the noblest feelings and aspirations of the peoples, therefore, they belong to manking that knows no boundaries while their art has made much for the friendship among the peoples. Today when such great efforts are made to ease the international tension it is ununderstandable the measure taken by the US government to forbid Paul Robeson to leave his country. We men of culture from the Rumanian Peoples Republic protest against this interdiction and request For Paul Robeson the liberty to convey his art to the audience throughout the world to the welfare and happiness of mankind.

IOAN NICOLA, Merited Artist of the RPR

As Paul Robeson is beloved and appreciated all over the world. Through his vibrating song that springs from the depths of the human consciousness and affection he speaks to everybody. As a great and real artist of those artists who can bind the peoples hearts beyond any boundaries. For He may be considered a real herald of friendship of strengthening the bonds among the peoples and his herald should not be hushed up. Therefore I side with the requests of all the men of culture and arts to restore Paul Robesons passport in order to have a chance to make his art known beyond the border for the sake of peace and progress.

MANDRU KATZ , Merited Artist of the RPR

There are many good singers in the world who render enthusiastic the public in opera and concert halls or through radio but Paul Robeson is unparalleled. His song is listened to by young and old folk, workers, peasants and intellectuals with equal ardour. It is an encouragement in life, an impetus in the great common struggle for peace and happiness. Paul Robeson is the most popular singer that mankind has ever had. As a man of arts closely bound to my peoples' culture I love and appreciate all the cultural values of the other peoples. Therefore I energetically protest against the hindrances that are being set as regards the personality and talent of Paul Robeson as an artist who is known and beloved all over the world.

HILD JEREA, State Prize Laureate

(COPIES)

(TELEGRAMS -- SOFIA -- June 10--July 23--July 30)

The Presidium of the Bulgarian Writers Union resolutely protests on behalf of all Bulgarian writers against the taking away of the passport of the prominent singer and fighter for peace Paul Robeson. In the name of peace, in the name of the cultural cooperation among the peoples, Paul Robeson's passport must be returned so that he may in the future too spread all over the world his great art and his ardent love for the people. The Bulgarian writers as well as the entire Bulgarian people would welcome with joy the great son of America to their home so that they can hear through his songs the voice of the American people which could be of great importance for the friendly relations between our countries.

FROM THE PRESIDIUM OF THE BULGARIAN WRITERS UNION

Dear Friends: The peace Committee and 750 actors, scenario writers, directors, technicians and administrators in the studio for feature films, Sofia, protest against the military excess on behalf of the American Government which for more than four years do not allow of the world famous singer and peace defender, Paul Robeson, to travel abroad The in our days when all peoples in the world have taken the fight for peace and the banning of the arms for mass destruction in their own hands when the strengthening of the cultural relations between the nations will bring up for the peace and friendship in the world, we solidarize with the action of the Provisional Committee to Restore Paul Robeson's Passport and our hearty desir is to see Paul Robeson as soon as possible as a dear guest of the Film Producers in Peoples Bulgaria. The Bulgarian Film Producers support the action of the Provisional Committee to Restore Paul Robeson's Passport and with all their hearts wish them victory in this field.

THE MEETING 700P Jul 30 1954

On behalf millions peace fighters in Peoples Republic Bulgaria National Peace Committee expresses most energetic protests against withholding passport great American Artist, ardent peace fighter, Paul Robeson, who has been denied for four years right to travel freely, contribute to common efforts peace loving peoples for broadening cultural exchange between nations. In spite restrictions imposed by American authorities Bulgarian Peace Fighters who know and appreciate highly Robeson's great talent invite once again great artist to visit the country. They insist he finally begiven possibility display his great talent to thousands Bulgarian admirers who have long desired to hear him in person.

BULGARIAN PEACE COMMITTEE

STUDIU D' ACTUALITES ET DE FILMS DOCUMENTAIRES
SOFIA, rue Gavril Guenov 7, Sofia, the 21st of July 1954

Provisional Committee to Restore Paul Robeson's Passport

The professional organization in the studio for Chronical and Documental Films in Sofia, Bulgaria, protests energetically against the during more of 4 years stopping the passport of the world over known singer Paul Robeson from the ministry of Foreign Affairs of USA.

We insist the restoration of the loyal rights of Paul Robeson, in order that he could at new visit foreign lands, because we wish very much to hear and see him in our land.

The President (Signed) Zv. Terziev

(COPIES)

NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF PEACE DEFENDERS IN FINLAND
Bulevardi 13A, Helsinki, Helsingfors, Finland
the 16th June 1954

Provisional Committee to Restore Paul Robeson's Passport

The National Committee of Peace Defenders in Finland has heard about the campaign to restore Paul Robeson's passport and has published the following statement in order to support the campaign:

"Art is a common human treasure and the great artists have always belonged to all nations. With his wonderful voice and most human art, the power of which carries beyond all frontiers, Paul Robeson has made known the best of America to other countries, he has promoted the friendship between nations and has won friends and admirers everywhere in the world. This great artist could give more, if he had the liberty to travel also outside of United States. Therefore we hope that his passport should be restored and thus the obstacles on the way of his concerts in other countries should be removed. Also here in Finland Paul Robeson has much friends and admirers and we hope of all our heart to hear his concerts sometimes in our own country."

For the National Committee of Peace Defenders
in Finland
(Signed) Mirjam Vire-Tuominen, Secretary

UNION OF NORGES HUSMORLAGSFORBUND AND NORGES DEMOKRATISKE KVINNEFORBUND
President: Sigrid Naerup Gunderyd
Havsfjordsgt. 37 A, Oslo, Norway

To the United States State Department, Washington, D. C.

The National Congress of Norsk Kvinneforbund (Union of Norwegian Women) warmly supports the demands that the singer Paul Robeson is given his passport back. Paul Robeson is an artist of world renown, an outstanding representative of your country, whose art should benefit all peoples. It is a shame for a country priding itself on its traditions of freedom, that Paul Robeson is, in practise, a prisoner in his own country and has no chance to earn his livelihood by his art.

Yours sincerely,
(Signed) Siri Sverdrup Lunden, Sec'y

DEUTSCHER FRIEDENSRAT (GERMAN PEACE COUNCIL)
Zentralschule Gotschendorf, Krs. Templin
(German Democratic Republic)
24 Juli 1954

Provisional Comm. to Restore Paul Robeson's Passport

Esteemed Friends:

The people of the world have been deprived of the artistic work of one of the best known and beloved singers for 4 years. The great American Paul Robeson is forbidden to sing outside his country.

We know Paul Robeson as a man who loves his homeland and espresses this love in his songs.

As a participant in the World Peace Council, Paul Robeson stands in the first rank of those who will win world peace.

When all peoples can hear Paul Robeson, when the songs of his people will, through him, be known the world over, the American people will win many new friends and the understanding between people will thereby be further advanced.

We demand that these rights to his personal freedom be returned to the great artist Paul Robeson, so that with his passport he may sing to the peoples of the whole world of hie peoples love for peace.

A friendly bond of cultural exchange must bind together all peoples, for through this it will be easier to remove the obstacles to a peaceful life.

(Signed by 56 signators)

REGIONAL PEACE COMMITTEE OF ALTMARK
Seehausen (Altmark), den 23 Juli 1954
German Democratic Republic

Committee to Restore Paul Robeson's Passport

Most Esteemed Friends!

We were appraised today of the foundation of your Committee to Restore Paul Robeson's passport.

We greet this with especial enthusiasm, and especially the fact that such well known personalities as Howard Fast, Charles White and Maude Greene were elected as secretaries of this committee. We will support your efforts with all our strength, by urging all the people in our region to express their solidarity with you.

We esteem and honor Paul Robeson as a (famous--German is actually stronger word) singer and steadfast (upright) peace fighter. We condemn the (misrulers) of America, and predict that Paul Robeson will again treat the world completely free and will thereby be able to serve culture and understanding between peoples.

With warmest greetings,
(Signed/ Kohler, Sec'y -- Kunert (Vorsitzender)

(COPY)

BUDAPEST

WHOLEHEARTED SUPPORT EFFORTS RESTORE PASSPORT YOUR SONGS INSPIRATION TO ALL YOUTH WARMEST GREETINGS

WORLD FEDERATION OF DEMOCRATIC YOUTH

(COPY)

World Federation of Trade Unions May 21, 1954

Dear Friends,

It is with pleasure and a deep feeling of solidarity that the WFTU supports the campaign for the restoration of Paul Robeson's passport. It is convinced that the united action of democratic people throughout the world and in reaction to the unjust and illegal measure of the United States government will force the latter to concede the right to travel to this true son of the American people.

The undemocratic action of the State Department is an insult to all peoples. The worlds' workers who know and love the voice of Paul Robeson, are with you. They express to him their solidarity and protest energetically against this discriminatory act on the part of the American authorities.

Sincerely yours,

HENRI JOURDAIN

Secretary of the WFTU

Paris, 15/9/54.

6, Square Delambre.
XIVe

Ci-inclus, l'article que j'ai écrit le 15 juin dernier en faveur de Paul Robeson à qui les Etats-Unis donnent peu à peu figure de martyr.

Votre tout dévoué.

René Maran.

ART ארט

INTERNATIONAL
Concert, Theatrical & Variety Agency
13 ZAMENHOFF STR., TEL-AVIV, ISRAEL
GEN. MANAG.: ADAM HOLENDER
MANAG. M. Jeruschalmy

BANKERS:
THE PALESTINE DISCOUNT BANK LTD.

PHONE: 80990
P. O. Box.: 4389
CABLE: „IMPRESART" TEL-AVIV

סוכנות בין לאומית
לקונצרטים, תיאתרון ווריאֶטה
רחוב זמנהוף 13, תל־אביב, ישראל
מנהל כללי: אדם הולנדר
מנהל

בנקים:
בנק א״י לדיסקונטו בע״מ

טלפון: 80990
תבת־דאר: 4389
למברקים: „אימפרסארט" תל־אביב

14th June 1951.

"FREEDOM"
53W 125th Street
NEW YORK
U.S.A.

Dear Mr. Paul Robson,

I beg to refer to some personalities in Tel Aviv, who are well known to you and submit the proposal to you to conclude with me a contract for Israel for at least 20 performances in every town and for all citizens ....

I beg to offer you the following conditions:

All the expenses regarding the theatre hall, the advanced publicity and the publicity as well as the advertisements in the newspapers and the arrangement are completely supported by myself. Likewise all the travelling expenses in Israel (from one place to another) are on my account. You will receive 25% from the Brutto-receipts after deduction of the taxes.

These are the best conditions which are offered in Israel to the biggest stars.

If you agree to these terms I would be obliged to you for a cable reply. After receiving same I shall airmail you the contract, one copy of which you will kindly sign and return to me, whereas the second copy will serve you for obtaining the entrance Visa for Israel.

I beg you to be so kind and to send me the photo material you have available and at the same time, please let me know on what date it would be convenient for you to come to Israel.

I hope the terms will meet with your approval and await with interest your cable reply.

In the meantime, I am dear Sir,

Yours faithfully

Adam Holender

Adam Holender

AUGUST 28, 1951

R C A COMMUNICATION
LONDON

Paul Robeson - care Macgee

ARE YOU ABLE ACCEPT RECITAL CONCERT TOUR GREAT BRITAIN COMMENCING NOVEMBER OR JANUARY NEXT MINIMUM PERIOD REQUIRED EIGHT WEEKS STOP STATE TERMS.

LYNFORD JOEL CONCERATO LONDON

THE PORT TALBOT FORUM
(LITERARY & DEBATING SOCIETY)

President : His Worship the Mayor of Port Talbot.
Life Members : Dr. Julian Huxley, Dr. T. Neville George, Huw Menai,
Mr. Wynford Vaughan-Thomas, Mr. Gwyn Thomas.

Chairman: Mr. R. ASTON.
Treasurer : Mr. E. MARR,
Lloyds Bank,
Station Road,
Port Talbot.

Hon. Secretary : Miss T. O'DONOVAN,
15, OAKWOOD STREET,
PORT TALBOT,
Glam.

Organising Secretary-
D.B.Evans,
35, Station Rd,
Port Talbot. Glam. Wales.

Dear Sir,

We heard it announced on the Wireless,with considerable interest that you had accepted the invitation to be the Welsh Miners guest at their Porthcawl Conference on October 3rd 1953.

Port Talbot is a very rapidly growing Steel Town situated 8 miles West of Porthcawl. In this Town of Port Talbot,we have a very thriving Literary & Debating Society called "The Port Talbot Forum".

We have had visits from Dr Julian Huxley and the late Dr C.E. M.Joad. The colour bar is a topic very near to our hearts and we have had it debated at our Society on several occasions.

There is considerable enthusiasm among our membership as to the possibility of having the World famous Mr Paul Robeson to appear on our platform and to address us on "The Colour Bar".

I am instructed to appeal to you sincerely,on behalf of my committee to consider the possibility of meeting our wishes in the following suggestion.-

Inasmuch as you will be so near to us at Porthcawl on Saturday October 3rd. Could you please come to us on the previous Thursday or Friday October Ist or 2nd ?

We would pay you a fee of £10 . 10 . 0 and we would put you up at the best Hotel in the Town and assure you of a very fine welcome.

When we have visits from distinquished visitors such as your good self. We usually have our Town Mayor,who is the Society's President, to introduce the guest speaker to the audience. Your visit would be no exception.

DO PLEASE AGREE TO COME MR ROBESON.
We shall await an early reply from you with considerable anticipation.

On behalf of the committee,
I remain,
Yours faithfully,

D. B Evans

Mr Paul Robeson.,

Moscow
20.X.54
Vorovsky St. 52

Paul Robeson
c/o Freedom Ass.
139 W 125th Str.
New York, 27, N.Y.
USA

Dear Paul Robeson,

At the end of November the Union of Soviet Writers of the USSR is calling forth the All-Union Congress of Soviet writers in Moscow.

Presidum of the Union would be glad to see you among our guests at the Congress.

The attendance at the Congress would take two weeks. Your travel costs to Moscow and back would be also paid for by the Union of Soviet Writers.

We would ask you to affirm your consent as soon as possible so that we would be able to take necessary steps concerning the passport visa.

Waiting for your reply

Alexander Fadeev

Chairman of the Presidium of the
Union of Soviet writers

Boris Polevoy

Secretary of the Presidium of the
Union of Soviet writers

155 West 136th Street
New York City, N.Y.
November 5, 1954.

Mrs. R. B. Shipley
Director, Passport Office
Department of State
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mrs. Shipley:

Since filing my application for a passport on July 2nd, I received, this week, a letter from Mr. Alexander Fadeev, Chairman of the Presidium of the Union of Soviet writers, and from Mr. Boris Polevoy, its Secretary, inviting me to be a guest at the All-Union Congress of Soviet writers in Moscow at the end of November.

I should like to attend this conference and therefore wish to advise you that my travel plans, as originally stated, are amended to include visiting the Soviet Union as well.

Will you be good enough to advise me whether, under the circumstances, your letter of July 27th stands or whether the Department will issue a passport to me. I shall appreciate your so advising me by telegram collect in view of the immediacy of the occasion for my trip.

Very truly yours,

Paul Robeson

Copy of telegram

Nov. 10, 1954

Paul Robeson
155 West 136th St.

A.M. 10 09

In absence Reply Letter July 27 Department must assume You consider yourself ineligible passport facilities under present regulations

R.B. Shipley Director Passport Office

Vice-Presidents. *President:* Alan Bush
Arthur Benjamin, Rutland Boughton, Benjamin Britten, Phil Cardew, Pau Casals, Erik Chisholm, Edric Connor, Aaron Copland, Geoffrey Corbett, Christian Darnton, Edward J. Dent, Hanns Eisler, Arnold Goldsbrough, Morton Gould, Inglis Gundry, Alois Haba, John Ireland, Alexander Jemnitz, Martin Lawrence, Joseph Lewis, A. L. Lloyd, Elizabeth Maconchy, Ernst H. Meyer, Anna Pollak, Alan Rawsthorne, Wallingford Riegger, Paul Robeson, Elie Siegmeister, Prof. J. Stanislav, Bernard Stevens, Fr. Szabo, Vladimir Vogel.

WORKERS' MUSIC ASSOCIATION LTD

FOUNDED 1936 **Registered as a Co-operative Society under the Industrial & Provident Societies Acts, 1893 to 1923**

17 BISHOPS BRIDGE RD., LONDON, W.2. 'Phone: PADdington 8670. 'Grams: Upbeat, Padd., London

(5 minutes from Paddington Station, 7, 7a, 15, 27, 27a, & 36 bus routes)

General Secretary: WILL SAHNOW, National Organiser: CHARLES RINGROSE

22nd March 1954.

Dear Paul Robeson,

We have just received yours of 17th and hasten to assure you that we shall take what steps are necessary to obtain the further support asked for as promptly as we can.

Meantime I believe my colleague some time back asked whether it might be possible for you to send us a tape recording of some songs. At the moment this could be a great help to us in our efforts since your recordings are constantly asked for in all quarters and the supply here has virtually dried up. Therefore the issue of further records would be a means of bringing your name prominently to the fore again and we would welcome the opportunity to do this as a backing for our efforts on behalf of the concert tour.

We send you the cordial greetings of many, many friends here and we will spare no effort for the restitution of your rights.

Yours sincerely,

Will Sahnow.
General Secretary.

for John

President: **Allan Bush.** ***Vice Presidents:*** **Lennox Berkeley, Rutland Boughton, Benjamin Britten, Phil Cardew, Erik Chisholm, Edric Connor, ~~Aaron Copland~~, Geoffrey Corbett, Christian Darnton, Edward J. Dent, Hanns Eisler, Arnold Goldsbrough, Morton Gould, Inglis Gundry, Alois Haba, John Ireland, Alexander Jemnitz, Joseph Lewis, A. L. Lloyd, Elizabeth Maconchy, Ernst H. Meyer, Alan Rawsthorne, Wallingford Riegger, Paul Robeson, Elie Siegmeister, Prof. J. Stanislav, Bernard Stevens, Fr. Szabo, Vladimir Vogel.**

WORKERS' MUSIC ASSOCIATION LTD

FOUNDED 1936 Registered as a Co-operative Society under the Industrial & Provident Societies Acts, 1893 to 1923

17 BISHOPS BRIDGE RD., LONDON, W.2. 'Phone: PADdington 8670. 'Grams: Upbeat, Padd., London

(5 minutes from Paddington Station. 7, 7a, 15, 27, 27a, & 36 bus routes)

General Secretary: WILL SAHNOW. National Organiser: CHARLES RINGROSE

3rd March 1954.

Dear Paul Robeson,

It has taken us longer than we expected to get round to all our eminent Vice-Presidents here and collect their signatures to an invitation to you to visit this country but now I am happy to be able to enclose this letter and, in addition, one which we obtained from Dr. Vaughan Williams.

We shall be glad if you will acknowledge this letter to us so that we know it has reached you and we trust you may be successful in obtaining your passport even if limited to this project of ours.

Please let us know the result of your application as soon as you can so that we may be well prepared. In the meantime we shall be making representations to the American Embassy here.

As I think I have already told you, the means to ensure your passage to this country have been raised and are available when required.

Our greetings and best wishes to you - and may we all soon have the great pleasure of seeing and hearing you again.

Yours sincerely,

Will Sahnow.

General Secretary.

Othello Recording Corporation,
53 West 125th Street (Suite 3),
NEW YORK 27, N.Y., U.S.A.

TELEPHONE
AMBASSADOR 8200.

FROM R. VAUGHAN WILLIAMS,
10, HANOVER TERRACE,
REGENTS PARK,
LONDON, N.W.1.

December 20th. 1953.

Dear Mr Robeson,

I should like to add my name to those who I understand are writing to you hoping that you will pay us another visit.

I ought to explain that I am a great admirer of your art, but as so far as I know your political views, I am strongly opposed to them.

I feel sure that as a man of honour if you come to England on the invitation of your artistic admirers, you will not use the occasion for the dissemination of political propoganda.

Yours sincerely,

R Vaughan Williams

President: Alan Bush *Vice Presidents:* Lennox Berkeley, Rutland Boughton, Benjamin Britten, Phil Cardew, Erik Chisholm, Edric Connor, [redacted], Geoffrey Corbett, Christian Darnton, Edward J. Dent, Hanns Eisler, Arnold Goldsbrough, Morton Gould, Inglis Gundry, Alois Haba, John Ireland, Alexander Jemnitz, Joseph Lewis, A. L. Lloyd, Elizabeth Maconchy, Ernst H. Meyer, Alan Rawsthorne, Wallingford Riegger, Paul Robeson, Elie Siegmeister, Prof. J. Stanislav, Bernard Stevens, Fr. Szabo, Vladimir Vogel.

WORKERS' MUSIC ASSOCIATION LTD

FOUNDED 1936 Registered as a Co-operative Society under the Industrial & Provident Societies Acts, 1893 to 1923

17 BISHOPS BRIDGE RD., LONDON, W.2. 'Phone: PADdington 8670. 'Grams: Upbeat, Padd., London

(5 minutes from Paddington Station. 7, 7a, 15, 27, 27a, & 36 bus routes)

General Secretary: WILL SAHNOW. National Organiser: CHARLES RINGROSE

3rd March 1954.

Dear Mr. Robeson,

We the undersigned Vice-Presidents understand that the Association is extending to you an official invitation to visit this country for the purpose of a concert tour under its auspices.

We cordially support this invitation and, as representative British professional musicians, assure you that such a visit would undoubtedly be greatly appreciated by thousands of music-lovers here.

Trusting the project may soon be realised,

Yours sincerely,

Geoffrey Corbett .... GEOFFREY CORBETT

Phil Cardew .... PHIL CARDEW

Inglis Gundry .... INGLIS GUNDRY

Arnold Goldsbrough .... ARNOLD GOLDSBROUGH

Bernard G. Stevens .... BERNARD STEVENS

Rutland Boughton .... RUTLAND BOUGHTON

Edward J. Dent .... EDWARD J. DENT.

Elizabeth Maconchy .... ELIZABETH MACONCHY

Benjamin Britten .... BENJAMIN BRITTEN

Joseph Lewis .... JOSEPH LEWIS

Alan Rawsthorne .... ALAN RAWSTHORNE.

Arthur Benjamin .... ARTHUR BENJAMIN

ŘEDITEL
NÁRODNÍHO DIVADLA V PRAZE

V Praze dne 2.I.1955.

Mr. Paul Robeson,
53 West, 125 Street,
New York 27,
N.Y. USA

Dear Sir,

the National Opera House in Prague is taking the liberty of inviting you to a series of guest performances - concerts - in our country, if possible in the first half of the year 1955.

As we know your great art so you probably also are acquainted with the musical tradition of Czech people. Your visit to our country as our guest would be of an immense, first rate artistic importance.

We hope from all our heart that your answer will be favorable and wishing you all the best luck and success in the new year 1955 we are sincerely yours

Drahoš Želenský

Drahoš Želenský,
Manager of the National Opera
House - National Theatre
in Prague.

PAUL ROBESON

139 West 125 St.
New York 27, N. Y.
January 20, 1955

Mr. Drahos Zelansky
Manager of the National Opera House-
National Theatre
Prague, Czechoslovakia

Dear Sir:

Your kind invitation of January 2, inviting Mr. Robeson to be guest artist in a series of concerts in your country was received. He has asked me to express his warmest personal thanks to you and your organization for the invitation.

He is unable to accept at this time due to denial of a passport by U. S. State Department. A suit is now in Federal court and we do hope that in the not-too-distant future, he will be able to accept and visit your country.

Please express to his many friends his deep desire to visit and sing for you.

Sincerely

John Gray

JG/rb

Resolution 4.

National Executive Committee.

"This Annual General Meeting urges all Governments to permit and encourage the fullest international exchange of sportsmen and artists, and instructs the Executive Committee to take all action within its power to remove any restrictions on such mobility as that which prevents Paul Robeson pursuing his art either in or outside his own country".

Resolution 5

Founded 1930 Telephone : GERrard 2680

BRITISH WORKERS' SPORTS ASSOCIATION

(Under the auspices of the TRADES UNION CONGRESS and LABOUR PARTY)

Catering for all forms of physical and cultural recreation. Affiliated to the following control bodies : A.A.A., R.W.A., N.C.U., L.T.A., E.T.T.A., L.F.A., B.A. & C.C., etc., etc.

Chairman
A. E. RICHARDS

President
The Rt. Hon. A. DEAKIN, C.H., C.B.E.

Treasurer
A. SCUTT

Gen. Secretary : D. CURTIS

2 SOHO SQUARE
LONDON, W.1

Mr. Paul Robeson,
139 West 125th Street,
Suite 6
New York, N.Y.

April 14th. 1955.

reply — 4/27/55 —

Dear Mr. Robeson,

Thank you for your very nice letter and acceptance of the invitation to sing at our concert.

You will be interested to know that we sent a small deputation of two, George Elvin - General Secretary, and J.P.W. Mallalieu, Member of Parliament, to see Mr. Tomlin Bailey the Consul General at the London Embassy of the U.S.A.

Our representatives had a very frank discussion with Mr. Bailey who promised to have our views immediately conveyed to his Government in Washington having full regard to the urgency of the matter as indicated by the imminence of the 1st. May.

I would be glad to hear from you as soon as possible of any progress you may have made your end.

We have unfortunately been in the throes of a newspaper strike for the past three weeks, and so have been unable to use your letter to the fullest extent, but enough people have approached me already to convince me - if I needed convincing, that you have many friends and sympathisers among many shades of political opinion and they are all very interested to hear about you.

Entirely devorced from the concert we have a resolution coming up at our Annual General Meeting in May, which might well turn into a very large campaign. I am enclosing a copy of this resolution but would be glad if you would ensure that it is not printed until after the Meeting. There are of course many people who feel it is wrong to bring pressure to bear upon another country particularly if they feel that the matter is a domestic

PTO

National Organisations Affiliated—A.E.U., A.S.W., A.C.T., A.E. & S.D., C.E.U., E.T.U., F.B.U., N.A.T. & K.E., N.U.M., N.A.T.S.O.P.A., N.U.S. N.T. & G.W.U., N.U.G.M.W., T. & G.W.U., U.P.W., U.B. & I. S.S.S., U.S.D.A.W. and National Clarion Cycling Club.

All Cheques, Postal Orders, etc., should be crossed and made payable to the Association

one, and on those grounds the resolution may be defeated. The chances of success however are very good, and if we do succeed the campaign should really be a strong one. It is because I do not want to risk defeat that I ask you to see that this is not published.

Our May Day programme will probably be presented by Mr. Tom Driberg, Member of Parliament and I gather from talking to him, that he too has something in mind to help.

Your letter has been widely circulated and many of your friends were glad to hear that you were quite well and send their best wishes. I will keep any press cuttings pertaining to our activities in this direction, and will let you have them in due course.

Our very best wishes to you and your family and hopes that we shall soon be seeing you.

Yours sincerely,

P Curtis

GENERAL SECRETARY.

P.S. If you feel at the very last moment that you are not likely to get over for the concert and if you would like to send a message, I will see that it gets put over to the public.

Founded 1930

Telephone : GERrard 2680

BRITISH WORKERS' SPORTS ASSOCIATION

(Under the auspices of the TRADES UNION CONGRESS and LABOUR PARTY)

Catering for all forms of physical and cultural recreation. Affiliated to the following control bodies : A.A.A., R.W.A., N.C.U., L.T.A., E.T.T.A., L.F.A., B.A. & C.C., etc., etc.

Chairman
A. E. RICHARDS

President
The Rt. Hon. A. DEAKIN, C.H., C.B.E.

Treasurer
A. SCUTT

Gen. Secretary : D. CURTIS

2 SOHO SQUARE
LONDON, W.I

Mr. Paul Robeson,
I39 W. I25th. Street,
New York City,
U.S.A.

March 3rd. I955.

Dear Mr. Robeson,

I would like to take this opportunity to confirm our invitation of the IIth. November I954, for you to visit this country to sing at concerts in celebration of our Silver Jubilee Anniversary. I would like at the same time, to extend a firm invitation to you to sing at our May Day Concert at the London Adelphi Theatre in aid of our International Fund, the purpose of which is to assist and encourage the visit of British Workers' Teams and Cultural Groups to other countries.

This concert, supported by the Labour, Co-operative and Trade Union Movements in this country, is being sponsored by the "Reynolds News", the only Sunday Newspaper enjoying the official support of these groups, and we are releasing the knowledge that this invitation has been sent.

We need hardly reiterate what must have been said many times before, that many people in this country, representing all shades of opinion, would dearly love to hear you sing again, and this association would be happy to use what little influence it possesses, to help clear the way for such a visit, if you will tell us that such assistance is welcome or necessary.

You will find at the foot of this letter, the initials of many organisations known personally to you, i.e. The National Association of Theatrical and Kine Employees and the Association of Cine Technicians, and their General Secretaries Mr. Tom O'Brien and George Elvin both of whom are members of the Adelphi Concert

PTO

National Organisations Affiliated—A.E.U., A.S.W., A.C.T., A.E. & S.D., C.E.U., E.T.U., F.B.U., N.A.T. & K.E., N.U.M., N.A.T.S.O.P.A., N.U.S. N.T. & G.W.U., N.U.G.M.W., T. & G.W.U., U.P.W., U.B. & I. S.S.S., U.S.D.A.W. and National Clarion Cycling Club.

All Cheques, Postal Orders, etc., should be crossed and made payable to the Association

Sub-committee. Then there is the National Union of Mineworkers, and I did in fact get your address from the Scottish Secretary of this organisation, Mr. Abe Moffat, altogether we represent over 5,000,000 affiliated members.

We sincerely hope that you and your family are in good health and spirits, and we look forward to the time when we shall once more have the pleasure of seeing you.

Yours sincerely,

F Curtis

GENERAL SECRETARY, for and
on behalf of the Adelphi
Theatre Concert Sub-committee:-

Tom O'Brien, M.P., Gen. Sec.
George Elvin, Gen. Sec.
Andrew Campbell Organiser.

BRITISH WORKERS' SPORTS ASSOCIATION

UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE TRADES UNION CONGRESS AND THE LABOUR PARTY

Affiliated to number of national sports control bodies—A.A.A., R.W.A., N.C.U., L.T.A., E.T.T.A., L.F.A., Etc., Etc.

Sections
ATHLETICS BOWLS CHESS
CHORAL AND DRAMATIC
CYCLING :: FOOTBALL
SWIMMING TABLE-TENNIS
:: LAWN TENNIS, Etc. ::

2 SOHO SQUARE, LONDON, W.1
TELEPHONE NO. GERRARD 2680

President: A. DEAKIN, C.B.E.

Mr. Paul Robeson,
I39 W. I25th. Street,
New York City,
U.S.A.

November IIth. '54.

Dear Mr. Robeson,

The above Association, set up with a view to organising Physical and Mental relaxation for the workers, next year celebrates the Twentyfifth Anniversary of its foundation, and we would be glad if you would visit us with a view to carrying out singing engagements, in support of this.

We are not unaware of the difficulties in the way of such visit, that is of course assuming you are interested, and we have written to the State Department, in view of President Eisenhower's call for tolerance, inviting them to place what facilities they can, at your disposal, should you feel inclined to accept.

If you will appreciate the circumstances surrounding this organisation, as against a Commercial Concern, and we, appreciate yours, there should be no difficulty in agreeing terms, if the visit is finally approved.

Yours sincerely,

D Curtis

DAVE CURTIS,
General Secretary.

P.S. A copy of this letter has been forwarded to the State Department, in support of our application, I hope you will understand this infringement upon your person, and pardon the unconventional approach.

All Cheques, postal orders, etc., should be crossed and made payable to the Association.

139 West 125th Street
New York, N.Y.
April 27, 1955

Mr. D. Curtis, General Secretary
British Workers Sports Association
2 Soho Square
England, W. 1, England

Dear Mr. Curtis:

I thank you very much for your letter of April 14th. The interest and activity of so many people of England, and particularly the British Workers Sports Association, in support of my right to travel to your country for concert appearances, are very heartwarming.

Unfortunately, the U. S. State Department persists in refusing me a passport. However, the suit I have pending before the U. S. Federal Court in this connection is expected to be heard within the next few weeks.

Please convey my sincere regards to the members of your organization and to my many other friends in England. I share the confidence of the growing number of fighters for peace and freedom that the time is not too distant when I and others will again enjoy the right to travel.

Best wishes for a successful May Day concert, and greetings on the occasion of your Silver Jubilee Anniversary.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Robeson

139 West 125th Street
Suite 6
New York, N.Y.

March 7, 1955

Mr. Dave Curtis, General Secretary
British Workers' Sports Association
2 Soho Square
London, W 1, England

Dear Mr. Curtis:

This is to thank you for your letter of March 3, 1955, in which you extend an invitation for me to visit England and to sing at concerts in celebration of the Sliver Jubilee Anniversary of the British Workers Sports Association. Permit me to say that nothing would give me greater pleasure.

I would also be extremely happy to sing at your May Day Concert which is being sponsored by the Reynolds News to encourage the visits of British workers teams and cultural groups to other countries. I am glad to know that this concert is being supported by the Labor, Cooperative and Trade Union movements in Britian.

As you probably know I have a deep interest in all sports developments. This interest has continued since my days as an All-American football player at Rutgers University here in the United States. Therefore I am especially happy that your Association has extended these invitations with such widespread support.

You will be interested to know that your Silver Jubille Anniversary coincides with my thirtieth anniversary as a singer and actor. Many persons here with whom I have been associated during these thirty years have already indicated that they will mark this anniversary in many different ways throughout the country.

It is very heartening to me to know that such outstanding personalities and organizations from the entertainment field as Mr. Tom O'Brien, General Secretary of the National Association of Theatrical and Kine Employees and Mr. George Elvin, General Secretary of the Association of Cine Technicians are actively associated in the organization of the Adelphi Theatre concert. It also gives me great pleasure to learn that the National Union of Mineworkers is included among the five million affiliated members represented in this project. Please give my warmest personal regards to Mr. Abe Moffat, the Scottish Secretary of the Miners, and to Mr. Pearson.

As you undoubtedly know, the U.S. State Department has for several years refused to renew my passport. On last January 13th I filed suit in the Federal Court to compel renewal of my passport. However, your invitation is of such importance that I intend to take whatever additional steps available in order to be able to accept it. It would seem that your Association could help clear the way for such a visit if it sent its own delegation to discuss this matter with the U.S. Embassy. Encouragement of delegations from the Labor, Cooperative and Trade Union movements to present their views could also be helpful. I would appreciate receiving any newsstories that tell of your efforts in this direction.

The invitation to sing under your auspices in Britain and the interest of the British people in my right to travel are extremely encouraging to millions of people here in the United States who are continuing their efforts to have my passport restored in the interest of cultural exchange and friendship between peoples.

Mrs. Robeson, Paul Jr., his wife and children all join me in sending warmest personal regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Robeson

rwdsu/65

"PEOPLES' THEATRE STARS THE PEOPLE"

INDIAN PEOPLES' THEATRE ASSOCIATION

(WEST BENGAL COMMITTEE)

46, DHARMATALA STREET, CALCUTTA-13, INDIA.

President :
SACHIN SENGUPTA
Vice Presidents :
Dr. JANAKI BALLAV BHATTACHARYA
JNAN PRAKASH GHOSH
DIGINDRA BANERJEE
SATYEN BOSE, DEBABRATA BISWAS
MUSTAQ ALI KHAN.

Secretary :
NIRMAL GHOSE
Jt. Secretaries :
SALIL BOSE, SANAT BHATTACHARYA
Office Secretrary :
SANTI MUKHERJEE
Treasurer :
NIBEDITA DAS

Ref. Invitation/ 251

Dated the 15th March, *1955.*

Dear friend,

The 1st Conference of the West Bengal State I.P.T.A. is going to be held in Calcutta from the 14th to 18th April, 1955.

You are perhaps aware that since its birth in the year 1943, the I.P.T.A. has been striving to portray the hopes, aspirations, joys, sorrows, toils and tears of our great people through its creations and twelve years of consistent struggle despite tremendous obstacles have earned for the I.P.T.A. a warm place in the hearts of our masses.

This Conference, where about 800 artist-delegates from about 150 I.P.T.A. branches in the 13 districts of West Bengal and about 100 fraternal delegates are expected to take part, will see the emergence of a still stronger I.P.T.A. in its scope and participation and will lay the basis of a broad platform of artistes, writers, composers and technicians who love our people and are eager to see them happy and prosperous under the protective wings of the Dove of Peace.

On behalf of the State Committee, I have the greatest honour in inviting you to take part in this Conference of ours and I hope you will be kind enough to accept this humble invitation. We sincerely believe that your participation will be very much helpful for the success of our Conference.

In case, however, in your pre-occupations if you do not find it convenient to participate in the Conference, a message from you will be very much encouraging.

With deep respects and warmest greetings,

Fraternally yours,

Nirmal Ghose

(NIRMAL GHOSE)
Secretary,
I.P.T.A. - West Bengal

Suite 6
139West Bengal
New York 27
New York

Nirmal Ghose
Secretary, Indian Peoples' Theater Association
West Bengal Committee
46 Dharmatala St.
Calcutta -13
India

Dear Mr. Ghose:

This is to express my deep appreciation for the kind invitation to take part in the first conference of the West Bengal Committee of the Indian Peoples' Theater Association.

I so much want to be with you but since nineteen fifty the United States State deparement has refused to renew my passport. I have not accepted however, this ban on my right to travel. In January 1955 my attorneys brought action in the U. S. federal court to hame the U.S. State department renew my passport. Meanwhile, friends here in the U.S. and in many sections of the world continue to demand that my right to travel be restored.

LIwas particularly struck by that section of your letter which said " Who love our peoplesyand are eager to see them prosper under the protective wing of the NovS.of peace." I believe that this thought expresses the essence of the artists role in present day life. I myself have for many years sought to use my art as a weapon in the struggle for world peace and freedom and the complete dignity of all mankind.

Your covference will occur on the eve of a historic and internationally important meeting of the Asian and African nations. Negroes here in the United States are taking parte in this important gathering. I am happy to see Pandit Nehru , head of the Indianstate playing such an important role in the preparations for this conference, ~~I know that he~~ and will may he faithful reflect the deepestsentimentsoff the Indian people against the danger of hydrogen bomb warfand for a future of peace. For only in peace can the best talents of the artists of the world flourish.

Again let me express my best wishes for a successful conference. One day soon I hope to visit your wonderful country and there to meet personally the artists, actors writers singers , composers and technicians of India and to study first hand the rich culture which which Ihave admired for so long.

With warmest greetings
fraternally yours,

Communiquee No.1.

Preparatory Committee of 'FESTIVAL for FRIENDSHIP'

On 4.1.55 in Tel-Aviv there was held a meeting of personalities from cultural and public life and other young people of different occupations, Jews and Arabs who are united by the desire to express their aspirations for peaceful relations and friendship between Jews and Arabs in Israel and the whole Middle East.

It was decided in this meeting to call all the youth in Israel, Jews and Arabs organised and non-organised youth, youth movements and sport organisations, high and secondary schools and artistic ensembles, to take part in the Festival for Friendship between the Jewish and Arab youth.

At this meeting the preparatory committee of the Festival was formed and an active secretariat elected, and decided to publish the following call which was made public in the meantime.

This is the text of the CALL:

'FESTIVAL for FRIENDSHIP'

"We, the undersigned personalities from cultural and public life and other young people of different occupations, calling hereby all personalities, all citizens and all young people, Jews and Arabs, youth organisations and movements, to join our initiative to organise a Festival for Friendship between the Jewish and Arab Youth for peace between Israel and Arab countries, for securing the future of the youth".

"The aim of the FESTIVAL is to gather the youth of the two nations and to demonstrate their desire for common life. Peace between Israel and Arab countries will break down the isolating wall which surrounds Israel and will help to fulfill the national aspirations of Israel and the neighbouring countries, on the basis of equality and mutual confidence."

"The Festival will demonstrate the cultural life of the two nations and their achievements in art, literature and folklore."

"We call hereby all those to whom the cause of peace is dear and important, to add their [illegible] and their helping hand for the success of the Festival for Friendship."

"The aim of the FESTIVAL is to gather the youth of the two nations and to demonstrate their desire for common life. Peace between Israel and Arab countries will break down the isolating wall which surrounds Israel and will help to fulfill the national aspirations of Israel and the neighbouring countries, on the basis of equality and mutual confidence."

"The Festival will demonstrate the cultural life of the two nations and their achievements in art, literature and folklore."

"We call hereby all those to whom the cause of peace is dear and important, to add their names and lend their helping hand for the success of the Festival for Friendship."

Among the initiators who signed the call or among others the following personalities: Epstein H. -Hebrew University, Aleskovski Neomi - dancer, Arbatova Miya - dancer, Eshel Nimrod-sailor, Hanna Abu Hanna - poet, Nazareth, Dr Yaros - Chairman of the Human Rights League, Khouri Hanna - teacher, Nazareth, Elias Zareiq - Orthodox priest, Cohen Yardena - dancer, Carmon Johnathan - Manager of the Gadna ensemble, Petah Tikva, Leitner Ben Zion - Israeli Hero, Bearer of highest Israel war distinction, Dr Magnes Johnathan - Hebrew University, Nassar Emil - Y.M.C.A. Secretary Nazareth, Sela Uri - Journalist, Tzabar Shimon - painter, Rossler Thila - dancer, Stern Yosi - painter, Sheri - international soccer Judge, Tamari Amiran - painter, actors from the Chamber Theatre, Ohel Theatre, Habima Theatre, poets and musicians, people of different occupations, newspaper-men, Jewish and Christan priests - in all 100 public personalities who joined the Preparatory Committee.

The initiators appealed these days to other personalities to join the Preparatory Committee and to give their support to this important action for the education of the young generation.

A Cultural Sub-Committee was formed in order to prepare the programme of the Festival and to organise preparatory celebrations and meetings towards the Festival and different places. The Cultural Sub-Committee decided to organise a competition for the Festival Sign and for the Festival Song.

Later on the Festival Committee will organise national competitions among the folk dance groups, Hebrew and Arabic, among orchestras and folk song groups etc., registration for groups of folk dances, songs and for dramatic circles everywhere in the country towards the Festival.

A Publicity Sub-Committee was formed to organise explanatory evenings dedicated to the aims of the Festival in schools and workshops.

The Preparatory Committee and all the sub committees are open to additional personalities.

As Secretary of the Preparatory Committee Mr J. Gefen (the former Secretary of the Federation of the War-Invalids) was elected.

The address of the Preparatory Committee is: POB 4525 - Tel-Aviv.

President: Allan Bush. *Vice Presidents:* Lennox Berkeley, Rutland Boughton, Benjamin Britten, Phil Cardew, Erik Chisholm, Edric Connor, ~~Aaron Copland~~, Geoffrey Corbett, Christian Darnton, Edward J. Dent, Hanns Eisler, Arnold Goldsbrough, Morton Gould, Inglis Gundry, Alois Haba, John Ireland, Alexander Jemnitz, Joseph Lewis, A. L. Lloyd, Elizabeth Maconchy, Ernst H. Meyer, Alan Rawsthorne, Wallingford Riegger, Paul Robeson, Elie Siegmeister, Prof. J. Stanislav, Bernard Stevens, Fr. Szabo, Vladimir Vogel.

WORKERS' MUSIC ASSOCIATION LTD

FOUNDED 1936 Registered as a Co-operative Society under the Industrial & Provident Societies Acts, 1893 to 1923

17 BISHOPS BRIDGE RD., LONDON, W.2. 'Phone: PADdington 8670. 'Grams: Upbeat, Padd., London

(5 minutes from Paddington Station. 7, 7a, 15, 27, 27a, & 36 bus routes)

General Secretary: WILL SAHNOW. National Organiser: CHARLES RINGROSE

3rd March 1954.

Dear Paul Robeson,

It has taken us longer than we expected to get round to all our eminent Vice-Presidents here and collect their signatures to an invitation to you to visit this country but now I am happy to be able to enclose this letter and, in addition, one which we obtained from Dr. Vaughan Williams.

We shall be glad if you will acknowledge this letter to us so that we know it has reached you and we trust you may be successful in obtaining your passport even if limited to this project of ours.

Please let us know the result of your application as soon as you can so that we may be well prepared. In the meantime we shall be making representations to the American Embassy here. As I think I have already told you, the means to ensure your passage to this country have been raised and are available when required.

Our greetings and best wishes to you - and may we all soon have the great pleasure of seeing and hearing you again.

Yours sincerely,

General Secretary.

Othello Recording Corporation,
53 West 125th Street (Suite 6),
NEW YORK 27, N.Y., U.S.A.

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

TELEPHONE
AMBASSADOR 8200

FROM R. VAUGHAN WILLIAMS.
10, HANOVER TERRACE.
REGENTS PARK.
LONDON, N.W.1.

December 2[illegible] 1953.

Dear Mr Robeson,

I should like [illegible] to those who I understand are writing to you [illegible] that you will pay us another visit.

I ought to explain that I am a great admirer of your art, but [illegible] your political views, I [illegible].

I feel [illegible] if [illegible] of [illegible] artistic [illegible]

[illegible]

Yours sincerely,

R. Vaughan Williams

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

President: Alan Bush **Vice Presidents:** Lennox Berkeley, Rutland Boughton, Benjamin Britten, Phil Cardew, Erik Chisholm, Edric Connor, [redacted], Geoffrey Corbett, Christian Darnton, Edward J. Dent, Hanns Eisler, Arnold Goldsbrough, Morton Gould, Inglis Gundry, Alois Haba, John Ireland, Alexander Jemnitz, Joseph Lewis, A. L. Lloyd, Elizabeth Maconchy, Ernst H. Meyer, Alan Rawsthorne, Wallingford Riegger, Paul Robeson, Elie Siegmeister, Prof. J. Stanislav, Bernard Stevens, Fr. Szabo, Vladimir Vogel.

WORKERS' MUSIC ASSOCIATION LTD

FOUNDED 1936 Registered as a Co-operative Society under the Industrial & Provident Societies Acts, 1893 to 1923

17 BISHOPS BRIDGE RD., LONDON, W.2. 'Phone: PADdington 8670. 'Grams: Upbeat, Padd., London

(5 minutes from Paddington Station. 7, 7a, 15, 27, 27a, & 36 bus routes)

General Secretary: WILL SAHNOW. National Organiser: CHARLES RINGROSE

3rd March 194[illegible].

Dear Mr. Robeson,

We the undersigned Vice-Presidents understand that the Association is extending to you an official invitation to visit this country for the purpose of a concert tour under its auspices.

We cordially support this invitation and, as representative British professional musicians, assure you that such a visit would undoubtedly be greatly appreciated by thousands of music-lovers here.

Trusting the project may soon be realised.

Yours sincerely,

Geoffrey Corbett .... GEOFFREY CORBETT

Phil Cardew .... PHIL CARDEW

Inglis Gundry .... INGLIS GUNDRY

Arnold Goldsbrough .... ARNOLD GOLDSBROUGH

Bernard G Stevens .... BERNARD STEVENS

Rutland Boughton .... RUTLAND BOUGHTON

Edward J. Dent .... EDWARD J. DENT.

Elizabeth Maconchy .... ELIZABETH MACONCHY

Benjamin Britten .... BENJAMIN BRITTEN

Joseph Lewis JOSEPH LEWIS

Alan Rawsthorne ALAN RAWSTHORNE.

Arthur Benjamin ARTHUR BENJAMIN

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

FESTIVAL OF FRIENDSHIP

Festival of Friendship between Jewish and Arab Youth of Israel. For peace between Israel and Arab Countries, for safeguarding the future of youth.

Presidium of Festival Committee: *Dr. Yaross* (Yaroslavski) — Chairman of League for Human Rights; *Paul Ben-Haim* — Composer; *Amin Zrek* — orthodox priest; *Benzion Leitner* — Israel Hero (bearer of highest Israel war-medal); *Hanna Nakara* — lawyer; *Uri Sela* — Journalist; *Frederik Portnoi* — pianist; *Tehila Rösler* — Dancer choreograph; *Ruth Schloss* — painter; *Mya Arbatova* — dancer choreograph

---

Among the Members of Festival Committee, are:

***Dr. H. Epstein* — Hebrew University,**
***Neomi Aleskovski* — Dancer**
***Nimrod Eshel* — Naval Officer**
***Uzi Burstein* — Member of W.F.D.Y. Council,**
***Hanna-Abu-Hanna* — Poet**
***Hanna Khouri* — Teacher,**
***Haya Harrarit* — Actress, — Chamber Theatre**
***Yardena Cohen* — Dancer Choreograph,**
***Yonatan Carmon* — Dancer**
***Dr. Y. Magnes* — Hebrew University,**
***Konrad Mann* — Conductor,**
***Hilel Naaman* — Actor, „Ohel" Theatre,**
***Emile Nassar* — Secretary, YMCA,**
Rabbi Haim Pessahovitch
***Parness* — International Soccer Judge**
***Mansur Kardosh* — Manufactorer,**
***Yossi Stern* — Painter,**
***Sheri* — International Soccer Judge**
***Jakob Steinhardt* — Artist, Lecturer of Bezalel Art-School,**
***Amiram Tamari* — Painter,**
***Ari Wolf* — Regisseur**
And other 75 personalities

Tel-Aviv 24.1.1955
P. O. B. 4525 Tel-Aviv

Ref: 8/F

Mr Paul Robeson,
United State of America

Dear Sir,

Attached here you find a communiquee issued by our Committee, explaining the aims and the character of the Israeli Youth'Festival for Friendship'. As we know that the cause of peace and friendship among the peoples is very dear to you, we take the liberty to invite you to attend our festival as a honorary guest. As your name is very famous and beloved by the people of Israel, we are sure that you could help us a lot to assure the success of our Festival, which will be held on 12-14 of April 1955, in Tel-Aviv.

Hoping to receive word from you very soon,

We are,
yours sincerely

Preparatory Committee
Secretary
J.Gefen.

J. Gefen

FESTIVAL OF FRIENDSHIP

P. O. B. 4525
Tel-Aviv, Israel

C
O
P
Y

Mr. Paul Robeson
United States of America
- - - - - - - - - - - - - -

Dear Sir,

Attached here you find a communiquee issued by our Committee, explaining the aims and the character of the Israeli Youth' Festival for Friendship.' As we know that the cause of peace and friendship among the peoples is very dear to you, we take the liberty to invite you to attend our festival as a honorary guest. As your name is very famous and beloved by the people of Israel, we are sure that you could help us a lot to assure the success of our Festival, which will be held on 12-14 of April 1955, in Tel-Aviv.

Hoping to receive word from you very soon, we are

Yours sincerely

Preparatory Committee
Secretary
J. Gefen

ISRAEL CONCERT
CORPORATION

יובל
YUVAL

ארגון מפעלי
אמנות

[redacted]

Cables: [redacted]

[redacted]

POB 4525 TEL-AVIV

Haifa, 26th January 1955

Mr.
Paul Robeson,

Dear Sir,

Herewith we take the liberty to invite you to Israel, and we hope that you will bestow upon us the honour of accepting this invitation.

We are telling you nothing new when saying that you are greatly admired by the Israel public, both as an outstanding artist and as a personality, and we express the general view here that having you here for any length of time you may choose, would be great indeed. You, too, might profit spiritually by coming into material touch with this youngest and most pioneering country, the birth place of all Western civilization.

We should be grateful, if you would kindly let us know of your decision, which we hope will be in the affirmative.

We beg to remain,

Yours truly,

Jacob Ori
ISRAEL CONCERT CORPORATION

PAUL ROBESON

139 West 125 Street
New York 27, N. Y.
February 21, 1955

J. Gefen, Secretary
Preparatory Committee
Festival of Friendship
P.O.B. 4525
Tel-Aviv, Israel

Dear Mr. Gefen:

Your kind invitation to Mr. Robeson to participate in your Festival of Friendship was received. He wants you to know that he deeply appreciates the invitation and would so like to be with you for the Festival but due to his inability to obtain a passport he regrets that he cannot accept.

The passport case is before the Federal Court and we do hope that before many months pass, Mr. Robeson will again be able to travel to many parts of the world including Israel.

Sincerely,

John Gray, Secretary

JG:rb

STATE OF NEW YORK)
) ss
COUNTY OF NEW YORK)

PAUL ROBESON, of full age, being duly sworn according to law, deposes and says:

That I am a native born citizen of the United States: that I am a signer of a Petition addressed to the General Assembly of the United Nations charging various acts constituting violations of the Genocide Convention, which acts have been committed against the Negro people of the United States; that said Petition further complains that said acts of Genocide have been committed by and/or acquiesced to by various officials of the State and Federal Government of the United States; that I have been chosen by the Petitioners to said Petition to present and argue said Petition before the General Assembly of the United Nations now meeting in Paris, France and to plead for the remedies prayed for in said Petition; that this application for a passport is for this express and for no other purpose; that this application for a passport for the special purpose above stated in no way affects my present suit instituted to establish my right to a passport generally; that to deny me the means of making said complaint is to indirectly nullify my rights and the rights of the Negro people of the United States, which rights have been clearly established both by the Charterof the United Nations and the Genocide Convention, and which rights having been ratified by the United States Senate take precedence over all rules and law inconsistent with the obligations owed by the United States and arising out of the said Charter and the Convention.

Affiant is informed and verily believes that specifically the legal obligations arising out of the Charterof the United Nations as expressed in Articles 1, 13, 55, 56, 62, 68 and 76, supercedes all rulings made by either the judicial or administrative parts of the Government and which may be inconsistent thereto, and requires that the United States Government remove such legal bars which prevent affiant from appearing before the General Assembly. As stated in the Charter, the affiant and the Negro people "are all equal before the law and shall be accorded protection before the law." Without equal access to the law there can be no equality before it. The obligation of the United Nations to hear the complaint establishes the obligation of the United States to submit to the proceedings and further involves the obligation of the United States to permit the affiant the means of travel in order to make such complaint.

Wherefore affiant requests that a passport be issued to him immediately for the express purpose of traveling to Paris to make such complaint as herein stated.

Sworn and subscribed to)
before me this 1 day)
of December, 1951)

Harriet Barron

HARRIET BARRON
Notary Public, State of New York
Qualified in New York County
No. 31-0173450
Commission Expires March 30, 1953

Paul Robeson

Paul Robeson

STATE OF NEW YORK)
) ss
COUNTY OF NEW YORK)

PAUL ROBESON, of full age, being duly sworn according to law, deposes and says:

That I am a native born citizen of the United States; that I am a signer of a Petition addressed to the General Assembly of the United Nations charging various acts constituting violations of the Genocide Convention, which acts have been committed against the Negro people of the United States; that said Petition further complains that said acts of Genocide have been committed by and/or acquiesced to by various officials of the State and Federal Government of the United States; that I have been chosen by the Petitioners to said Petition to present and argue said Petition before the General Assembly of the United Nations now meeting in Paris, France and to plead for the remedies prayed for in said Petition; that this application for a passport is for this express and for no other purpose; that this application for a passport for the special purpose above stated in no way affects my present suit instituted to establish my right to a passport generally; that to deny me the means of making said complaint is to indirectly nullify my rights and the rights of the Negro people of the United States, which rights have been clearly established both by the Charter of the United Nations and the Genocide Convention, and which rights having been ratified by the United States Senate take precedence over all rules and law inconsistent with the obligations owed by the United States and arising out of the said Charter and the Convention.

Affiant is informed and verily believes that specifically the legal obligations arising out of the Charter of the United Nations as expressed in Articles 1, 13, 55, 56, 62, 68 and 76, supercedes all rulings made by either the judicial or administrative parts of the Government and which may be inconsistent thereto, and requires that the United States Government remove such legal bars which prevent affiant from appearing before the General Assembly. As stated in the Charter, the affiant and the Negro people "are all equal before the law and shall be accorded protection before the law." Without equal access to the law there can be no equality before it. The obligation of the United Nations to hear the complaint establishes the obligation of the United States to submit to the proceedings and further involves the obligation of the United States to permit the affiant the means of travel in order to make such complaint.

Wherefore affiant requests that a passport be issued to him immediately for the express purpose of traveling to Paris to make such complaint as herein stated.

Swern and subscribed to)
before me this day)
of 1951)

Paul Robeson

BRIEF FOR APPELLANT AND JOINT APPENDIX

United States Court of Appeals

For The District of Columbia Circuit

No. 11030

PAUL ROBESON, *Appellant*

v.

DEAN ACHESON, *Appellee.*

Appeal from the United States District Court for the District of Columbia

Cobb, Howard & Hayes
By James A. Cobb
George E. C. Hayes
613 F Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Parker & Parker
By George A. Parker
Barrington D. Parker
1130 Sixth Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Nathan Witt
9 East 40th Street
New York 16, New York
Attorneys for Appellant

Printed by Law Reporter Printing Co., 518 5th St., Wash., D. C.

No. 11,030

STATEMENT OF QUESTIONS PRESENTED

Pursuant to Rule 17 (c) (11)

The questions presented are whether a complaint which alleges that appellee, the Secretary of State, invalidated appellant's passport, refused to issue a new passport to appellant, and subjected appellant to criminal sanctions if he travels abroad without a passport, and which further alleges that such actions deny appellant constitutional rights, presents a justiciable controversy and states a cause of action.

INDEX

PAGE

JURISDICTIONAL STATEMENT 1

STATEMENT OF THE CASE 2

STATEMENT OF POINTS 4

SUMMARY OF ARGUMENT 5

I. THERE IS A JUSTICIABLE CONTROVERSY 6

  A. The Actions of Appellee Are Reviewable 6

  B. In the Exercise of Discretion, Appellee May Not Deny Constitutional Rights 10

II. THE COMPLAINT STATES A CAUSE OF ACTION 15

  A. The Actions of Appellee Have Deprived Appellant of Rights Guaranteed by the First Amendment 15

  B. The Actions of Appellee Have Deprived Appellant of Property in Violation of the Fifth Amendment 16

  C. The Actions of Appellee Have Deprived Appellant of Procedural Due Process in Violation of the Fifth Amendment 16

  D. The Absence of Standards Governing the Actions of Appellee Violates Due Process of Law 18

  E. The Acts of Appellee Violate the Prohibition Against Bills of Attainder and Article I of the Constitution 19

  F. Appellee Has Purported to Exercise Judicial Power in Violation of Article III of the Constitution 19

  G. Appellee Has Deprived Appellant of Fundamental Rights Reserved to the People by the Ninth and Tenth Amendments to the Constitution 20

  H. Insofar as Executive Order No. 7856 Authorizes the Acts of Appellee, Said Executive Order Is Unconstitutional 20

III. CONCLUSION 20

CASES CITED

PAGE

Allgeyer v. Louisiana, 165 U.S. 578, 41 L. Ed. 832 16

Columbia Broadcasting System v. United States, 316 U.S. 407, 86 L. Ed. 1563 7

Douglas v. City of Jeannette, 319 U.S. 157, 87 L. Ed. 1324 15

Douglas v. Edwards, 314 U.S. 160, 86 L. Ed. 119 15

Ex Parte Garland, 4 Wall. (U.S.) 333, 18 L. Ed. 366 19

Ex Parte Robinson, 86 U.S. 505, 22 L. Ed. 205 17

Fleenor v. Hammond, 116 F. (2) 982 (C.C.A. 6th) 12, 17

Glicker v. Michigan Liquor Control Board, 160 F. (2) 96 (C.C.A. 6th) 11

Goldsmith v. Board of Tax Appeals, 270 U.S. 117, 70 L. Ed. 494 17

Hague v. C. I. O., 307 U.S. 496, 83 L. Ed. 1423 15

Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee v. McGrath, National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Inc., et al., v. same, International Workers Order Inc. et al. v. same, 95 L. Ed. 556 (April 30, 1951), — U.S. — 5

Jordan v. American Eagle Fire Insurance Co., 169 Fed. (2) 281 (Ct. Ap. D. C.), 83 U.S. App. D. C. 192 16

Louisville and Nashville Railroad Co., 227 U.S. 86, 57 L. Ed. 431 18

Meyer v. Nebraska, 262 U.S. 390, 67 L. Ed. 1042 16

Ohio Bell Telephone Co. v. Public Utilities Commission of Ohio, 301 U.S. 292, 81 L. Ed. 1093 18

Panama Refining Co. v. Ryan, 293 U.S. 388, 79 L. Ed. 446 19

Perkins v. Elg, 307 U.S. 325, 350, 83 L. Ed. 320 6, 11

Schechter Corp. v. United States, 295 U.S. 495, 79 L. Ed. 1570 19

Thomas v. Collins, 323 U.S. 516, 89 L. Ed. 430 15

Truax v. Raich, 239 U.S. 33, 60 L. Ed. 131 16

United Public Workers v. Mitchell, 330 U.S. 75, 100, 91 L. Ed. 754 6

United Public Workers v. Mitchell, 330 U.S. 75, 91 L. Ed. 754 10

U. S. v. Ju Toy, 198 U.S. 252, 49 L. Ed. 1040 14

United States v. Lovett, 328 U.S. 303, 90 L. Ed. 1252 19

United States v. Rock Royal Co-Operative, 307 U.S. 533, 574, 83 L. Ed. 1446 18

W. Va. State Board of Education v. Barnette, 319 U.S. 624, 87 L. Ed. 1628 15

United States Court of Appeals

For The District of Columbia Circuit

No. 11030

PAUL ROBESON, *Appellant*

v.

DEAN ACHESON, *Appellee.*

Appeal from the United States District Court for the District of Columbia

BRIEF FOR APPELLANT

JURISDICTIONAL STATEMENT

This is an appeal from a judgment of the United States District Court for the District of Columbia dismissing the complaint of appellant, plaintiff below (C.A. No. 5500-50).

Jurisdiction below was based on Sections 11-301, 11-305, and 11-306 of the District of Columbia Code, 5 U.S.C., Section 1009 (Section 10 of the Administrative Procedure Act), 28 U.S.C., Section 1331, and 28 U.S.C., Sections 2201 and 2202 (the Declaratory Judgment Act). Jurisdiction was also based on Articles I and III, and the First, Fifth, Ninth and Tenth Amendments to the Constitution of the United States.

STATEMENT OF THE CASE

On December 19, 1950, appellant filed a complaint for an injunction and declaratory judgment against the Secretary of State. The complaint was dismissed on motion of appellee, defendant below, by order filed April 20, 1951.

In his complaint, appellant alleged that he is a citizen of the United States, and that he derives his income entirely from the practice of his profession as a singer and an actor. Appellant has practiced his profession in Europe and elsewhere as well as in the United States and a substantial part of his income is normally derived from performances outside the United States.

Appellant has continuously since 1922 applied for and been granted passports by the Department of State and at the time of the actions of appellee complained of in the complaint, appellant held a passport which was valid until January 25, 1951.

Appellant has also for many years been active as a speaker, organizer and participant in political and other activities, particularly insofar as Negroes are concerned. Since 1941 appellant has been Chairman of the Council on African Affairs, Inc. which exists for the purpose of studying the conditions of life and work in Africa and for promoting the welfare of the African people. Since 1948 appellant has been one of the Co-Chairmen of the Progressive Party. Appellant has otherwise been continually active as a singer, speaker and participant at meetings, conferences and conventions all over the world.

The complaint also alleges that appellant is a loyal native-born American citizen who has won respect and recognition throughout the world for his achievements as an artist and for his activities on behalf of the Negroes and working classes throughout the world.

At the time of appellee's acts complained of in the complaint, appellant had made and completed arrangements for a trip to Europe for the purpose of attending several meetings and to fulfill several speaking engagements in several countries. In addition, appellant had arranged to give several concerts in Italy and the British Isles and had also planned while in Europe to record several phonographic records for fees and royalties. In addition, appellant had planned while in Europe to make arrangements for dramatic appearances and concerts to take place during the fall of 1950, the winter of 1950-1951, and the spring of 1951. The fees, royalties and remuneration appellant would have received as a result of such professional and artistic activities would have been large and remunerative, and much in excess of $3,000.

The complaint alleges that appellee demanded orally, through his agents, that appellant surrender the valid passport then in his possession, giving no reason therefor. Persistent efforts by appellant thereafter to secure an explanation from appellee were unsuccessful, being met only with a statement that the Department of State "considers that Paul Robeson's travel abroad at this time would be contrary to the best interests of the United States". However, at a conference between appellant and his attorneys and representatives of the State Department, the latter advised appellant and his attorneys that the basis for the acts of appellee was that appellee disapproves of appellant's political thoughts, opinions, ideas and associations. At such conference, appellant and his attorneys were also advised that the Department of State had no provision for hearings or appeals of any kind in matters of this nature.

The complaint further alleges, upon information and belief, that appellee had taken steps pursuant to Section 53.5 of Title 22 of the Code of Federal Regulations to prevent appellant's departure from the United States. Appellee had also officially invalidated appellant's then valid passport and in view thereof appellant's departure or attempted departure from the United States would subject appellant to the criminal sanctions provided by 22 U.S.C., Section 225.

As a result of the acts of appellee, appellant was compelled to cancel his plans to travel abroad and was also compelled to abandon plans for such future travel. In consequence, appellant has not only been deprived of rights guaranteed by the First Amendment, but has also suffered loss of fees and royalties amounting to much more than $3,000 and will continue to suffer loss in excess of $3,000 annually unless the obstructions set up by appellee are removed.

The complaint also alleges that the acts of appellee were and are motivated by appellee's disapproval and disagreement of appellant's political thoughts, views, opinions, activities and associations. The complaint also alleges that the acts of appellee were and are also motivated by the facts that appellant is a Negro and a spokesman for large sections of the Negro people and that appellant is also a spokesman for other minority groups and for the working men and women of the United States.

The complaint denies that appellant's travel abroad would be contrary to the best interests of the United States.

The complaint alleges that the actions of appellee were unconstitutional as violating the First, Fifth, Ninth and Tenth Amendments to the Constitution, as constituting a bill of attainder in violation of Article I, Sections 9 of the Constitution, and as violating Article III of the Constitution. The complaint also alleges that insofar as Executive Order No. 7856 authorizes such actions of appellee, said Executive Order is unconstitutional for the same reasons.

STATEMENT OF POINTS

The District Court was in error in dismissing the complaint since the complaint sets forth a claim upon which relief can, and should have been, granted.

SUMMARY OF ARGUMENT

Since there was jurisdiction, the only basis for the dismissal of the complaint was that it fails to state a cause of action.

There are only two arguments to support the conclusion that a cause of action is not stated. These arguments are set forth in appellee's memorandum in the District Court in support of the motion to dismiss. The first is that the issue of a passport is entirely within the foreign affairs function of this Department and, accordingly, not subject to review by the judiciary. The second argument is that "the granting or refusal of a passport is discretionary".

Since it can scarcely be denied that the complaint alleges injury to appellant, it is necessary only to answer the two arguments just summarized to dispose of the conclusion that the injury is not *legal* injury which the courts will redress.

It seems clear that the "no justiciable controversy" argument is now disposed of by the recent decision of the Supreme Court in the three cases concerning the authority of the Attorney General to list organizations pursuant to Executive Order No. 9835 (*Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee* v. *McGrath, National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Inc., et al* v. *same, International Workers Order Inc. et al* v. *same,* — U.S. —, 95 L. Ed. 556 (April 30, 1951)), decided following the judgment of the District Court in this case. If the mere listing by the Attorney General of an organization as Communist or subversive without hearing is an arbitrary and unauthorized act which the judiciary may review, and if such listing does legal injury to such an organization, then a fortiori there is legal injury to appellant here. Here we do not have a mere administrative act which does not require appellant to do something or to refrain from doing something. Here we have a direct injury—invalidation of appellant's passport and a prohibition against his travel under pain of criminal sanctions.

As far as the argument of absolute discretion is concerned, it rests principally on the dictum in *Perkins* v. *Elg,* 307 U.S. 325, 350, 83 L. Ed. 320, that the Secretary of State has discretion with respect to the issuance of a passport. The fact is that in that very case the Court reviewed and reversed the Secretary's finding that the petitioner was not a citizen. And as far as the dictum is concerned, we do not believe that discretion includes discretion to deny appellant a passport and the right to travel because of disapproval of his political opinions or because appellant is a Negro. "None would deny," the Supreme Court has said, that Congress may not "enact a regulation providing that no Republican, Jew or Negro shall be appointed to federal office, or that no federal employee shall attend Mass or take any active part in missionary work." *United Public Workers* v. *Mitchell,* 330 U.S. 75, 100, 91 L. Ed. 754. If Congress and the Executive in the exercise of their authority over federal employment may not deny employment on such grounds, then Congress and the Executive may not deny passports and forbid travel on such or similar grounds.

If there has been legal injury and if appellee in the exercise of his discretion may not violate appellant's constitutional rights, the existence of a cause of action seems not to be disputed and it is unnecessary to summarize the remainder of the argument.

I.

THERE IS A JUSTICIABLE CONTROVERSY

A. The Actions of Appellee Are Reviewable.

In his memorandum below, appellee argues that:

> "Since an American passport is actually a formal request by the Secretary of State to the authorities of foreign states to permit the bearer thereof to pass safely and freely and to give him all lawful aid and protection, the issue of a passport is entirely within the

> foreign affairs function of this Department and, accordingly, not subject to review by the judiciary."

It is difficult to tell from this ambiguous statement whether appellee is arguing: (1) that since a passport is no more than a request to the authorities of foreign states, appellant is not affected by the refusal or invalidation of a passport, or (2) that even though appellant is injured, judicial review is not available because the matter "is entirely within the foreign affairs function" of the Department of State.

If the first construction of this argument is what is intended by it, the argument has now been answered by the decision in the *McGrath* cases, supra. "The touchstone to justiciability is injury to a legally protected right . . . ," said Mr. Justice Burton in the main opinion, (95 L. ed. at 570). It matters now then *how* the injury is inflicted. If injury is inflicted merely by listing an organization as Communist or subversive, as in the *McGrath* cases, then it certainly is inflicted by making it legally impossible for appellant to travel in the exercise of his First Amendment rights and his right under the Fifth Amendment to earn his living by practicing his profession. If it is legal injury to a charitable organization like the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, to an educational and cultural organization like the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Inc., to a fraternal benefit society like the International Workers Order, Inc. to list them as subversive or Communist, then it is certainly legal injury to take action which makes it impossible for appellant to exercise his rights under the First and Fifth Amendments except on pain of criminal penalties.

In view of the decision in the *McGrath* cases, it has become superfluous to cite or discuss the earlier cases supporting the same conclusion, like *Columbia Broadcasting System* v. *United States,* 316 U.S. 407, 86 L. Ed. 1563, and the other similar cases cited in the opinions of Mr. Justice Burton and Mr. Justice Frankfurter.

It may be, although we do not concede, that in the absence of making it a crime for appellant to depart the country without a passport (22 U.S.C., Section 225), the refusal or invalidation of a passport by appellee would be no more than a refusal to request foreign governments to extend their courtesies and protection to appellant. However that may be, appellee himself draws attention to such regulations.

The granting of a passport then is not a mere request to foreign authorities. It is in effect a license to travel. The denial of a passport then is not a mere denial of a request to foreign authorities. It is in effect the denial of a license to travel.

How then is it possible to say that appellee's action in granting or denying a passport is merely an executive or ministerial function which does not affect appellant?

The fact of the matter is that it is scarcely possible to imagine more damaging injuries than those inflicted on appellant. He has been denied the right to practice his profession anywhere in the world except in the United States. (Of course the legal and extra-legal limitations on appellant's right to practice his provision *in* the United States arising from the current political hysteria is not involved in this case). He has been denied the right to exercise his freedom under the First Amendment as an American citizen anywhere in the world except in the United States. (Of course the legal and extra-legal limitations on appellant's right to exercise such freedoms *in* the United States arising from the current political hysteria are also not involved in this case). He has been denied the right to travel anywhere in the world except in the United States. (Of course the legal and extra-legal limitations on appellant's right to travel *in* the United States arising from the current political hysteria are also not involved in this case.)

What appellee has accomplished then is the actual confinement of appellant, confinement within the boundaries of the continental United States, but confinement none the less. If appellant moves outside those boundaries, he faces five years of conventional imprisonment in a Federal penitentiary plus a fine of Five Thousand ($5,000.) Dollars. This in effect is arrest without warrant and conviction without charge.

In light of this situation, is the denial of a passport merely a refusal to give appellant a letter of introduction, so to speak, to foreign authorities?

The case is no different when we examine the argument that there is something sacrosanct about the "foreign affairs function" of the Department of State. In order to support this argument, appellee in fact has to rely on 22 U.S.C., Sections 223 and 224, violations of which are punishable under Section 225. Such regulations, says appellee, are "necessary and vital to the preservation of the security of this country." "The plain purpose of Sections 223 and 224 of Title 22, U.S.C. is to prevent the departure from the United States of persons whose presence and activities abroad would be prejudicial to the interests of the United States, and the regulations promulgated thereunder were designed to effectuate that purpose" (ibid).

How can such arguments stand up in light of the allegations of the complaint (admitted to be true by the motion to dismiss (see the *McGrath* cases, 95 L. ed. at 562)) that appellant is a loyal American; that his travels abroad were intended for the purposes of earning a living and to exercise First Amendment rights; that appellee's actions were motivated by the fact that appellant is a Negro; that appellee's agents indicated appellee was being prevented from travelling abroad because appellee disapproves of appellant's views and opinions; and that appellant was not accorded a hearing?

Here as in the *McGrath* cases there is "administrative discretion—run riot'' (95 L. ed. at 568). Here as in the *McGrath* cases appellee's position is sound only if this is a government of men and not of laws (95 L. ed. 567). Here even more than in the *McGrath* cases is arbitrary action by the executive. It is the constitutional responsibility of the judiciary to review such action.

B. In the Exercise of Discretion, Appellee May Not Deny Constitutional Rights.

This case does not rest on the proposition that appellee, the Secretary of State, does not have discretion with respect to the issuance of passports. Since it is self-evident that he has and must have such discretion, such a proposition would be untenable.

Appellant's argument is not therefore that appellee has no discretion but that in exercising such discretion appellee is, at least, bound by the ''reasonable regulation'' rule of the *United Public Workers* v. *Mitchell,* supra. The discretion must be exercised in light of the purposes for which the authority to exercise discretion is granted and it must be exercised without the denial of rights without justification.

Would appellee argue for example that he has the right, in the exercise of his discretion, to deny a passport to a citizen whose import business requires his travelling to Europe, simply because appellee has a purely private grudge against that citizen? Would the courts say that a complaint so alleging falls before a motion to dismiss, that such action by appellee is unreviewable? Would the courts say in other words that appellee has the right to destroy a man's business for purely ulterior motives simply because appellee has discretion in issuing passports?

This case is stronger. This complaint alleges not merely that appellee has a purely personal grudge against appellant. This complaint alleges that appellant has had his passport invalidated and has been forbidden to travel because he is a Negro and because appellee disagrees with appellant's political views, opinions, and associations. And this complaint alleges not only that appellant has been deprived of opportunities for substantial income from his profession but also his right to free speech, association, and thought.

To argue that the dictum in *Perkins* v. *Elg,* supra, justifies discretion of this character is superficial indeed. In that very case, the argument was made that even the Secretary's finding that the applicant for the passport was not a citizen was not reviewable. But the Supreme Court did review it, then reversed the finding. The case therefore if anything is authority for the proposition that the Secretary's discretion is not absolute and unreviewable.

As far as the dictum in *Perkins* v. *Elg* is concerned, it states no more than the obvious principle that the Secretary has discretion. It does not approve the unlimited exercise of discretion and it certainly does not approve the exercise of discretion for patently unconstitutional reasons.

In this sense, the case is the same as the *Mitchell* case, supra. In upholding the regulation of partisan political activities of federal employees, the Court said that it is self-evident, or in the language of the opinion, that no one would deny, that although Congress may impose such regulation, it could not deny federal employment because of political or religious beliefs or affiliations. So here. Appellee has been given authority to regulate the issuance of passport but such authority is not unlimited, such authority may not be exercised to deny appellant a passport because he is a Negro and because appellant does not support appellee's policies.

The principle that executive regulation has some limits even where discretion is very broad is well-established. Thus, in *Glicker* v. *Michigan Liquor Control Board,* 160 F. (2) 96 (C.C.A. 6th), it was held that despite the broad power of a state over the liquor business, the state may not revoke a liquor license because of political prejudice against the licensee. Similarly in *Fleenor* v. *Hammond,* 116 F. (2) 982 (C.C.A. 6th), the Court said that although the granting of a pardon is an act of grace to which the Governor may attach conditions, the pardon may not be revoked arbitrarily or upon whim, caprice, or rumor.

The *Fleenor* case also points up the distinction between the original grant of a right, on the one hand, and the deprivation of a right once granted.

In the recently decided case in this jurisdiction of In the Matter of John W. Carter, No. 10504, United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia, decided Jan. 18, 1951, in treating of the refusal of the District Court, through one of its Judges, to renew one of the bondsman's license, the Court said, in its majority opinion:

> "* * * The court did not put the report in the record or even disclose its contents to counsel but 'placed it in a sealed envelope, not to be opened.' Six months later the court denied appellant's application. On appeal we held the revocation invalid for lack of a 'hearing and revelation of all data upon which a decision is to be based.' We held that *whatever might be true of the grant of the right to engage in the bonding business, 'the deprivation of that right, once granted, is a judicial act, requiring due process of law.'* " (Italics ours.)

And again in the Carter case above quoted from, we find this language:

> "We do not imply that in our opinion the appealed order would be valid if it were administrative. Like the order involved in Carter's previous appeal, if it were upheld it would destroy an established business. We do not imply that in our opinion a purely administrative refusal to renew, or to grant, a license to do a lawful business could be supported if based on arbitrary grounds or made without such a 'hearing and opportunity to answer * * * as would constitute due process.' "

Upon application of the Solicitor General, a rehearing in banc (seven (7) Judges sitting) was granted in the case just referred to and here again the cause was refused and remanded by a majority opinion. In a concurring opinion by Judge Wilbur K. Miller, the proposition here urged by us was dealt with at length and without equivocation. We quote a part of the pertinent language:

> "It follows that the 'key and controlling fact in the situation' is the same as it was on the first appeal:
>
> ". . . Carter had an authorization. He was engaged in business. The action of the court was *not to deny him something he was seeking; it was to deprive him of something which he had.*" (Italics ours.)
>
> Upon the basis of that controlling fact, we said in the first Carter opinion, 'the deprivation of that right (to engage in the bonding business), once granted, is a judicial act, requiring due process of law.' That is still true, in my opinion. And it is true, whether the deprivation be by revocation of the right or by denial of an extension of its term.
>
> The principle just stated protects the individual in his personal rights and works no harm to the public interest. For, if evidence subsequently obtained tends to indicate that the court erroneously and improvidently determined a bondsman to be qualified in the first instance, or if an originally well qualified bondsman becomes disqualified, the court may deny him the right to continue either by revoking his current authority or by refusing to renew it. But, in either event, the determination that he is unworthy to retain his valuable property right is the exercise of a judicial function which must be preceded by a due process hearing."

The analogy to the instant case is striking, and we submit, controlling. There can be no question but that the appellant, Robeson, had a property right in the passport granted him and by reason of same had undertaken to and had entered into contracts in foreign countries which would have entitled him to large and remunerative fees and royalties, and which were and are as a matter of fact his source and means of livelihood. If the action taken by the court in the Carter case in determining that he was unworthy to retain his property right as a bondsman was the exercise of a judicial function which should be preceded by a due process hearing, certain it is that any arbitrary determinations by the Secretary of State deserved likewise to be preceded by a proper due process hearing. In the instant case there was no hearing granted. The facts as disclosed were that the plaintiff sought a hearing which was denied; subsequently thereto, the State Department granted an informal discussion to the plaintiff and counsel, at which hearing the representatives of the State Department refused to disclose the charges or to give any reason for the cancellation of the plaintiff's passport; taking the position that the Secretary of State had the right to withdraw or cancel the plaintiff's passport without giving any reasons therefor. If the plaintiff was entitled to a hearing, as we contend, he had the right to have a real hearing, in consonance with due process. Due process of necessity in our jurisprudence requires three (3) steps: (1) regular allegations, (2) an opportunity to be heard; and (3) a judgment after hearing in consonance with the proceedings in the jurisdiction in which the hearing is had. In other words, it is to be in keeping with what is commonly called "the law of the land." Any other proceedings or process would simply be star chamber proceedings, as denominated by the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of *U.S.* v. *Ju Toy,* 198 U.S. 1040, 49 L. Ed. 1040.

Here also the fundamental issue is whether this is a government of laws or a government of men. When appellee argues that his discretion is absolute, he argues that it is a government of men. If this is a government of laws, then appellee had no power to deprive appellant of First and Fifth Amendment rights without justification.

II.

THE COMPLAINT STATES A CAUSE OF ACTION.

Although appellee relies entirely on the "no justiciable controversy" argument and seems to concede that if there is such a controversy the complaint states a cause of action, we set forth here the elements of the cause of action as alleged in the complaint.

A. The Actions of Appellee Have Deprived Appellant of Rights Guaranteed by the First Amendment.

The complaint alleges deprivation of First Amendment rights. The unreasonable denial of an opportunity to appellant to exercise his rights of free speech, free association, and free assembly violates the First Amendment of the Constitution of the United States. See: *Hague* v. *C.I.O.*, 307 U.S. 496, 83 L. Ed. 1423; *Douglas* v. *City of Jeannette*, 319 U.S. 157, 87 L. Ed. 1324; *W. Va. State Board of Education* v. *Barnette*, 319 U.S. 624, 87 L. Ed. 1628; and *Thomas* v. *Collins*, 323 U.S. 516, 89 L. Ed. 430.

The right to travel freely is both a property right and a right incident to the exercise of the rights vouchsafed by the First Amendment. In the case of *Douglas* v. *Edwards*, 314 U.S. 160, 86 L. Ed. 119, Mr. Justice Douglas said, in his concurring opinion:

> "The conclusion that the right of free movement is a right of *national* citizenship stands on firm historical ground. If a state tax on that movement, as in the Crandall case, is invalid, a fortiori a state statute which obstructs or in substance prevents that movement must fall. That result necessarily follows unless perchance a State can curtail the right of free movement of those who are poor or destitute. But to allow such an exception to be engrafted on the rights of *national* citizenship would be to contravene every conception of national unity. It would also introduce a caste system utterly incompatible with the spirit of our system of government. It would permit those who were stigma-

> tized by a State as indigents, paupers, or vagabonds to be relegated to an inferior class of citizenship. It would prevent a citizen because he was poor from seeking new horizons in other States. It might thus withhold from large segments of our people that mobility which is basic to any guarantee of freedom of opportunity. The result would be a substantial dilution of the rights of *national* citizenship, a serious impairment of the principles of equality." at 181).

In his concurring opinion in the same case, Mr. Justice Jackson said:

> "This Court should, however, hold squarely that it is a privilege of citizenship of the United States, protected from state abridgment, to enter any state of the Union either for temporary sojourn or for the establishment of permanent residence therein and for gaining resultant citizenship thereof. If national citizenship means less than this, it means nothing." (at 181).

B. The Actions of Appellee Have Deprived Appellant of Property in Violation of the Fifth Amendment.

The complaint also alleges deprivation of property rights in violation of the Fifth Amendment. To deprive appellant of his right to earn a living is the plainest deprivation of property without due process of law. *Allgeyer* v. *Louisiana,* 165 U.S. 578, 41 L. Ed. 832; *Truax* v. *Raich,* 239 U.S. 33, 60 L. Ed. 131; *Meyer* v. *Nebraska,* 262 U.S. 390, 67 L. Ed. 1042; *Jordan* v. *American Eagle Fire Insurance Co.,* 169 Fed. (2) 281, 83 U.S. App. (D.C.) 192.

C. The Actions of Appellee Have Deprived Appellant of Procedural Due Process in Violation of the Fifth Amendment.

The complaint also alleges deprivation of procedural due process in violation of the Fifth Amendment. Even if the grant of a passport be considered a privilege, denial or revocation of a passport without hearing or opportunity to be heard violates procedural due process of law. In *Ex parte Robinson,* 86 U.S. 505, 22 L. Ed. 205, the Court said:

> "The principle that there must be citation before hearing, and hearing or opportunity of being heard before judgment, is essential to the security of all private rights. Without its observance no one would be safe from oppression wherever power may be lodged." (at 512).
>
> See also: *Goldsmith* v. *Board of Tax Appeals,* 270 U.S. 117, 70 L. Ed. 494; *Fleenor* v. *Hammond,* supra.

The violation of appellant's procedural rights is emphasized in 51 Yale L.J. 1093 (1942) under the heading "The Requirement of Opportunity to be Heard in the Administrative Process", as follows:

> "Even the Government is regarded as a donor (which many question) still it is a Government, and a Government should follow fair methods". (note 114, p. 1122). " . . . when the decision involves disputed factions concerning an individual—his qualifications or circumstances of past conduct—that individual normally should be given a chance to know the evidence adverse to his interest and to meet it with evidence and argument" (p. 1123).

Appellee's memorandum in the District Court serves to emphasize the dangers which flow from the refusal of a hearing. Instead of facing the issue squarely, as he should on a motion to dismiss, appellee intimates that his actions in this case flow from the fact that appellant may have had "subversive reasons" for desiring to go abroad and therefore his presence abroad would be "a menace to the security of this country". Such intimations have no place in this case, in which the complaint alleges (and the motion to dismiss admits), that appellant is loyal and wishes to travel abroad to earn his living and to engage in political activities guaranteed by the First Amendment. In any event, these intimations serve to emphasize why a hearing is required by the Constitution. It is because the denial of a hearing thus opens the door to "whim, caprice, or rumor." *Fleenor* v. *Hammond*, supra. Cf. the *McGrath* cases, supra.

Jordan v. *American Eagle Fire Insurance Company*, supra, decided by this Court, is only one of a host of cases standing for the proposition that even where the government has undoubted power to regulate, the procedural requirements of the due process clause are applicable. See also *Louisville and Nashville Railroad Co.*, 227 U.S. 86, 57 L. Ed. 431; *Ohio Bell Telephone Co.* v. *Public Utilities Commission of Ohio*, 301 U.S. 292, 81 L. Ed. 1093.

D. **The Absence of Standards Governing the Actions of Appellee Violates Due Process of Law.**

The regulations authorizing appellee to refuse to issue a passport contain no standards of any kind (22 CFR, Sec. 51.75). The Secretary of State is merely authorized to refuse to issue passports, to restrict their use, and to withdraw or cancel them.

The Department of State has officially taken the position (in fact takes such a position in this case) that the authority of the Secretary of State under such regulations is unlimited. Thus the present Chief of the Passport Bureau is quoted in an official publication of the Department of State as having written:

> "The Secretary of State has the right in his discretion to refuse to issue a passport or to withdraw a passport previously issued and will and does exercise this right toward any one who he has reason to believe desires an American passport or has used such a document to further an unlawful or improper purpose." (3 Hackworth 'Digest of International Law' 470).

Even where Congress has attempted to provide standards for the exercise of administrative or executive discretion, the Supreme Court has held the legislation involved an unlawful delegation if the standards are too loose, broad, ambiguous, or not well-defined. See: *United States* v. *Rock*

Royal Co-Operative, 307 U.S. 533, 574, 83 L. Ed. 1446; *Schechter Corp.* v. *United States*, 295 U.S. 495, 79 L. Ed. 1570; *Panama Refining Co.* v. *Ryan*, 293 U.S. 388, 79 L. Ed. 446.

E. The Acts of Appellee Violate the Prohibition Against Bills of Attainder and Article I of the Constitution.

An act of Congress which punishes or authorizes punishment without trial is a bill of attainder. *Ex Parte Garland*, 4 Wall. (U.S.) 333, 18 L. Ed. 366; *United States* v. *Lovett*, 328 U.S. 303, 90 L. Ed. 1252.

Appellee's authority to grant or refuse passports is conferred by congressional statute (22 U.S.C., Sec. 211), as is the ancillary power to prevent a citizen from leaving the country (22 U.S.C., Sec. 223). Since appellee's actions were taken pursuant to these statutes, they constitute a bill of attainder if they result in punishment without trial.

The denial of a passport to appellant is punishment. The complaint alleges that such denial has seriously impaired his opportunity for earning a living and has deprived him of rights under the First Amendment. The Supreme Court has said that this is punishment, especially where the necessary effect under contemporary circumstances is to stigmatize appellant's reputation: "Were this case to be not justiciable, Congressional action, aimed at three named individuals, which stigmatize their reputations and seriously impair their chance to earn a living, could never be challenged in any court. Our Constitution did not contemplate such a result." (*United States* v. *Lovett*, supra, at p. 314.)

F. Appellee Has Purported to Exercise Judicial Power in Violation of Article III of the Constitution.

The argument just made that the acts of appellee constitute a bill of attainder also support the conclusion that appellee has purported to exercise judicial power. The exercise of such power by the executive violates Article III of the Constitution.

G. Appellee Has Deprived Appellant of Fundamental Rights Reserved to the People by the Ninth and Tenth Amendments to the Constitution.

Since the Constitution nowhere grants appellee the power or authority to deprive appellant of his property rights and his rights as a citizen, appellee has deprived appellant of fundamental rights guaranteed by the Ninth and Tenth Amendments.

H. Insofar as Executive Order No. 7856 Authorizes the Acts of Appellee, Said Executive Order Is Unconstitutional.

For the reasons above set forth, relating to the acts of appellee, Executive Order No. 7856 is similarly unconstitutional.

III.

CONCLUSION.

The judgment of the Court below should be reversed and the motion to dismiss denied.

Respectfully submitted,

Cobb, Howard & Hayes
By James A. Cobb
George E. C. Hayes
613 F Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.
Parker & Parker
By George A. Parker
Barrington D. Parker
1130 Sixth Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.
Nathan Witt
9 East 40th Street
New York 16, New York
Attorneys for Appellant

APPENDIX

In The

United States Court of Appeals

For the District of Columbia Circuit

No. 11,030

PAUL ROBESON,
Plaintiff

v.

DEAN G. ACHESON,
Defendant

JOINT APPENDIX

INDEX TO APPENDIX

PAGE

Complaint for a Declaratory Judgment and Injunction 1

Plaintiff's Exhibit "A" 12

Plaintiff's Exhibit "B" 13

Plaintiff's Exhibit "C" 14

Plaintiff's Exhibit "D" 15

Plaintiff's Exhibit "E" 16

Motion to Dismiss 16

Motion to Compel Return of Passport 17

Order 17

Notice of Appeal 17

1 Filed Dec. 19, 1950. Harry M. Hull, Clerk

* * * * * * * * * *

COMPLAINT FOR A DECLARATORY JUDGMENT AND INJUNCTION

Plaintiff, Paul Robeson, respectively shows to this Honorable Court:

1. This is a suit of a civil nature for a declaratory judgment and injunction. This suit arises under the Constitution and laws of the United States, and is brought to redress and prevent the deprivation, under color of alleged authority, of rights, privileges and immunities secured under the Constitution and laws of the United States, including Articles I and III, and Amendments I, V, IX and X of the Constitution, all as hereinafter more fully appears.

The matter in controversy exceeds the value of Three Thousand Dollars ($3,000.00), exclusive of interest and costs. This Court has jurisdiction under Sections 11-301, 11-305 and 11-306 of the District of Columbia Code, 5 U.S.C., Section 1009, and 28 U.S.C., Sections 1331, 2201 and 2202. Jurisdiction is also based on Articles I and III, and Amendments I, V, IX and X of the Constitution of the United States.

2. Plaintiff is a citizen of the United States and a resident of the State of New York, and brings this suit in his own right.

3. Defendant Dean G. Acheson is Secretary of State of the United States, and is sued individually and in his representative capacity.

2 4. Plaintiff is by profession an artist, specializing in singing and acting, and has been such for more than twenty-five years and derives his income entirely from the practice of his profession. Plaintiff has practiced his profession not only in the United States, but in Europe and

other parts of the world, and a substantial part of his income is, has been and normally would be derived from concerts and appearances in Europe and in other parts of the world.

In connection with his trips to Europe and elsewhere outside the United States, plaintiff has continuously, since 1922 applied for and been granted passports by the Department of State of the United States. Plaintiff presently holds a passport, bearing number 58303, which was issued on May 8, 1947 for a period of two (2) years, which was thereafter renewed for a period to January 25, 1951, and which would therefore otherwise be valid except for the acts of defendant hereinafter complained of.

Plaintiff's right to engage in his profession outside of the United States as well as within the United States is a property right, and as such is protected against interference or deprivation by the Federal government or any officer, agent, or agency thereof, without due process of law as guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States and particularly the Fifth Amendment thereof.

Plaintiff, in addition to his profession as an artist, for many years has been active as a speaker, organizer and participant in political and other activities looking toward the advancement of the welfare of the American people, particularly of the fifteen million (15,000,000) Negro Americans, other minorities, and of working men and women; the welfare and independence of colonial peoples, no matter what their race, creed or color; and the advancement and preservation of peace in the world. Plaintiff has a national and an international reputation as a spokesman for large sections of the Negro people, for other minorities, and for the working men and women of the United States; 3 and is particularly recognized as an opponent of all forms of discrimination based on race, creed, or color.

Plaintiff is and since 1941 has been chairman of the Council on African Affairs, Inc., an organization formed in said year under the laws of the State of New York for the purpose of studying the conditions of life and work in Africa, publicizing information concerning such conditions among the American people, and promoting the welfare of the African people. Plaintiff is and since 1948 has been one of the co-chairmen of the Progressive Party, a political party formed in that year with a program reflecting principally the needs of the Negro and working people of the United States, the elimination of discrimination, improvement of standards of living, and the preservation of peace by friendship and co-operation through the United Nations. Plaintiff is and has been outspoken in the defense and extension of the civil rights and constitutional liberties of the American people. In connection with his activities and affiliations and in connection with related activities, plaintiff has appeared as a singer, speaker and participant at meetings, conferences, and conventions in all parts of the United States and in foreign countries.

For the purpose of meeting and engaging in discussions with individuals, associations and groups both in the United States and elsewhere with interests, purposes and objectives similar to those of plaintiff herein set forth, plaintiff has exercised and does exercise his right to travel freely, and his rights of freedom of speech, thought, assembly, petition, and association. Plaintiff has regularly attended and normally would regularly attend numerous such meetings during any given period, including public meetings, conferences, conventions and executive board and similar smaller meetings and conferences throughout the United States, Europe and other parts of the world. The activities of plaintiff as set forth herein involve the exercise by plaintiff of rights guaranteed by the First Amendment of the Constitution of the United States, and particularly the right to travel freely and the rights of freedom of speech, thought, assembly, petition and association.

4 Plaintiff is a loyal, native-born American citizen,

and by reason of his ability and achievements has deservedly won for himself the respect and recognition throughout the world not only as one of the great living Americans, but also as one of the world's leading personalities. In all of his public activities, as hereinbefore set forth, plaintiff's objectives have been those set forth in the preamble to the Constitution of the United States, to wit, to promote the general welfare and to secure the blessings of liberty, and particularly to vindicate and effectuate the rights guaranteed by the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments of the Constitution of the United States and the rights set forth in the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

At the time of and immediately before the events hereinafter described plaintiff had made and completed arrangements for a trip to Europe to attend several meetings and to fulfill several speaking engagements at Prague, Czecho-Slovakia and Nice, France and for the purpose of making a speaking and singing tour of Scandinavia and of giving several concerts in Italy and the British Isles. While in said cities and countries plaintiff also planned to record several phonographic records for fees and royalties; planned to complete arrangements for his appearance in a motion picture to be made thereafter in Europe; and planned to arrange for his appearance in "Othello" in London and elsewhere in the British Isles during the fall of 1950 and winter of 1950-51 and to arrange for a concert tour of the British Isles, Scandinavia, France, Israel and other countries during the winter of 1950-51 and the spring of 1951. The fees, royalties, and remuneration plaintiff would have received as a result of such professional and artistic activities would have been large and remunerative, and much in excess of Three Thousand Dollars ($3,000.00).

Any interference with plaintiff's right to a passport and plaintiff's possession of a passport, and any interference with plaintiff's right to travel, interferes with plaintiff's

rights as a citizen and as a person practicing a profes-
5 sion for remuneration, and denies plaintiff due process of law as guaranteed by the Fifth Amendment of the Constitution of the United States.

5. Plaintiff avers that the defendant, under the purported authority of the Department of State, through agents designated for that purpose, at first orally unlawfully, and in violation of plaintiff's constitutional rights, demanded of the plaintiff the surrender of the passport in his possession, giving no reason whatsoever therefor. After a verbal refusal to comply without a valid reason being given for the request, plaintiff, through counsel, sought to obtain from the defendant an explanation of the unwarranted request being made of him, as will be evidenced by reference had to a letter to the defendant dated August 1, 1950 a copy of which is attached hereto, marked Exhibit "A", and prayed to be considered as a part hereof. Thereafter, and without further information to the plaintiff and as of August 4, 1950, the defendant authorized publication in the public press and gave national circulation to the statement that the Department of State had invalidated plaintiff's passport and had requested plaintiff to surrender same. Thereupon plaintiff, through his counsel, addressed a telegram to the defendant, seeking a discussion of the matter and protesting the arbitrary cancellation of plaintiff's passport, a copy of which telegram is attached hereto, marked Exhibit "B" and prayed to be considered as a part hereof. Then, and in answer to the letter to defendant from plaintiff's counsel hereinbefore referred to, and with a purported detail of the authority under which the defendant was acting, defendant had a letter sent to plaintiff's counsel, a copy of which is attached hereto marked Exhibit "C" and prayed to be considered as part hereof. This letter, among other things, explained the defendant's action in the following language:

> "The action was taken because the Department considers that Paul Robeson's travel abroad at this time

would be contrary to the best interests of the United States."

Protesting against this unsatisfactory conclusion of the defendant and those acting under him, the plaintiff, through counsel, again requested a meeting to discuss the mat- 6 ter as is shown by reference had to a letter dated August 11, 1950, addressed to Mrs. R. B. Shipley, Chief, Passport Division, Department of State, a copy of which is attached hereto and prayed to be considered as a part hereof, marked Exhibit "D". The letter of response, dated August 17, 1950 and addressed to plaintiff's counsel, marked Exhibit "E", attached hereto and prayed to be considered as a part hereof, discounted the advantage of any conference on the matter, but suggested that a conference might be had in Washington, D. C., with some officer of the Passport Division, acting on behalf of the defendant in his representative capacity.

Pursuant to said letter plaintiff and his attorneys met with representatives of the State Department in Washington, District of Columbia on August 23, 1950, at which time said duly authorized representative of the State Department advised plaintiff and his attorneys that the basis for the acts hereinabove set forth is that defendant disapproves of the political thoughts, opinions, and ideas theretofore expressed by plaintiff at meetings outside the United States and plaintiff's associations outside the United States with individuals, associations, and groups having similar political thoughts, opinions, and ideas; and said representative advised plaintiff and his attorneys that the Department of State had no provision for hearings or appeals of any kind, nature, or description in matters of this nature and that plaintiff had no further recourse within the Department of State.

6. Plaintiff further sets forth upon his information and belief that the defendant has taken steps pursuant to Sec-

tion 53.5 of Title 22 of the Code of Federal Regulations to prevent plaintiff's departure from the United States. In view of the invalidation of plaintiff's passport, and in view of the steps taken to prevent plaintiff's departure from the United States, plaintiff's departure from the United States or any attempt to do so would subject plaintiff to the criminal sanctions provided by statute (22 U.S.C., Section 225).

7 7. By reason of defendant's acts as hereinabove set forth in invalidating plaintiff's passport and in taking steps to prevent plaintiff's departure from the United States, plaintiff has been compelled to cancel his plans to travel abroad, to attend meetings abroad, and to give concerts abroad, all as set forth, and has in addition been compelled to abandon future plans for other trips abroad for the purpose of attending similar meetings and giving additional concerts. As a result of such cancellation of present plans for the giving of concerts, plaintiff has suffered the loss of fees and royalties amounting much in excess of Three Thousand Dollars ($3,000.00), and will suffer the loss of fees and royalties amounting much in excess of Three Thousand Dollars ($3,000.00) annually as the result of the cancellation of future plans for the giving of concerts necessitated by the acts of defendant as hereinabove set forth.

Plaintiff states, on information and belief, that defendant's acts as hereinabove set forth were and are motivated by the facts that defendant does not approve or agree with plaintiff's political thoughts, views, and opinions, does not approve or agree with plaintiff's political activities and particularly plaintiff's activities in travelling abroad for the purpose of expressing such political thoughts, views, and opinions and for the purpose of conferring, meeting, and association with other individuals and groups with similar political thoughts, views, and opinions. Plaintiff sets forth further, upon his information and belief, that defendant's acts as hereinabove set forth were and are motivated by the facts that plaintiff is a Negro and is a generally acknowledged spokesman for large sections of the Negro people, both in the United States and elsewhere, and that plaintiff is also a spokesman for other minority groups and for the working men and women of the United States.

Plaintiff's right to a passport and plaintiff's right to travel, subject only to reasonable regulations applicable without discrimination to all citizens, are rights guaranteed by the First and Fifth Amendments of the Constitution of the United States.

8 Plaintiff denies that his travel abroad would be contrary to the best interest of the United States.

8. The acts of defendant hereinabove set forth are arbitrary, unreasonable, illegal and unconstitutional in that by cancelling plaintiff's passport and by depriving plaintiff of the right to travel abroad for the purpose of expressing his political thoughts, views and opinions and for the purpose of conferring, meeting, and associating with other individuals and groups with similar political thoughts, views and opinions, defendant has deprived plaintiff of the rights of freedom of speech, thought, assembly, petition and association, and the right to travel freely without arbitrary, unreasonable and discriminatory restrictions, all in violation of the Constitution of the United States and particularly of the First Amendment thereof.

9. The acts of defendant hereinabove set forth are arbitrary, unreasonable, illegal and unconstitutional in that by cancelling plaintiff's passport and by depriving plaintiff of the right to travel, defendant has arbitrarily, unreasonably, and discriminatorily interfered with and impeded plaintiff's right to practice his profession and earn a livelihood, and has deprived plaintiff of substantive due process of law, all in violation of the Constitution of the United States and particularly of the Fifth Amendment thereof.

10. The acts of defendant hereinabove set forth are arbi-

trary, unreasonable, illegal and unconstitutional in that by failing and refusing to advise plaintiff of the reasons for the acts of defendant hereinabove set forth, and by failing and refusing to grant or afford plaintiff a hearing of any kind, nature or description, defendant has deprived plaintiff of procedural due process of law as guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States and particularly the Fifth Amendment thereof.

11. The acts of defendant hereinabove set forth are arbitrary, unreasonable, illegal and unconstitutional in that by cancelling plaintiff's passport and by depriving plain-
9 tiff of the right to travel because plaintiff is a Negro
and is a generally recognized and acknowledged spokesman for large sections of the Negro people both in the United States and elsewhere, for other minority groups, and for the working men and women of the United States, defendant has deprived plaintiff of his rights guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States and particularly of rights guaranteed by the First Amendment thereof and of due process of law as guaranteed by the Fifth Amendment thereof.

12. The acts of defendant hereinabove set forth violate the prohibition against bills of attainder contained in Article I of the Constitution of the Untied States.

13. By the acts of defendant hereinabove set forth, defendant has purported to exercise judicial power in violation of Article III of the Constitution which vests the judicial power of the United States in the courts.

14. By the acts of defendant hereinabove set forth, defendant has deprived plaintiff of fundamental rights reserved to the people of the United States by the Ninth and Tenth Amendments of the Constitution.

15. By the acts of defendant hereinabove set forth, defendant has violated the Charter of the United Nations as

implemented by the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights which provides that: "Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country." (Article 13, paragraph 2).

16. To the extent that the illegal and unconstitutional acts of defendant were taken pursuant to and under authority of said Executive Order Number 7856 and, on information and belief, other executive orders, regulations, or statutes, said Executive Order Number 7856 and such other executive orders, regulations, or statutes as so construed and applied by defendant, are illegal and unconstitutional in the following respects:

a. Said Executive Order Number 7856 and such other executive orders and regulations are authorized neither by the Constitution of the United States nor by any Congressional enactment, nor is any such statute authorized
10 by the Constitution.

b. The acts of defendant hereinabove set forth have deprived plaintiff of rights guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States and particularly by the First Amendment thereof, as herinabove set forth.

c. The acts of defendant hereinabove set forth have deprived plaintiff of his rights guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States and particularly by the Fifth Amendment thereof.

d. The acts of defendant hereinabove set forth violate the prohibition against bills of attainder contained in Article I of the Constitution of the United States.

e. By the acts hereinabove set forth, defendant has purported to exercise judicial power in violation of Article III of the Constitution of the United States which vests the judicial power of the United States in the courts.

f. The acts of defendant hereinabove set forth have deprived plaintiff of fundamental rights reserved to the people of the United States by the Ninth and Tenth Amendments to the Constitution of the United States.

17. Plaintiff has no right of appeal from the acts of defendant hereinabove set forth, either within the Department of State or to any other person, agency or department in the executive branch of the government. Plaintiff has exhausted all available administrative remedies and has no adequate remedy at law. Greater injury will be caused to plaintiff by the denial of relief here prayed for than will be caused to defendant by the granting thereof.

WHEREFORE, plaintiff prays for the following relief:

1. That the Court render a declaratory judgment—

(a) that defendant had and has no right, power or authority to cancel plaintiff' passport, to demand its surrender, or to take steps to prevent plaintiff from travelling abroad; and

(b) that plaintiffs' passport is valid, that plaintiff is entitled to a renewal thereof upon its expiration subject only to reasonable restrictions applicable to all citizens, and
that plaintiff has the right to travel abroad with-
11 out interference by defendant subject only to non-
discriminatory and reasonable restrictions applicable to all citizens.

2. That the Court order defendant to—

(a) revoke the cancellation of plaintiff's passport, withdraw his demand on plaintiff to surrender his passport, and advise plaintiff that his passport is valid pursuant to its terms;

(b) withdraw such instructions, orders or demands as he may have given to the Federal Bureau of Investigation of the Department of Justice, the Bureau of Customs of the

Department of the Treasury, or other agencies of the government to prevent plaintiff from leaving the United States;

(c) cease and desist from any acts to effect the cancellation and surrender of plaintiff's passport; and

(d) cease and desist from any acts having the object of preventing plaintiff from leaving the United States for the purpose of travelling abroad.

2. That the Court grant such other and further relief as the nature of the case may require and to this Court may seem proper.

Paul Robeson, Complainant.

* * * * * * * * * *

13 Filed Dec. 19, 1950. Harry M. Hull, Clerk.

PLAINTIFF'S EXHIBIT "A"

August 1, 1950

"Hon. Dean G. Acheson
Secretary, Department of State
Washington, D. C.

Re: Paul Robeson

Dear Mr. Secretary:

We are writing you as counsel to Paul Robeson.

On Friday, July 28, two agents of the Internal Security Division of the Department of State called on Mr. Robeson and, in my presence, advised him that they had been instructed to ask Mr. Robeson to turn over to them the current passport which he now has for travel in foreign countries. Upon consideration of the matter, we advised the agents that Mr. Robeson would not comply with the request unless he was first advised as to the basis for it.

We are therefore writing to you to ask you to be good enough to explain why this request has been made to Mr. Robeson. Since there can be no question but that Mr. Robeson has complied with all requirements pertaining to securing and holding passports, he is at a loss to understand the basis for the request and believes that it is no more than reasonable that the basis should be explained to him.

We should appreciate hearing from you concerning this matter.

Very truly yours, Witt & Cammer, by (s) Nathan Witt''

NW:ms
uopwa 16/164

14 Filed Dec. 19, 1950. Harry M. Hull, Clerk

PLAINTIFF'S EXHIBIT "B"

8/4/50

''Hon. Dean G. Acheson, Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.

Re Paul Robeson. In view of fact that newspapers today carry story credited to State Department spokesman concerning cancellation of Mr. Robeson's passport, and in view of fact that this story was released without your having answered my letter of August 1, Mr. Robeson and I request that we be given opportunity to meet with you concerning this matter. Arbitrary cancellation of passport without assigning reason therefor requires such a conference at which such reason may be explained to us. In view of Mr. Robeson's plans, we would appreciate as early a conference as possible.

Witt & Cammer; Nathan Witt, Counsel, 9 East 40th Street, New York City.''

15 Filed Dec. 19, 1950. Harry M. Hull, Clerk

PLAINTIFF'S EXHIBIT "C"

"In reply refer to 130-Witt, Nathan.

Department of State, Washington

August 7, 1950.

Mr. Nathan Witt, Witt & Cammer, 9 East 40th Street, New York 16, New York.

Dear Mr. Witt:

The Department has received your letter of August 1, 1950 regarding the Department's request to Paul Robeson that he surrender his passport.

You are informed that the authority for the Department's action is set forth in paragraph 124 of Executive Order number 7850, dated March 31, 1938 which reads as follows:

'The Secretary of State is authorized in his discretion to refuse to issue a passport, to restrict a passport for use only in certain countries, to restrict it against use in certain countries, to withdraw or cancel a passport already issued, and to withdraw a passport for the purpose of restricting its validity or use in certain countries.'

The action was taken because the Department considers that Paul Robeson's travel abroad at this time would be contrary to the best interests of the United States.

Sincerely yours, (s) R. B. Shipley, Chief, Passport Division."

16 Filed Dec. 19, 1950. Harry M. Hull, Clerk

PLAINTIFF'S EXHIBIT "D"

August 11, 1950.

''Mrs. R. B. Shipley, Chief, Passport Division, Department of State, Washington, D. C.

Re: 130-Witt, Nathan

Dear Mrs. Shipley:

This will acknowledge your letter of August 7, 1950, advising me that the action cancelling Mr. Paul Robeson's passport under Executive Order No. 7850 was taken 'because the Department considers that Paul Robeson's travel abroad at this time would be contrary to the best interests of the United States.'

We do not consider your letter a sufficient answer to our inquiry as to the basis for the Department's action. The statement that Mr. Robeson's travel abroad 'would be contrary to the best interests of the United States' is of course merely a conclusion which advises us of nothing. We are still interested in knowing on what this conclusion is based. In the absence of such further elucidation, the Department's action is oppressive, arbitrary, and violative of Mr. Robeson's fundamental rights.

As you undoubtedly know, we wired Secretary Acheson on August 4, 1950, asking for an opportunity to meet with him concerning this matter. We renew the request that either Secretary Acheson or his representative meet with us to discuss this matter more fully.

Sincerely yours, Witt & Cammer, by (s) Nathan Witt.''

NW:ms, uopwa 16/164.

17 Filed Dec. 19, 1950. Harry M. Hull, Clerk

PLAINTIFF'S EXHIBIT "E"

"In reply refer to: 130-Robeson, Paul.
Department of State, Washington

August 17, 1950.

Mr. Nathan Witt, Witt & Cammer, 9 East 40th Street, New York 16, New York.

Dear Mr. Witt:

The Department has received your letter of August 11, 1950 with further reference to the case of Paul Robeson.

While the Department feels that no useful purpose would be served by your proposed trip to the Department to discuss Paul Robeson's case, if you desire to come to Washington regarding the matter, an officer of the Passport Division will discuss the case with you.

Sincerely yours, (s) Willis H. Young, Acting Chief, Passport Division."

* * * * * * * * * *

18 Filed Feb. 27, 1951. Harry M. Hull, Clerk

MOTION TO DISMISS

Comes now the defendant and by his attorney, the United States Attorney, moves this Court to dismiss the complaint filed herein for the reason that it fails to state a cause of action upon which relief may be granted.

(s) George Morris Fay, United States Attorney; (s) Ross O'Donoghue, Assistant United States Attorney.

* * * * * * * * * *

19 Filed Apr. 3, 1951. Harry M. Hull, Clerk

MOTION TO COMPEL RETURN OF PASSPORT

Comes now the defendant by his attorney, the United States Attorney, and moves this Honorable Court to order plaintiff in the above entitled action to return to the defendant Passport No. 58303 issued to him on May 8, 1947, and since revoked.

(s) George Morris Fay, United States Attorney; (s) Ross O'Donoghue, Assistant United States Attorney.

* * * * * * * * * *

20 Filed Apr. 20, 1951. Harry M. Hull, Clerk

ORDER

This cause having come on to be heard upon defendant's motion to dismiss and upon defendant's motion to compel return of passport, and the Court having considered the memoranda submitted by respective counsel and having heard argument thereon, and it appearing to the Court that it is without jurisdiction of the subject matter, it is by the Court this 20th day of April, 1951

Ordered that the defendant's motion to dismiss be and the same is hereby granted and defendant's motion for return of plaintiff's passport be and the same is hereby denied.

Walter M. Bastian, Judge.

* * * * * * * * * *

21 Filed Apr. 23, 1951. Harry M. Hull, Clerk

NOTICE OF APPEAL

Notice is hereby given this 23rd day of April, 1951, that Paul Robeson hereby appeals to the United States Court of

Appeals for the District of Columbia from the judgment of this Court entered on the 20th day of April, 1951, in favor of Dean G. Acheson against said Paul Robeson.

George E. C. Hayes, Attorney for Plaintiff.

* * * * * * * * * *

Wed. Dec 15,
10 Am.

IN THE NAME OF THE PEOPLE OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK

TO: PAUL ROBESON
155 West 136th Street
New York City

OR % Robert Rockmore
10 East 40thStreet
New York City

YOU ARE COMMANDED, all business and excuses being laid aside, to appear and attend before the JOINT LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE ON CHARITABLE AND PHILANTHROPIC AGENCIES AND ORGANIZATIONS, appointed pursuant to a joint resolution of the Senate and Assembly duly adopted March 21, 1953, and extended March 21, 1954
at 270 Broadway New York NY Room 1405

on December Ninth 1954 at ten o'clock in the forenoon of that date, or any adjourned date thereof to give evidence in a certain investigation now pending.

If you fail to obey this subpoena without reasonable excuse, a warrant will issue to the sheriff of the County to apprehend and bring you before the said Committee and you will be liable for the damages sustained in consequence of such failure and $50.00 in addition thereto, and subject to punishment by imprisonment as for a contempt of the Legislature and prosecution and punishment for a misdemeanor.

Dated at the County of New York
City of New York and State of
New York the Sixth day of
December, 1954

JOINT LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE
ON CHARITABLE & PHILANTHROPIC
AGENCIES AND ORGANIZATIONS

BY: BERNARD TOMPKINS. Chairman

United States Court of Appeals

FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA CIRCUIT

No. 12983

PAUL ROBESON, APPELLANT

v.

JOHN FOSTER DULLES, Secretary of State, APPELLEE

Appeal from the United States District Court
for the District of Columbia

Decided June 7, 1956

Mr. Leonard B. Boudin, with whom *Mr. James T. Wright* was on the brief, for appellant.

Mr. Benjamin Forman, Attorney, Department of Justice, with whom *Mr. Leo A. Rover,* United States Attorney at the time the record was filed, and *Messrs. Paul A. Sweeney* and *B. Jenkins Middleton,* Attorneys, Department of Justice, were on the brief, for appellee.

Mr. Ralph E. Powe filed a brief on behalf of Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, Dr. Alphaeus Hunton, Dr. Herbert Aptheker, Eslanda Goode Robeson, Rev. Charles Hill and Dr. Samuel Sillen, as *amici curiae,* urging reversal.

Before EDGERTON, Chief Judge, and PRETTYMAN, WILBUR K. MILLER, BAZELON, FAHY, WASHINGTON, DANAHER and BASTIAN, Circuit Judges, sitting in banc.

PRETTYMAN, *Circuit Judge:* Appellant Robeson applied for a passport. It was refused—tentatively refused, the Government says. He brought a civil action in the District Court praying judgment that he is entitled to a passport and that certain regulations of the Secretary of State and rules of the Board of Passport Appeals are invalid because in violation of statute, the Constitution, and the Declaration of Human Rights. The complaint also prayed for a decree enjoining the Secretary from continuing to deny a passport and directing him to issue one. The District Court granted summary judgment for the Secretary and dismissed the complaint.

When Robeson applied for a passport on July 29, 1953, he was informed by letter that issue of the passport "would appear" precluded under the regulations by reason of alleged Communist affiliations and activities. He was advised he had a right to seek further review by the Passport Office by conforming with certain regulations. Robeson made no answer to that letter. When he applied for a passport a year later, July 7, 1954, he was given the same information and again failed to reply. When he later amended his application he was advised by wire that in the absence of reply to its previous letter the Department was forced to assume he considered himself ineligible under the regulations. Robeson replied that the regulations were invalid and he intended to seek judicial relief. The Department again wrote Robeson advising it would be necessary for him to proceed in accordance with the regulations if he wished further consideration by the Department. He replied, declining to execute an affidavit concerning present or past membership in the Communist Party, which affidavit he understood to be one of the prerequisites, under the regulations, to informal hearing in the Passport Office. He asked for a final decision. The Department wrote him that failure to execute the affidavit did not preclude the informal hearing afforded by the regulations but that at such a hearing he would be expected to answer questions concerning past and present membership in the Communist Party and later to confirm his oral statements in an affidavit. Robeson made no reply to this letter but instead filed his civil action.

In later oral conferences at the Passport Office Robeson affirmed his position that the regulations are invalid and that he would not execute the required affidavit.

Robeson failed to exhaust his administrative remedies. We think he was required to do so. He did not ask for a hearing but instead asserted the invalidity of the regulation providing for one.[1] We cannot assume the invalidity of a hearing which has not been held or the illegality of questions which have not been asked. The judgment of the District Court will be

Affirmed.

BURGER, *Circuit Judge,* took office after this case was heard and took no part in its consideration and decision.

---

[1] *Cf.* National Lawyers Guild v. Brownell, 96 U.S. App. D.C. 252, 225 F.2d 552 (1955), *cert. denied,* 24 U. S. L. WEEK 3298 (U.S. May 7, 1956).

United States Court of Appeals
FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA CIRCUIT

No. 12,983 JANUARY Term, 1956

Paul Robeson,

Appellant,

v.

John Foster Dulles,

Appellee.

Before: Edgerton, Chief Judge, in Chambers.

ORDER

Upon consideration of the motion of Dr. W. E. B. DuBois and others for leave to file a brief amici curiae in the above case, and it appearing that no objections to said motion have been filed, and it further appearing that said brief has been lodged with the Court, it is

ORDERED that the aforesaid motion be granted and that the Clerk be, and he is hereby, directed to file forthwith the said brief amici curiae.

Dated: March 6, 1956.

UNITED STATES COURT OF APPEALS

For the District of Columbia Circuit

No. 11,030 April Term, 1952

Paul Robeson,

Appellant,

v.

Dean G. Acheson,

Appellee.

Before: Wilbur K. Miller, Prettyman, and Fahy, Circuit Judges, in Chambers.

ORDER.

IT IS ORDERED by the Court that each party herein be, and he is hereby, allowed to file a typewritten or printed memorandum on the effect on this case, if any, of the termination on April 28, 1952 (Proclamation 2974, 17 Fed. Reg. 3813), of the Proclamation of May 27, 1941. The memorandum of the appellant may be filed on or before June 12, 1952, and appellee may file his memorandum on or before June 18, 1952.

Dated: June 5-1952.

Per Curiam.

United States Court of Appeals
For the
District of Columbia Ciruit

FILED June 5-1952

Joseph N. Stewart

Clerk

Robeson passport*

Robeson

WITT & CAMMER

NATHAN WITT
HAROLD I. CAMMER
RALPH SHAPIRO

9 EAST 40TH STREET
NEW YORK 16, N.Y.
MURRAY HILL 3-6790

March 26, 1951

Mr. George Murphy
Freedom Associates
53 West 125th Street
New York 27, New York

Dear George:

Pursuant to your request, I enclose herewith copy of the memorandum of points and authorities which the Government filed in support of its motion to dismiss the complaint in Robeson v. Acheson. As I told you the other day, this is actually the Government's brief in support of its position. As I also told you, the motion will be argued in Washington, D. C. on Thursday, April 5.

I will send you a copy of our memorandum as soon as I receive a copy from George Hayes.

Sincerely yours,

Nat

NW:ms
enc.
uopwa 16/264

cc: Alphaeus Hunton

THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

PAUL ROBESON, Plaintiff, v. DEAN ACHESON, individually, and as Secretary of State, Defendant	Civil Action No. 5500-50

MEMORANDUM OF POINTS AND AUTHORITIES IN SUPPORT OF MOTION TO DISMISS.

This is a suit for a declaratory judgment and for an injunction to compel the Secretary of State to issue a passport to the plaintiff. The complaint states that the plaintiff is an American citizen and that the Secretary of State has revoked a passport issued to him and has refused to renew it or grant him another.

The authority to issue passports is conferred upon the Secretary of State by Section 211 of Title 22, United States Code which provides: "The Secretary of State may grant and issue passports". This section was enacted in 1902 but was a reenactment of an earlier statute of the same effect. Pursuant to the authority granted to him by the Act of July 3, 1926, 22 U.S.C. 211(a), the President of the United States has promulgated regulations for the Department of State regarding the issuance, withdrawal, and cancellation of American passports. 22 C.F.R., Part 51. Section 51.75 thereof reads as follows:

> "Refusal to issue passport. The secretary of State is authorized in his discretion to refuse to issue a passport, to restrict a passport for use only in certain countries, to restrict it against use in certain countries, to withdraw or cancel a passport already issued, and to withdraw a passport for the purpose of restricting its validity or use in certain countries."

It has long been recognized that the granting or refusal of a passport is discretionary. It has been so held in 23 Op.A.G. 511 that the issuance of passports is discretionary for theAttorney General, saying:

> "Substantial reasons exist for the use by Congress of the word 'may ' in connection with authority to issue passports. Circumstances are conceivable which would make it most inexpedient for the public interests for this country to grant a passport to a citizen of the United States. For example, if one of the criminal class, an avowed anarchist for instance, were to make such application, the public interests might require that his application be denied.
>
> "Without expressing any opinion as to whether a passport should be granted to Ng Faun, I advise you that it may, in your discretion, be granted or withheld."

Also see 23 Op. A.G. 509. Such a long, continued administrative interpretation of the law must be considered to have the approval of Congress and to have the force of statute.

The leading authorities on international law have considered such issuance or denial discretionary. So in Hackworth III, DIGEST OF INTERNATIONAL LAW, 466-470, it is stated:

> "The Department has consistently held the view that the issuance of passports is wholly within the discretion of the Secretary of State, and I know of no instance in which an effort has been made to compel the Secretary to issue a passport."

To the same effect is Moore III, INTERNATIONAL LAW DIGEST, 919-923. The Courts have also held that the issuance is discretionary in Miller v. Sinjen, (C.A. 8, 1923) 289 F. 388, 394, where the court said:

> "... the granting of a passport by the United States is, and always has been, a discretionary matter; ..."

And indeed, the Supreme Court has held to the same effect in the celebrated case of Perkins v. Elg, 307 U.S. 325, 350:

> "The decree in that sense would in no way interfere with the exercise of the Secretary's discretion with respect to the issuance of a passport ..."

It is entirely appropriate that the issuance or denial of such passports be discretionary with the Attorney General. Since an American passport is actually a formal request by the Secretary of State to the authorities of foreign states to permit the bearer thereof to pass safely and freely and to give him all lawful aid and protection, the issue of a passport is entirely within the foreign affairs function of this Department and, accordingly, not subject to review by the judiciary. The Supreme Court of the United States voiced the following opinion regarding an American passport in the case of URTETIQUI v. D'Archy, 9 Pet. 692; 9 L.Ed. 276:

> "It is a document which, from its nature and object, is addressed to foreign powers, purporting only to be a request that the bearer of it may pass safely and freely, and is to be considered rather in the character of a political document, by which the bearer is recognized, in foreign countries, as an American citizen, and which, by usage and laws of nations is received as evidence of the fact."

Reference is also made to the opinion expressed in Hackworth III, DIGEST OF INTERNATIONAL LAW, 470:

> "This Department exercises under the discretion of the President plenary control over the conduct of foreign relations and as the issue of an American passport to a person necessarily implies the intention of the Government at the time of issuance to extend diplomatic protection to him while abroad should it become necessary to do so, this Department when it considers that it is warranted in refusing to extend protection to a person who has previously been issued a passport revokes such passport whenever it is practicable to do so. The revocation of a passport in such a case does not result in loss of American citizenship, nor does it imply that the Department has doubt as to the status as a citizen of the United States of the individual concerned. It merely means that the Department no longer considers such individual is entitled while abroad to receive this protection of the United States."

With regard to the claim that the plaintiff has a "right" to an American passport, it seems clear from the authorities quoted above that neither the plaintiff nor any other American citizen has a right to an American passport.

Furthermore, the Secretary of State is authorized to prevent a citizen of the United States from departing from the United States, for Section 223 of Title 22 provides in part as follows:

> "When the United States is at war ... and the President shall find that the interests of the United States require restrictions and prohibitions in addition to those provided otherwise than by Section 223-226(b) of this Title be imposed upon the departure of persons from and their entry into the United States, and shall make public proclamation thereof, ...".

Pursuant to this Act of Congress, the President on November 14, 1941, issued Proclamation 2523 (3CFR, 1943 Cum. Supp., 270-272) which provided as to citizens of the United States:

> "... no citizen of the United States ... shall depart from or enter, or attempt to depart from or enter, the United States, ... unless he bears a valid passport issued by the Secretary of State, ... or unless he comes within the provisions of such exceptions or fulfills such conditions as may be prescribed in Rules and Regulations which the Secretary of State has hereby authorized to prescribe in execution of the rules, regulations, and orders herein prescribed."

Pursuant to that proclamation, the Secretary of State has issued regulations denominated "Control of Persons entering and leaving the United States in war time." 22 CRF Pt. 53 pps. 109 to 124, §53.8 thereof provides:

> "Discretional exercise of authority in passport matters. Nothing in this part shall be construed to prevent the Secretary of State from exercising the discretion resting in him to refuse to issue a passport to restrict its use to certain countries, to withdraw or cancel a passport already issued, or to withdraw a passport for the purpose of restricting its validity or use in certain countries."

The National emergency which gave rise to the proclamation and the regulations of the Secretary of State has not been terminated as stated by the Supreme Court in Knauff v. Schaughenessy, 338 U.S. 537, 546:

> "The special procedure followed in this case was authorized not only during the period of actual hostilities but during the entire war and a national emergency proclaimed May 27, 1941. The national emergency has never been terminated. Indeed, a state of war still exists. See Woods v. Miller Co., 333 U.S. 138, n.3" (Decided January 16, 1950).

The plain purpose of Sections 223 and 224 of Title 22, U.S.C is to prevent the departure from the United States of persons whose presence and activities abroad would be prejudicial to the interests of the United States, and the regulations promulgated thereunder were designed to effectuate that purpose. Restrictions on the travel of American citizens outside the United States during time of war and periods of emergency are, without question, necessary and vital to the preservation of the security of this country. The fact that American citizens proceeding abroad on American passports for subversive reasons would be a menace to the security of this country was recognized by the Congress of the United States when it enacted the Internal Security Act of 1950, Section 6 whereof provides in effect that American passport facilities shall not be accorded persons who are believed to be members of Communist action organizations.

With regard to the allegations that the plaintiff had no hearing it may be stated that, since the issue of an American passport is clearly one of the foreign affairs functions of the Department and the use of an American passport is a privilege of American citizenship, rather than a right, there would appear to be no necessity for a formal hearing. However, the plaintiff was accorded a full opportunity to present his case with the assistance of several attorneys.

Obviously, the allegations contained in paragraphs 12 and 13 are without merit since the action of the Department could in no sense be construed as a bill of attainder or as an exercise of judicial power.

With regard to the allegation in paragraph 15 of the complaint, it may be pointed out that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which was approved by the General assembly of the Untion Nations on December 10, 1948, is simply a declaration of principle and does not state positive rules of international law. Your attention is called to the Statement of Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, United States delegate in the United Nations General Assembly, which was made on September 30, 1948:

> "In taking up the considerations of the Declaration, it is of primary importance that we keep clearly in mind the basic character of the document. It is not a treaty; it is not an international agreement. It is not and does not purport to be a statement of law or legal obligation."

Accordingly, the complaint should be dismissed.

GEORGE MORRIS FAY,
United States Attorney

ROSS O'DONOGHUE
Assistant U.S. Attorney

Certificate of Service

I hereby certify that service of the foregoing Motion to dismiss together with points and authorities in support of said motion, was made upon plaintiff by mailing a copy thereof to his attorneys, Cobb, Howard and Hayes, 613 - F Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. this day of February, 1951.

ROSS O'DONOGHUE
Att. U.S. Atty

UNITED STATES COURT OF APPEALS
FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA CIRCUIT

No. 11,030

PAUL ROBESON	Appellant
v.	
DEAN ACHESON Secretary of State	Appellee

SECOND SUPPLEMENTAL MEMORANDUM FOR APPELLEE

Comes now the appellee by his attorney, the United States Attorney, and, in accordance with this Court's order of June 5, 1952, submits the following memorandum on the effect of the termination of the Proclamation of May 27, 1941. We submit that the termination of the Proclamation has no effect upon the authority of the Secretary of State to prevent appellant from leaving the country, since that authority has been specifically extended by subsequent legislation.

On February 19, 1952, the President sent a message to Congress requesting the extension of certain emergency powers which would, by their own terms, expire upon the ratification of the peace treaty with Japan. With the message was submitted a draft Emergency Powers Continuation Act. On April 7, 1952, the President sent a second message to Congress setting forth reasons why a peace treaty should be put into force very promptly, and requesting interim legislation to continue the emergency powers while Congress was considering the proposed Continuation Act. In this second message the President said:

> It is likewise of the utmost importance to the security of the country to continue in effect without any lapse the emergency powers dealt with in the proposed measure I have recommended. Among these are the authorizations under which the Government is now operating the railroads to insure the movement of troops and war materials; is controlling the entry into and the departure from the United States of aliens and citizens whose movements would be dangerous to the national security; is continuing the commissions of a large number of Reserve officers on active duty in our Armed Forces the loss of whom would create a serious problem; and is making full use of trained aviation officers who would be lost by the reinstatement of peacetime limitations. * * *

Congress thereupon enacted the Emergency Powers Interim Continuation Act which was approved by the President on April 14, 1952. The House Report (H. Rep. No. 1747) which accompanied this Interim Act read in part as follows (United States Code Congressional Service, 1952, pp. 1424-1427):

> On February 19, 1952, the President transmitted to the Congress a message requesting the continuation of 60 emergency powers which, by their own terms, would expire upon the ratification of the Japanese Peace Treaty or within a fixed period thereafter. With the message was submitted a draft Emergency powers Continuation Act, recommended by the Secretary of Defense, the Attorney General, the Chairman of the National Security Resources Board, and the Director of the Bureau of the Budget. This bill would continue only the specific acts or parts of acts cited in it for the duration of the national emergency proclaimed on December 16, 1950, and 6 months thereafter,

with a provision that any or all of them may be terminated at earlier times by concurrent resolution of the Congress or by the President. The President's message, the draft bill, and the explanatory material have been printed as House Document No. 368, Eighty-second Congress, second session.

Most of the statutes affected are operative only in time of war, though some depend upon the national emergencies proclaimed by the President in 1939 and 1941. Actually, only one item included in the list to be continued is dependent upon the 1939 emergency; this involves preferences for veterans for whom federally owned housing is available under the provisions of title V of the Lanham Act (42 U.S.C. 1571-1575).

While it has been assumed that the termination of the state of war with Japan would terminate the 1939 and 1941 emergencies, the President stated in his message that it is his intention--

"in order to eliminate any doubt on this latter point, that the proclamation of the treaty of peace with Japan, after its coming into force, shall expressly terminate those emergencies."

The proposed legislation, introduced in the House as House Joint Resolution 386, has been the subject of extensive hearings and is still under active consideration by a subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary.

During the hearings the subcommittee was advised that some 155 statutes were studied by all interested agencies. It was found that some had already been terminated in one way or another, and that others had been superseded. A number were omitted because the agencies concerned do not consider their continuance necessary. The 60 items finally recommended deal with such widely varying subjects as these covered by provisions under which (1) the President, in time of war, may assume control over the railroads; (2) the Government may reduce the royalties to be paid to it on articles used in the defense program; (3) Reserve officers may be appointed without peacetime limitations; and (4) members of the Armed Forces may vote for Federal officials notwithstanding absence from home.

> In his message of April 7, the President set forth compelling reasons why the Japanese Peace Treaty must be put into force very promptly. He, therefore, requested interim legislation to continue the 60 emergency powers above discussed while the Congress is considering the legislation recommended on February 19, 1952. Your committee considers this matter to be urgent, and accordingly recommends the enactment of House Joint Resolution 423.

The Interim Act (Public Law 313, H. J. Res. 423) provided in pertinent part as follows (United States Code Congressional Service, 1952, pp. 1385-1389):

> Joint Resolution to continue the effectiveness of certain statutory provisions until June 1, 1952.
>
> WHEREAS the existing state of war with Japan is the last declared state of war to which the United States is a party and the termination thereof and of the national emergencies proclaimed in 1939 and 1941 would render certain statutory provisions inoperative; and
>
> WHEREAS some of these statutory provisions are needed to insure the national security and the capacity of the United States to support the United Nations in its efforts to establish and maintain world peace; and
>
> WHEREAS, in view of the impending termination of this state of war, it is desirable to extend these needed statutory provisions immediately until June 1, 1952, to permit further consideration of a more extended continuation: Now, therefore, be it
>
> Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That:
>
> Notwithstanding the termination hereafter of the war with Japan declared December 8, 1941 (55 Stat. 795), and of the national emergencies proclaimed by the President on September 8, 1939 (Proc. 2352, 54 Stat. 2634), and on May 27, 1951 (Proc. 2487, 55 Stat. 1647), and notwithstanding any proclamation of peace with respect to such war --

> (a) Except insofar as they otherwise have further effectiveness the following statutory provisions and the authorizations conferred and liabilities imposed thereby shall remain in full force and effect to and including June 1, 1952, notwishtanding any other terminal date or provision of law with respect to such statutory provisions and notwithstanding any limitation, by reference to war or national emergency, of the time during or for which authorizations or liabilities thereunder may be exercised or imposed; and acts or events of the kind giving rise to legal consequences under any of those provisions when performed or occurring during the existing state of war shall give rise to the same legal consequences when they are performed or occur during the period above provided for.
>
> * * * * *
>
> (40) Act of May 22, 1918 (ch. 81, 40 Stat, 559), as amended by the Act of June 21, 1941 (Ch. 210, 55 Stat. 252, 253; 22 U.S.C. 223-226b)
>
> * * * * *
>
> Sec. 6. This Act may be cited as the "Emergency Powers Interim Continuation Act".
>
> Approved April 14, 1952.

On may 28 the Interim Act was amended by S.J. Res. 156 to provide for the extension of all the emergency powers to June 15, 1952. See United States Code Congressional Service, 1952, No. 9, ii. The Interim Act has again been amended to provide for the extension of the emergency powers to June 30, 1952. Public Law 393, 66 Stat. 137.

Meanwhile, consideration of the Emergency Powers Continuation Act has been completed by the House, wherein it was passed on June 11, 1952. H. J. Res. 477. At the present time, it is being considered by the Senate.

We argued in our brief (Br. 10-14) that the Secretary of State had acted within the bounds of his authority, because Congress had conferred upon the President blanket authority to prevent any citizen from leaving the country during the continuance of the national emergency proclaimed on May 27, 1941 (22 U.S.C. 223, 224), and because the President had delegated the exercise of that authority to the Secretary. The 1951 emergency has now been terminated; but, as was pointed out in our brief (Br. 11, footnote 2), we are now in another national emergency, proclaimed by President Truman on December 16, 1950, as a result of events in Korea. As is clear from the legislative history set forth above, Congress has specifically extended the President'a authority to prevent citizens from leaving the country until June 30, 1952, as a result of the events in Korea; and Congress has under contemplation an act to extend that aurhority for the duration of the 1950 emergency. Consequently, there has been no relaxation of the authority conferred upon the President by 22 U.S.C. 223, 224. The delegation of this authority to the Secretary remains unchanged.

Wherefore, we respectfully submit that the termination of the Proclamation of May 27, 1941, should have no effect upon the decision in this case.

/s/ CHARLES M. IRELAN
Charles M. Irelan,
United States Attorney,

/s/ Joseph M. Howard
Joseph M. Howard,
Assistant United States Attorney.

UNITED STATES COURT OF APPEALS
FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA CIRCUIT

No. 11,030

PAUL ROBESON, Appellant

v.

DEAN ACHESON
Secretary of State Appellee

SECOND SUPPLEMENTAL MEMORANDUM FOR APPELLANT.

This supplemental memorandum is submitted pursuant to the order of the Court dated June 5, 1952, allowing each party to file a memorandum "on the effect of this case, if any, of the termination on April 28, 1952 (Proclamation 2974, 17 Fed. Reg. 3813), of the Proclamation of May 27, 1941."

Argument.

The termination by the Proclamation of April 28, 1952 of the unlimited national emergency proclaimed by the Proclamation of May 27, 1941 (Proclamation No. 2487, 6 Fed. Reg. 2617) has the effect of rendering inoperative the Proclamation of November 14, 1941 (Proclamation No. 2523, 6 Fed. Reg. 5821). Therefore, appellee's regulations pertaining to the right to travel (22 C.F.R., 1949 ed., Parts 52-53; appellee's brief, p. 30) are no longer valid and neither because of them or otherwise has appellee any statutory authority to take steps to prevent appellant from travelling abroad.

If there were any doubt about this proposition, it would be removed by the argument made at pp. 10-14 of appellee's main brief in support of appellee's statutory authority to take steps to prevent appellant from leaving the United States. The only argument which is made to support this assertion of statutory authority is based on Sections 1 and 2 of the Act of May 22, 1918, as amended June 21, 1941 (22 U.S.C. 223, 224). Under this statute, the President is authority to restrict departure from and entry into the United States only when the country is at war or during the existence of the national emergency proclaimed on May 27, 1941.

The Proclamation of May 27, 1941 did not itself proclaim the restrictions on travel. That was accomplished by the Proclamation of November 14, 1941 (Proclamation No. 2523, 6 Fed. Reg. 5821). Although the latter proclamation has not apparently been expressly revoked or withdrawn, there can be no question that it has entirely lost its force and effect as a result of the termination of the Proclamation of May 27, 1941. This is plain on the face of the Proclamation of November 14, 1941, the whereas clauses of which recite that the Proclamation is based on the Act of May 22, 1918, as amended June 21, 1941, and on the proclamation of May 27, 1941. The Proclamation of April 28, 1952, not only expressly terminates the Proclamation of May 27, 1941, but also expressly declares the termination of all the states of war which began in 1941. Since the two statutory conditions -- war or the existence of the national emergency proclaimed on May 27, 1941 -- no longer exist, there is no foundation for the Proclamation of November 14, 1941 or any similar limitation on the right to travel.

Appellee's argument on this point in his main brief (pp. 10-14) permits no doubt on this score. The argument recognizes that without the Proclamation of May 27, 1941 to satisfy the statute, there is no authority for the Proclamation of November 14, 1941, and that without the latter proclamation, there is no authority for appellee's regulations restricting the right to travel. Appellee's brief acknowledges that appellee adopted his regulations pursuant to the "delegated authority" contained in the two proclamations (p. 11). (See also Appendix to appellee's brief, p. 30, which reiterates that appellee adopted the regulations pursuant to the authority of the two proclamations.)

This part of the case is all the stronger for appellant than if there had been no statutory authority giving the President or the Secretary of State power to restrict the right to travel. Here appellee has acknowledged that he has such power only by virtue of the statute. Now that the preconditions required by the statute no longer exist, there is no foundation for appellee's exercise of power.

On this part of the case, therefore, appellant is entitled to a declaratory judgment, and an injunction in support thereof, that appellee has no right, power, or authority to take steps to prevent appellant from travelling abroad.

COBB, HOWARD & HAYES

By______________________
613 F Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

PARKER & PARKER
1130 Sixth Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

NATHAN WITT
9 East 40th Street
New York 16, New York

Attorneys for Appellant

U. S. BRIEF IN COURT OF APPEALS ON ROBESON PASSPORT CASE, FEB. 1952 - EXCERPT.

Why Paul Robeson Cannot Travel

The United States Government's brief submitted for the Court of Appeals hearing in February, 1952, on the case of the withholding of Paul Robeson's passport contained the following statement:

> "...Furthermore, even if the complaint had alleged, which it does not, that the passport was cancelled solely because of appellant's recognized status as a spokesman for large sections of Negro Americans, we submit that this would not amount to an abuse of discretion in view of appellant's frank admission that he has been for years extremely active politically in behalf of the independence of the colonial peoples of Africa (supra, p. 2). Though this may be a highly laudable aim, the diplomatic embarrassment that could arise from the presence abroad of such a political meddler, travelling under the protection of an American passport, is easily imaginable. After all, 'the President is the sole organ of the federal government in the field of international relations.'"

PAUL ROBESON PASSPORT PETITION

Sponsored by the following in Individual Capacity:

TED TAYLOR, AEU
Div. 28 Organiser

T. SULLIVAN, PTU,
District Secretary

S. BONHAM, PTU
District Organiser

J. RYAN, AUBTW,
Secretary No. 1 Div.

J. BARTLETT, AUBTW,
Divisional Organiser

J. MANDERSTONE, AUBTW,
Divisional Organiser

M. GAMMON, AUBTW,
S.E. District Sec.

J. HEYWOOD, ASW,
London Asst. Sec.

G. RUSCA, ASW,
District Organiser

H. WATSON, Editor,
Port Workers News

M. MINDEL, NUTGW,
London Reg. Orgn.

S. WESKER and H. KAYE,
NUTGW Organisers,
Mantle & Costume Branch

BETTY HARRISON, TWU,
National Officer

W. JONES, Transport
& General Busman

BOB JACKSON, Editor,
New Builders Leader

J. GRAHL, FBU,
Asst. Gen. Sec.

W. ZAC, NUFTO,
London Organiser

TO: President Eisenhower,
White House,
Washington.

We, the undersigned, regret the recent refusal of Paul Robeson's application for his passport by a Federal Court Judge.

We urge you in the spirit of your declaration at Geneva "that all curtains, whether of guns or regulations, should begin to come down", to intervene to restore his passport.

The British working class and people regard Paul Robeson as a world-wide champion of progress and culture and are anxious to again hear his great voice.

NAME	ORGANISATION

(All completed forms to be returned to N. LYTTON, 2 EAST VIEW, VALE OF HEALTH, N.W.3.
for dispatch to the WHITE HOUSE)

WILLIAM L. PATTERSON

6 East 17th Street
New York 3, N.Y.

November 17, 1955

Dear Friend:

I enclose the drafts of an open letter to the Hon. John Foster Dulles, our Secretary of State, and a petition.

The evil effects of the practice of denying travel rights because of political dissent are obvious. Yet, many Americans of varying political positions now suffer under this ban. Many voices have spoken out against this violation of our democratic principles. What is now needed, we believe, is a more coordinated effort to impress the government with the necessity to end this unjust practice.

We propose that the enclosed petition signed by a select group of individuals be used to launch a signature drive for the open letter. If funds are available, we believe the open letter should be published in a number of leading papers.

Will you join as one of such a select body to initiate this petition? Your name can be very helpful in ending another form of attack upon constitutional liberties.

Very sincerely yours,

William L. Patterson

William L. Patterson

WLP/rr

PETITION ON THE RIGHT TO TRAVEL

PAUL ROBESON'S PASSPORT

Dear Fellow Americans:

We present for your consideration, an open letter to the Honorable John Foster Dulles, Secretary of State of the United States, on the question of Mr. Paul Robeson's right to travel.

For five years this internationally famed singer and actor has been denied the right to travel outside of the land of his birth. He is the only person in the history of our country who, by order of the Department of State, has been strictly confined to the continental U.S.A., not even permitted to travel in countries where entry is not conditioned by passport or visa.

As an artist, he has been denied the right to fulfill concert and stage contracts abroad. This situation is unchanged although the development of international cultural exchanges was endorsed by President Eisenhower at the first "Big Four" Geneva Conference and millions desire to hear Mr. Robeson.

Our government has charged that Robeson spoke out for the freedom of the African colonies while abroad, and that he also criticized the treatment accorded Negro citizens in the United States. The right to a passport is not determined upon one's conformity to the political views of the existing Administration. Clearly if that were the case, it would be a violation of the First Amendment and extremely prejudicial to any other political views.

Regardless of Mr. Robeson's political views, we do not believe that this artist should be prevented from displaying his creative talents before those desirous of seeing him.

We urge you to study this letter. It is a means of petitioning to end a gross injustice. The right to petition is yours. Please sign the petition. Get your friends and neighbors, in Church and club and elsewhere to sign. This is a way to uphold constitutional liberties.

Sincerely yours,

The Honorable John Foster Dulles
Secretary of State
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Secretary:

The constitutional liberties upon which the democracy of our country rests are of extremely vital significance to all of us. Precious, too, is our concept and appreciation of the free exchange of artists and their creations in the development of cultural values, a matter which was advanced in so statesmanlike a manner by President Eisenhower at the Geneva Conference.

And yet, your Department, Mr. Secretary, has placed formidable restrictions upon the right of a number of American artists to travel.

Paul Robeson, a famed singer and internationally respected artist, has for five years been denied the right to travel outside of the continental confines of the United States. During this period he has been deluged with invitations from France, England, the Soviet Union, other European and Asian countries. These he has been unable to accept, Mr. Secretary, because your Department has cancelled his passport. You have even instructed immigration officials to prevent his going to places which do not demand passport or visa for entry.

At the same time, Paul Robeson's earning capacity here at home has been reduced to a minimum by political attacks upon him and by your attitude. Your restriction then is tantamount to a denial of the right of Mr. Robeson to earn his daily bread, to say nothing concerning its violation of the principle of cultural exchange.

We cannot believe this position justifiable under the circumstances. Your denial of a passport is based upon Mr. Robeson's political opinions. Without endorsing his political views, we must say that a right, the right to travel, is not conditioned upon conformity with any politics or to support of some proscribed political convictions. That would be unconstitutional.

We urge you, Mr. Dulles, to restore to Mr. Robeson his passport and to permit him to honor the desires of those who so fervently wish to see his consumate art and who have a right to hear him.

Respectfully yours,

STATEMENT TO JOHN FOSTER DULLES, SECRETARY OF STATE

Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:

We appeal to you to grant a passport to Mr. Paul Robeson.

We believe that the action of the State Department in restricting Mr. Robeson's right to travel abroad since 1950 is an unwarranted infringement upon the constitutional rights of an American citizen.

By this action Mr. Robeson has been denied the opportunity to earn a living by fulfilling numerous professional engagements abroad. Furthermore, his freedom of speech, travel and association have been greatly impaired.

Our support for Mr. Robeson's right to exercise these constitutional prerogatives need not be taken to imply concurrence with any or all of his political views. What seems to us important is to uphold the imperishable principle on which our nation was founded: that no citizen's fundamental rights shall be proscribed by officials of government solely on the basis that they object to his views on social questions.

In the denial of these rights to Mr. Robeson we recognize a threat to the rights of all Americans. In addition, since Mr. Robeson is viewed by millions of people in other countries as a leader in the centuries-long struggles of his people for full equality, the Department's continued refusal to grant him a passport can only serve to damage our influence and reputation in the eyes of the world.

In our own national interests as well as in the interests of free cultural expression throughout the world, we strongly urge that you give this matter your timely and favorable consideration.

Signed Rev. Charles A. Hill

STATEMENT TO JOHN FOSTER DULLES, SECRETARY OF STATE

Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:

We appeal to you to grant a passport to Mr. Paul Robeson.

We believe that the action of the State Department in restricting Mr. Robeson's right to travel abroad since 1950 is an unwarranted infringement upon the constitutional rights of an American citizen.

By this action Mr. Robeson has been denied the opportunity to earn a living by fulfilling numerous professional engagements abroad. Furthermore, his freedom of speech, travel and association have been greatly impaired.

Our support for Mr. Robeson's right to exercise these constitutional prerogatives need not be taken to imply concurrence with any or all of his political views. What seems to us important is to uphold the imperishable principle on which our nation was founded: that no citizen's fundamental rights shall be proscribed by officials of government solely on the basis that they object to his views on social questions.

In the denial of these rights to Mr. Robeson we recognize a threat to the rights of all Americans. In addition, since Mr. Robeson is viewed by millions of people in other countries as a leader in the centuries-long struggles of his people for full equality, the Department's continued refusal to grant him a passport can only serve to damage our influence and reputation in the eyes of the world.

In our own national interests as well as in the interests of free cultural expression throughout the world, we strongly urge that you give this matter your timely and favorable consideration.

Signed Dr. WILLARD UPHAUS

Willard Uphaus

STATEMENT TO JOHN FOSTER DULLES, SECRETARY OF STATE

Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:

We appeal to you to grant a passport to Mr. Paul Robeson.

We believe that the action of the State Department in restricting Mr. Robeson's right to travel abroad since 1950 is an unwarranted infringement upon the constitutional rights of an American citizen.

By this action Mr. Robeson has been denied the opportunity to earn a living by fulfilling numerous professional engagements abroad. Furthermore, his freedom of speech, travel and association have been greatly impaired.

Our support for Mr. Robeson's right to exercise these constitutional prerogatives need not be taken to imply concurrence with any or all of his political views. What seems to us important is to uphold the imperishable principle on which our nation was founded: that no citizen's fundamental rights shall be proscribed by officials of government solely on the basis that they object to his views on social questions.

In the denial of these rights to Mr. Robeson we recognize a threat to the rights of all Americans. In addition, since Mr. Robeson is viewed by millions of people in other countries as a leader in the centuries-long struggles of his people for full equality, the Department's continued refusal to grant him a passport can only serve to damage our influence and reputation in the eyes of the world.

In our own national interests as well as in the interests of free cultural expression throughout the world, we strongly urge that you give this matter your timely and favorable consideration.

Signed Lucien M. Brown

(Letter We Hope You Will Sign)

Suite 6
139 West 125th Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Friend:

We invite you to join us and several hundred other Americans in urging the State Department to restore Mr. Paul Robeson's right to travel abroad.

As you probably know, Mr. Robeson's passport was voided by the State Department in 1950. Subsequent applications for renewal - to fulfill concert and theatrical engagements abroad - have all been denied.

In a brief submitted before the Court of Appeals in 1952, the Government explained its denial of Mr. Robeson's passport on the basis of his

> "frank admission that he had been for years extremely active politically in behalf of the independence of the colonial peoples of Africa."

We question the right of our Government to deprive Mr. Robeson or any other citizen of his constitutional rights because of his views on social questions; and we are especially concerned that support of the liberation struggles of the African peoples is viewed by our State Department as ground for such action.

In depriving Mr. Robeson of his passport, the State Department not only abridges his constitutional rights, it also denies him an opportunity to earn a living by practicing his profession abroad; and deprives millions of people throughout the world of the opportunity to see and hear one of America's foremost artists.

We believe that the principles involved in this case are basic to the liberties of our countrymen generally, and that our views should be presented formally to the State Department. If you agree with us, we hope you will authorize the signing of your name to the enclosed letter to be sent to Secretary of State John Foster Dulles. A response form and return envelope are enclosed.

If you prefer to send your own statement directly to Mr. Dulles, please do so and let us have a copy. Let us have any suggestions you care to make in furthering the restoration of Mr. Robeson's passport.

Sincerely yours,

encl.

DRAFT OPEN LETTER

The Hon. John Foster Dulles
Secretary of State
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

We, the undersigned, respectfully request that a passport be issued to Paul Robeson at this time. We are not motivated by sympathy with Mr. Robeson's politics, but rather by the spirit of President Eisenhower's statesmanlike proposal at Geneva: "to lower the barriers which now impede the opportunities of people to travel anywhere in the world for peaceful, friendly purposes."

The principle of cultural exchange would be served, we believe, by permitting Mr. Robeson, an artist of international reputation, to fulfill concert and stage engagements abroad.

Respectfully yours,

John Wesley Dobbs
Atlanta, Ga.

(Letter We Hope You Will Sign)

Suite 6
139 West 125th Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Friend:

We invite you to join us and several hundred other Americans in urging the State Department to restore Mr. Paul Robeson's right to travel abroad.

As you probably know, Mr. Robeson's passport was voided by the State Department in 1950. Subsequent applications for renewal - to fulfill concert and theatrical engagements abroad - have all been denied.

In a brief submitted before the Court of Appeals in 1952, the Government explained its denial of Mr. Robeson's passport on the basis of his

> "frank admission that he had been for years extremely active politically in behalf of the independence of the colonial peoples of Africa."

We question the right of our Government to deprive Mr. Robeson or any other citizen of his constitutional rights because of his views on social questions; and we are especially concerned that support of the liberation struggles of the African peoples is viewed by our State Department as ground for such action.

In depriving Mr. Robeson of his passport, the State Department not only abridges his constitutional rights, it also denies him an opportunity to earn a living by practicing his profession abroad; and deprives millions of people throughout the world of the opportunity to see and hear one of America's foremost artists.

We believe that the principles involved in this case are basic to the liberties of our countrymen generally, and that our views should be presented formally to the State Department. If you agree with us, we hope you will authorize the signing of your name to the enclosed letter to be sent to Secretary of State John Foster Dulles. A response form and return envelope are enclosed.

If you prefer to send your own statement directly to Mr. Dulles, please do so and let us have a copy. Let us have any suggestions you care to make in furthering the restoration of Mr. Robeson's passport.

Sincerely yours,

W. E. B. Du Bois

encl.

The Honorable John Foster Dulles
Secretary of State
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Secretary:

The constitutional liberties upon which the democracy of our country rests are of extremely vital significance to all of us. Precious, too, is our concept and appreciation of the free exchange of artists and their creations in the development of cultural values, a matter which was advanced in so statesmanlike a manner by President Eisenhower at the Geneva Conference.

And yet, your Department, Mr. Secretary, has placed formidable restrictions upon the right of a number of American artists to travel.

Paul Robeson, a famed singer and internationally respected artist, has for five years been denied the right to travel outside of the continental confines of the United States. During this period he has been deluged with invitations from France, England, the Soviet Union, other European and Asian countries. These he has been unable to accept, Mr. Secretary, because your Department has cancelled his passport. You have even instructed immigration officials to prevent his going to places which do not demand passport or visa for entry.

At the same time, Paul Robeson's earning capacity here at home has been reduced to a minimum by political attacks upon him and by your attitude. Your restriction then is tantamount to a denial of the right of Mr. Robeson to earn his daily bread, to say nothing concerning its violation of the principle of cultural exchange.

We cannot believe this position justifiable under the circumstances. Your denial of a passport is based upon Mr. Robeson's political opinions. Without endorsing his political views, we must say that a right, the right to travel, is not conditioned upon conformity with any politics or to support of some proscribed political convictions. That would be unconstitutional.

We urge you, Mr. Dulles, to restore to Mr. Robeson his passport and to permit him to honor the desires of those who so fervently wish to see his consumate art and who have a right to hear him.

Respectfully yours,

PETITION ON THE RIGHT TO TRAVEL

PAUL ROBESON'S PASSPORT

Dear Fellow Americans:

We present for your consideration, an open letter to the Honorable John Foster Dulles, Secretary of State of the United States, on the question of Mr. Paul Robeson's right to travel.

For five years this internationally famed singer and actor has been denied the right to travel outside of the land of his birth. He is the only person in the history of our country who, by order of the Department of State, has been strictly confined to the continental U.S.A., not even permitted to travel in countries where entry is not conditioned by passport or visa.

As an artist, he has been denied the right to fulfill concert and stage contracts abroad. This situation is unchanged although the development of international cultural exchanges was endorsed by President Eisenhower at the first "Big Four" Geneva Conference and millions desire to hear Mr. Robeson.

Our government has charged that Robeson spoke out for the freedom of the African colonies while abroad, and that he also criticized the treatment accorded Negro citizens in the United States. The right to a passport is not determined upon one's conformity to the political views of the existing Administration. Clearly if that were the case, it would be a violation of the First Amendment and extremely prejudicial to any other political views.

Regardless of Mr. Robeson's political views, we do not believe that this artist should be prevented from displaying his creative talents before those desirous of seeing him.

We urge you to study this letter. It is a means of petitioning to end a gross injustice. The right to petition is yours. Please sign the petition. Get your friends and neighbors, in Church and club and elsewhere to sign. This is a way to uphold constitutional liberties.

Sincerely yours,

Tuesday the 25th discussion.

* Right to travel and the right to live
The UN.

Sam

The campaign good and bad -

Post editorial - Howard

The Negro people must be made the leaders - Sam's (who ~~[illegible]~~ would be free must -

* Sam misunderstood. The responsibility of white American. Soviet Union and Asian countries.

Number engagements - cultural exchange

* Not my task to do staff work.

Al

Priority and finances

No clash with the Rockwell Kent fight

meaning of political responsibility.

Get ECLC to agree to be active. (not take over)

The breadth of initiation is

The awareness of cultural disorganization.

Paul writing. Bertrand Russell.

Bill.

Differentiate in cases.

The forces involved insufficient

Change attorney. Boudin associated.? my position.

The statement and committee - first initiative hand in hand.

Webster.

Joe:

Right to travel a major issue.

Danger of the departmentalizing

Legal professional.

* Tour and concerts.

Proposal

National proposition

Proposals

Article in N. & N. of

" " Nation or letter.

" " Guardian

Saturday review

The Am. Scholar. Ver & Blitzstein

The Provisional Committee
TO RESTORE PAUL ROBESON'S PASSPORT
• • •
2286 SEVENTH AVENUE • NEW YORK 30, NEW YORK • AUDUBON 6-6465

MARGARET McCADEN, *Secretary*

HIGHLIGHTS FROM MINUTES OF MEETING HELD WED., April 28.

SCRIPT & PROGRAM COMMITTEE

Charles White
Margaret McCadden (Chairman)
Beulah Richardson
Betty Sanders
PeggyKisseleff

(Suggested names)
Alice Childress
Allen Booth
Ruth Jett
Marvel Cooke
Leon Bibb

INVITATATION COMMITTEE

Thelma Dale
Frances Smith
Norma Sterabin
Rudolph Christian
Louise Patterson
Maude Greene

Jessie Smith (Patrons)
Esther Lets (Trade Unions)

PUBLICITY COMMITTEE

George Murphy
Alec Jones
Louise Jeffers
John Abt
Mildred McAdory

Mel Fisher ke
(Proposed Chairman)

GENERAL PROMOTION & PUBLICITY COMMITTEE

Louise Pattersen
Irma Kasner
Helen Rosen
Ruth Gluck

TICKET COMMITTEE

Edith Roberts
Frances Smith
Maude Greene

Bea Goodlee
Irma Kasner
Frances Lubin

NOTE: Irma Kasner and Helen Rosen have agreed to arrange an afternoon TEA in the downtown area at which time advance contributions will be solicited and $100, $50 and $25 boxes will be sold.

Appeal letters will be sent to Fred Field, Albert Maltz and Corliss Lamont.

PROVISIONAL COMMITTEE TO RESTORE
PAUL ROBESON'S PASSPORT

Suite 6, 139 W. 125th St.
New York, N. Y.

Dear Friend:

Paul Robeson has for the last four years been denied a passport by the U.S. State Department. This means that he has been unable to accept the invitations that have come to him from all parts of the world to give concerts, to play Othello, to sing the leading role in Moussorgsky's Boris Guddunov, and many others. It means that people all over the world who want to hear his magnificent voice are denied the opportunity.

It also means that Paul Robeson is denied the opportunity to find abroad the normal means of livelihood no longer open to him in his own country. He gives of his great talent unstintingly in people's concerts, in churches and meetings. But, in the hysteria of these times, regular concert, stage and film engagements, radio and television appearances, recordings by commercial companies, are closed to him.

The State Department finds that "it is not in the best interests of the United States" that this great people's artist, who represents the best of our country's traditions and culture, of whom all true Americans, Negro and white, are deeply proud, should travel abroad today. This is a great dishonor to our country, which the people of America want to redress.

Protests and legal action have so far been unavailing. A committee is therefore in formation to launch a nationwide and worldwide campaign to restore Paul Robeson's right, as an American citizenand world artist, to his passport. This campaign will be launched at a Cultural Salute to be given him by fellow artists in New York City on May 26. (See enclosed announcement)

We know that there are people in every country in the world who will be glad to join in this campaign for their own right to hear Paul Robeson, as well as his right to travel abroad, for the promotion of cultural interchange among the nations which is one of the firmest foundations for peace. There are several ways in which you can participate directly.

1. By sending a message of support to Paul Robeson.
2. By getting others to join with you in this message, or to send separate messages of their own.
3. By writing or cabling the U.S. State Department, Washington, D.C., or the U.S. Embassy in your country, protesting the withholding of Paul Robeson's passport, and getting others to do likewise. (Please send us copies)

This campaign will continue until Mr. Robeson has his passport. We would like to have as many messages as possible, by letter or cable, to be read on May 26. But it is desirable to have a continuing flow of messages after that date, until the fight is won. All messages should be addressed to our Provisional Committee at the above address.

We shall appreciate hearing from you.

SOME PERSPECTIVES AND SUGGESTIONS RELATED TO THE STRUGGLE FOR PAUL ROBESON'S PASSPORT AND HIS RIGHT TO WORK

INTRODUCTION: Any struggle in behalf of Paul Robeson's rights as an artist and as an American citizen must be based on a correct evaluation of his political stature thoughout the world. In this memo it is only necessary to point out a few of the most obvious political implications. To the Negro people of his own land, Robeson is their own son... a son who has fought his people's oppressors with all his talents and all his strength. To the colonial peoples of the world, Robeson - and what he represents - is a voice giving them courage in their day-to-day struggles and singing to them of the free tomorrows he has seen with his own eyes. To the working class of every capitalist nation on earth he is an ally. To the People's Emocracies, to the masses of Chinese and Soviet peoples he is a beloved artist and a close and dear friend. And to the world as a whole he is a symbol of the American Negro's battle for liberation...against a war-minded government whose very name brings shouts of scorn the world over. Therefore, any struggle [illegible] around Robeson and against this government's desire to still his voice must be seen in the perspective described above. Any struggle for his right to travel and work freely must be based on the belief that victory is possible.. must be based on the sound conviction that the American ruling class can be made to back down on the question of Robeson's rights as an artist, as a Negro, as a world figure. This can only be achieved if the struggle grows to such proportions that it involves large sections of the anti-imperialist, peace-minded masses the world over ... who would see their own struggles reflected in Robeson's fight aginst Dulles' State Dept. Any struggle in this issue which falls short of this goal - or which is weak and limited and confined locally - cannot win. . . and will therefore be considered a defeat of major proportions. Correctly mounted, a struggle in behalf of Robeson's passport and his right to work can involve broad sections of the American people and all those throughout the world who hate the arrogance and callousness of the American ruling class.

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

Further, such a fight in behalf of Robeson as a blacklisted artist can gain support from large sections of the American cultural workers. By direct implication, a struggle for his right to work and his right to travel becomes a struggle for the rights of all American artists - Negro and white - to work and travel freely. Because a victory for Robeson would encourage and stimulate hundreds of other such struggles and victories. Such a campaign - if correctly publicized - can bring Negro and white into a shoulder-to-shoulder struggle against the McCarthys, the McCarrans, the blacklisters, the Dulleses. It would raise the blacklist fights and the passport fights to new political levels.

Above all, Robeson's challenge to the slave-master mentality of the State Dept . will be understood by the American Negro people as part and parcel of their historical battle against these same slave-masters. In one form or another , they will identify with Robeson's struggle. And they will see in Robeson's allies - both here and abroad - allies in their own mounting campaign for liberation and genuine freedom.

SOME PROPOSED STEPS

1. If such a struggle is agreed upon then appropriate priority must be given it. A process of education both here and abroad must begin immediately based on the meaning of Robeson's request for a passport and his right to work.

2. Legal counsel must be engaged immediately to process his passport application and prepare for hearings.

3. The offer to do 'Othello' in London, the offer to play France must be the first of many such offers to Robeson to sing, to appear on stage, in films, etc. abraod.

4. An examination must be made of ways and means of introducing the Robeson passport issue into the United Nations...

5. A National Committee to be built here - around the issues of Robeson's right to work. This committee to coordinate the campaign here and support from abroad.

   a) Arrange prominent delegations to State Dept.
   b) Arrange delegations to Ralph Bunche, etc.
   c) Arrange for funds for such work.
   d) Arrange for articles by Robeson and about R eson's fight for papers here and abr ad.
   e) Establi h contact with supporters abroad - p ssibly through a representative to be s nt abroad - for the purpose of coord nating both the campaign itself nd Robeson's projected artistic proj sts abroad.
   f) Help as ure information to all groups abroad desiring to pressure United States epresentatives to their countries in behalf of Robeson.
   g) Fight f r the rights of foreign cultural rep sentatives to appear in Robeso 's behalf at the hearings to express heir people's desires to hear obeson perform.
   h) Arrange for Robeson appearances here where th issues of his struggle for the right to work are brought to large ma s of people.

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

I.

P.R. Campaign important battle in struggle against facism & war. Must mobilize broadest sections of the Am. people.

Must move Labor move, Negro people, liberals

What does Campaign mean to Negro work?

- Breath in Negro Community
- Actions by many org. to take independent activities.
- Emergency Civil Liberties Com.

Establish Provisional Com. To Restore P.R. Passport

Stop prev. form — meetings
Supreme Court statement
Conventions?
Security — Ken B.
Statements — Marvel & Florence — Lloyd
House — Whole family

Clearance of all personel

[2]

II.

Western N.Y., A.M.E. Zion Conf.
White Plains, N.Y. Tuesday.
Reporter must cover.

Proposals:

1.) List of contacts sit with Paul

2.) White Plains

3.) Passport Campaign at Natl Conv of Elks
Tommy

4.) Circularize Zion Resolution to Bapts.

5.) Negro Press (Hand outs)

1.) Louise
2) John H. Jones
3) Disolve present form of Gathering
4.) made motion to give "unlimited" tickets
5.) Over-rode Negro leadership in Box assignment instance
6.) Continues to propose W.W. and reject N.W.

1.) Application for passport.
accompanied by Com. of prominent people.

2.) Acknowledgement of all messages (Foreign & domestic)

3.) Circulate brief before filing.

4.) Group supplying foreign names should meet.

[5]

Final Meeting of Planning Com. followed by Thank You Party Sat. June 12,

Establish of "Com. To Restore Paul Robeson's Passport."

Meeting of actives (Thursday)

Maude Green
Louise Patterson
Margaret McCaden
Alan Booth
Lorraine Hansberry
Julian Mayfield
Mel Fiske
John H. Jones
Bea Goodloe
Frances Lubin
Frances Smith
[redacted]
Alice Childress
Peggy Kisseloff
Rudy Christian
Alex Jones
Jessica Smith

Lou Burnham
Thelma Dale
John Gray

Clarice Booth
Ken Bruton
Eddie Nelson
Marvel Cooke
Paul Robeson, Jr.
Lloyd Brown
Alphaeus Hunton
Louise Jeffers
Bob Whiley

[7]

Salute to Paul Robeson Day (International)
Sept. or Oct. Large gathering in N.Y.C. and other American Cities as well as cities around the world.

Delegations to U.N. State Dept. Embassies etc.

Restore Paul Robeson's Passport Buttons

Local Committees (15 cities)

Committees in each Country

Offers from as many Countries as possible

Brochure — International support.

Testimonial Dinner — Apr 1955.
30 years as an artist. 57th Birthday

Tour under auspicies of Com. to Restore P.R.

Nat'l Com. of 1,000 to Restore P.R. Passport.

Promotional materials:

Movie strip of Cultural Salute
" of Canadian Border Concert
Tape recording of Cultural Salute
Brochure – Internatl support
Restore P.R. Passport, Buttons (many languages)
Circularize legal brief
Org. Manual – Several languages
Prints of Paul (500)

Monthly Budget

Wages (2 staff people) — — —	$752.50
John Gray, Ex. Secy Louise Patterson Adm. coordinator	
Clerical Help — — —	86.00
Telephone — — — — — — —	50.00
Office Supplies — — — — — —	100.00
Promotional materials — — —	250.00
Postage — — — — — — —	150.00
Misc. — — — — — — — —	100.00
	$1,488.50

```
      12
  297700
 148850
$17,862.00
```

Legal Fees

Travel

Rent

1.

Involve people in passport campaign
1.) Cultural life
2.) Negro life

Wed. actions
1.) General Resolution
2.) Post Cards
3.) a. Signing to become members
   b. More information.
4.) Efforts to establish national Com. of 1000 To Restore Paul Robeson's Passport.

Four stages in Passport Campaign
I) Renew application for passport
   a, Delegation to Washington
II. a, Filing of legal petition
   b, Spread legal brief widely
      Churchs
      Unions
      Negro Org.
III. Development of National + internatl

2

Campaign,

IV. Develope Campaigns

Submit case to Independent Civil Libities Com.

Stimulate other activities by various groups.

Violation of internat'l obligation "Rights & Duties of Man".

Lawyers

Leon Ransom

Flagg

Tom Jones

Delaney

Earl Dickerson

The Provisional Committee
TO RESTORE PAUL ROBESON'S PASSPORT
2286 SEVENTH AVENUE · NEW YORK 30, NEW YORK · AUdubon 6-6465
Margaret McCaden, Secretary

3.

Discussion in Nat'l Bar Asso. — Resolution

[12]

II. List

Letter from Essie to group of 50 enclosing (Fact Sheet).
Quote by Justice Douglas in Barsky Case

Nat'l Conv. — Resolutions

Summer tasks
  Legal campaign
  Reach org:
    Conventions
    Mass mailing

Open bank acct in name of Prov. Com. to Restore P.R. Passport
Essie Robeson & Maude Green

Approval to employ C.P.A.

1.) Reception – Passport Campaign

2.) Tour –

Motion picture – Miss Stock

3

May Day

a. Requests ~~Chicago~~

b. Conf. A.S.P.

c. Boat Ride ~~Cyanamide~~

Photo –

May 11, 12, Chrite

13, Essie

Mrs. Mdodana

Will call to arrange exact date.

Ben Davis Com.

Paul: –

1. Tommy will drop Materials by house tomorrow.
2. Give Paul list from Eddie.
3. Notes for Fast affair
4. Dates – appearances

See Vicki re Cafeteria workers people

Thank You notes

to senders of birthday Gifts

Committee people

RALLY

THURSDAY • JANUARY 28
8:00 P. M. 75¢ (TAX INCL.)

- First showing of movies of the historic Georgia Delegation
- Meet the delegates • Speakers • Entertainment

UNITED MUTUAL AUDITORIUM
310 Lenox Ave. (near 125th St.)

FREE MRS. ROSA LEE INGRAM IN '54

AUSPICES: WOMEN'S COMMITTEE FOR EQUAL JUSTICE

209

Miss Ellen Mahar
172 Waverly Pl.
N.Y.C.

ch-3-0893

14 8'3"
14 8'3"
8 8"
-36"

CM
2
'46
1
6/6
2 - 11/18/46

75.00
90.00
165.00
10
1650.00
1800.00
1000
~~3850.00~~
3850.00

RALLY

THURSDAY • JANUARY 28
8:00 P. M. 75¢ (TAX INCL.)

- First showing of movies of the historic Georgia Delegation
- Meet the delegates • Speakers • Entertainment

UNITED MUTUAL AUDITORIUM
310 Lenox Ave. (near 125th St.)

FREE MRS. ROSA LEE INGRAM IN '54

AUSPICES: WOMEN'S COMMITTEE FOR EQUAL JUSTICE 209

Miss Ellen Mahar
172 Waverly Pl.
N.Y.C.
ch. 3-0893

75.00
90.00
165.00
10
1650.00
12.00
10.00
~~3850.00~~
3850.00

14.00
14.00
8.00
-36.00

CM

Apr. 3, Phila. Freiheit Concert, Town Hall

Apr. 4, Attend Church

Apr 4, Hungarian Anniversary Celebration, Wash, 7P.M. to 9P.M.

Apr 8, Paul's Birthday Party

Apr. 10, NY, Freiheit Concert, Carnegie Hall

Schedule nothing between Apr 10, & Apr 16.

Apr 16, A.S.P. Dance Savoy

Apr. 19 ~~20~~, ~~Meeting with Peace forces, Phila,~~
Meeting with Cafeteria Worker Union leaders

Apr, 22, Howard Fast, Peace Prize Affair

" ~~23, Meeting with Peace forces, Phila.~~

Apr 2~~7~~4, Council on African Affairs Conf. Also Mrs Robeson

" 28 John Abt Dinner

Apr. 30, Salon Concert — Westchester ?

may 2 ~~May 1, May Day~~ O.K. Chas. White Home wants appt 4P.M.

May 5, Harlem Dance — Savoy

May 8, University of Chicago Concert Leave Fri. 2P.M.

~~May 16, 1st A.M.E. Zion Ch. Providence R.I.~~

May 21, A.M.E. Zion Meeting on Africa — Washington D.C.

Wed. May 26. ~~Amnesty Com. Rally~~ ~~Salute~~ to Paul Robeson Check up with Mrs Allayne Participant

Nothing during this period

Sun, June 6, Mother A.M.E. Zion Ch. Concert

Thurs. June 10, ~~Testimonial Dinner~~
Amnesty Com. Rally Chateau Gardens 1400

[1]

Apr. 3. Phila. Freiheit Concert, Town Hall

Apr. 4. Attend Church

Apr 4, Hungarian Anniversary celebration, Wash. 7 P.m. to 9 P.m.

Apr 8, Paul's Birthday Party

Apr. 10, N.Y. Freiheit Concert, Carnegie Hall

Schedule nothing between Apr 10 & Apr 16.

Apr 16, A.S.P. Dance Savoy

Apr. 19 ~~20~~, ~~Meeting with Peace forces, Phila.~~
Meeting with Cafeteria Worker Union leaders

Apr. 22, Howard Fast, Peace Prize Affa

" 23, Meet

Tues.

June 29 Tribute to Ben Davis
1.) Amnesty for Ben
2.) Support Fight to end segregation in Fed. Prison.

July 1-7, Detroit
or
July 10-15, Cleveland

July 17-25 Chicago

Aug. 1, Canadian Border Concert

Aug 3-9, Seattle
Portland?

Aug. 13-24, San Francisco
Oakland

Aug. 27 - Sept 7. Los Angeles

Denver?

[3]

Robeson Appearances

✓ Sun Jan 24. attend service in Newark O.K.

✓ Sun, Jan 31, Galilee Bapt. Ch. Newark O.K.

Fri. Feb. 12, N.Y. Negro Labor Council OK 25.00

Mon, Feb. 22, Anti-McCarthy Meeting - Chateau Gardens 100.00 (57th St. - Home)

Fri. Feb. 19, × Youth Rally O.K. $150.00

Negro Hist. wk. prog. $200.00

Wed. Feb. 24, × I.L.G.W.U. - A.L.P. Capital Hotel 2,000 People

$1 or $1.50

Newark Negro Labor Council - R.R. Conf. (none)

Fri, Mar. 5, × Jeff. School Dinner O.K. $150.00

A.P.C. 1st Part of March

Mar 12 Guatemala Meeting $25.00

~~Fri Mar. 19, Mass Meeting (Night of Stars) Break Jim Crow in~~

Apr. 3 × Phila. Freiheit Concert Town Hall OK $600.00 ~~Parkchester~~

Ck. sound

Apr. 10, × 32nd Anniversary - Freiheit Carnegie Hall O.K. $600.00

Sun. ~~apr. 23, Detroit~~ ?

~~May 16, Childrens Concert O.K. $450.00~~ ?

~~Apr 24~~,

1315-21 Boston Rd. Bronx 56 N.Y. Rev. J. Arthur Jones

May 23, Temple Emmanuel - Church Of God In Christ

May. 30, Mother Zion Church. Concert

June South (A.M.E. Zion Conferences?)

Robeson Appearances

Sun Jan 24, attend service in Newark OK.

Sun, Jan 31, Galilee Bapt. Ch. Newark OK.

Fri. Feb. 12, N.Y. Negro Labor Council OK 25.00
Mon, Feb. 22, Anti-McCarthy Meeting - Chateau Gardens 100.00 (57th St. - Home)
Fri. Feb. 19, × Youth Rally O.K. $150.00
Negro Hist. wk. Prog. $200.00
Wed. Feb. 24, × I.L.G.W.U. - A.L.P. Capital Hotel 2,000 People
$100 or $150
Newark Negro Labor Council -

July Vacation

	Washington Park Concert ?
Aug.	Peace Arch Concert ?
Sept.	West Coast Trip ?
Sept.	Reception honoring Mrs. Robeson
Oct.	Concert Rev. McKinney's Church
Oct	Election campaign

Conventions Bapt., Elks, A.M.E. Zion,

Fri Mar. 5, 9:15 P.M. Jeff. School Dinner O.K.
Mar. 7, Rendall Memorial Ch. Concert - ~~Honored Guest~~
Fri Mar. 12, Guatemala Meeting 10 P.M., O.K.

Sun. Mar. 14, Hungarian Daily Journal 2-5 P.M. O.K.
8:30
~~Fri. Mar 26, Caldwell A.M.E. Zion Ch. Fashion Review~~ ?
Fri. Mar. 26, "Lift Every Voice" End Disc. in Parkchester ?
Bronx A.L.P. Anytime until 11 P.M.

~~Fri Mar. 26, Council Of Greek Americans Rally~~ ?
Spoken to via telephone

Sat. Apr. 3, Phila. Freiheit Concert Town Hall O.K.
Hungarian celebration embassy
Sun Apr. 4, Attend Church in Camden 10th Ave Bapt Ch,
Tues. April 20, Meeting with peace forces Rev. Nemmo
Sat. Apr. 10 N.Y. Freiheit Concert Carnegie Hall O.K.
nothing between apr 10 - apr 16
~~Sun. Apr. 18, Repeat Concert Newark~~ ?
Sat. apr 24
Fri. Apr. 23, Shiloh Bapt Ch - Detroit ?. African Council Conf.
Fri apr 30 — Amnesty Com. Rally?
Sat. May 8, University of Chicago O.K., Westchester Concert
Sun, May 16, ~~Children's Concert ? O.K.~~ 1st A.M.E. Zion, Providence
Sat. May 22, ~~Brighton Beach Community Center~~ ?

Sun May 23, Temple Emmanuel - Church of God in Christ?

June 6
Sun ~~May 30~~, Mother Zion Church O.K.

June Chicago June 9, - June 22,
Detroit June 26, - July 1,
or
June Cleveland July 4, - July 10,

July, ——— Vacation

Aug, 1st Border Concert

Sept West Coast

Oct. Election activities

U.N. Concert ? Oct. 1954

~~Al4-7954~~

Cameron & Kahn
Wa9-1991

Ca 8-8395 Kramer

Larry 6:30 Ch 2-3197
7:30 Tues

Ralph Dight
1 P.M.
112 W 138th St. Between Lenox & 7th St.

Pittman ~~Mo2-6729~~
Au1-4948

Sa 2-9621 Cafe

Lucy Granger—Romona Garrett
Jim Malloy, Bill Stanley,

Lloyd Brown Mo 3-0697
408 W. 130

Aaron Kramer (Queens)
Ravenswood
~~Ha 6-5344~~
Ca 8-8395

Aaron Kramer
323 E. 10th St.
New York 9, N.Y.
Ca 8-8395

Atlantic Recording Co
234 W. 56
Pl 7-6306

Aaron Kramer
323 E. 10th St.
New York 9, N.Y.
Ca 8-8395

Aaron Kramer (Queens)
Ravenswood
~~Ha 6-5344~~
Ca 8-8395

Atlantic Recording Corp.
234 W. 56
Pl 7-6306

Oct 3. Chicago - Lightfoot Defense Rally
Oct 14. New World Review Dinner Honoring Paul & Essie

Fri Oct 29. Chicago Concert Pershing Ballroom
Sat " 30. Dinner (No Side) + Party
Sun " 31 Concert Chopin Cultural Center
Mon Nov 1 Rest
Tues Nov. 2. Passport Com. Affair preceded by Dinner at Dickensons
Wed " 3, Women's Com. Chicago N.L.C.
Mon. Nov 8, Patterson Defense Rally Rens Casino
Sun " 9. Wash. Trip. to Anniversary Reception

Tues. Nov. 16, American-Soviet Friendship Council

Dec 15, Emergency Civil Liberties Com.
Dec. 17, Internatl Publishers Dinner

Dec. 18, Natl. Com to Defend Negro Leadership Reception

Jan. 6, Y.P.A. - C.C.N.Y.
Jan. 16, Hugo Gellert Dinner Paul main speaker
" 26, Patterson - Ben Davis Meeting Speaking
Jan 30, Antioch Bapt Ch. Corona L.I. Mrs Aubouin

Feb

Feb. 15 – Mar. 11, California Trip

alan's dates
Nov. 7,
Nov, 28,

1.) Independent action of DuBois, Robeson,

2.) Negro press Coverage — Worthy Simkins

Prattis McKinney

3.) Observers Rev. Somerville \ Burroughs

4.) Expressions of support

Demonstrations in America

Ralph Matthews

J Pious Barber

Deswar new Engl.

Dick Moore

Gathering place Dr. Warner

Articles to Negro press

Letters " " "

Churches to plan observances of Conf. Asapanda Johnson

Committee

Harden Arbruin

Pauls' pamplet

West Indians

Fraternaties + Sororities

Quakers

Elks

A.M.E.

A.M.E. Zion

Labor

Importance of Conf - Indian

Indonesia

Burma

Marvel Freddi

Passport Com.

Alex Jones Call Off Recs.
Mel Fisk AU 1-4409
✓ Maude
✓ Louise
✓ Jessica
Thelma
✓ Lou
Alpheaus
✓ John
✓ Ken B
✓ Essie
Pauli
Rudy Christian
✓ Heloise + Phil
Lloyd
Bert + Carmen Alvis
✓ Frances Lubin

Alice Citron
Beulah Richardson

You are urged to attend meeting of small Committee to ~~plan~~ discuss plans for Fall and Winter campaign to restore Paul Robeson's passport. Monday Oct. 18 8 P.m. at the office - 139 West 125th St. Rm. 6. Urgent - please make every effort to attend.

Sincerely,

John Gray

I

July 2 1954	Robeson made new application for Passport
July 27, 1954	Passport again denied
Aug. 1,	Canadian Border Concert
Aug. 6,	Seattle Concert. Establishment of Seattle Comm. to Restore P. R. Passport.
	acknowledgement of Correspondence.

Proposals : II

Establish passport Committes
New York (National)
Chicago
Los Angeles
San Francisco
East Bay Area
Philadelphia

New York Committee

Fact Sheet

Legal Case | Artists statement | Other persons denied passports
Ministers "
General ", Professionals, trade unionists and others.

Issue Copies of legal Brief
Brochure of Foreign Support
Statement to U.N. (Comm. on Human Rights)
Celebration (Internatl) Apr, 1955 30 years as an artist 57th Birthday
Get passport case before Actors Equity

III

Action in British, French + Indian Parliaments

Election of Officers for Provisional Com.

Tour Feb. 1955 (Negro Hist. Month)

Finances

Baron, Sam

O.K.

Jan 26, Patterson - Davis Meeting

Pianist   Trip

✓ Marvel

✓ Legal fees

Q.P. Dinner

Sat. Nite

Get Copy of Horace letter for Paul

Write Leo Christiansen

ask accompanist - Handle material

at once (Hold up writing)

Appearances:
Tour: Frances Walker, Lucy Brown.
100^{00} wk

Recording:

Rehearsal:

√ Jersey . Anita Vigoda So Orange 3-0258

Westchester (Bill Smith) Newark Bi 2-7676

Marvel - Westchester
Negro Professionals

Queens (Lou)

Carliss Lamont (Thelma)
Ben Segal
Ted Bayer

Legal fees – prospectives for raising funds for fees
California   Alan
Trachtenberg celebration
Housing

A.M.E. Zion action in 1952 Conf.
get photostat.

Lovell A M E Zion – Star of Zion
Editorials for Dr.

North Carolina visit

Release by Paul on China Blockade – Lou

Subs.
Lasting Peace
New Times
Black Dispatch

Remind to order

Appt. at Office with 2 friends ~~Thu~~rs or Fri,
2 P.M. or so. arrange place

The British Peace Committee
81 City Road
London, EC1

Letter to important list.

Initial letter for signatures for broad letter (20-30 people)

Draft letter & material "Wed. Nov. 17.

John & Thelma

Membership

Statement

Contribution

Pat (Detroit & Pittsburgh)

Munn

PROVISIONAL COMMITTEE
to
RESTORE PAUL ROBESON'S PASSPORT
Suite 6, 139 West 125th Street
New York 27, New York

Dear Friend: May, 1954

Paul Robeson has for the last four years been denied a passport by the U.S. State Department. This means that he has been unable to accept the invitations that have come to him from all parts of the world to give concerts, to play Othello, to sing the leading role in Moussorgsky's Boris Gudounov, and many others. It means that people all over the world who want to hear his magnificent voice are denied the opportunity.

It also means that Paul Robeson is denied the opportunity to find abroad the normal means of livelihood no longer open to him in his own country. He gives of his great talent unstintingly in people's concerts, in churches and meetings. But, in the hysteria of these times, regular concert and stage and film engagements, radio and television appearances, recordings by commercial companies, are closed to him.

The State Department finds that "it is not in the best interests of the United States" that this great people's artist, who represents the best of our country's traditions and culture, of whom all true Americans, Negro and white, are deeply proud, should travel abroad today. This is a great dishonor to our country, which the people of America want to redress.

Protests and legal action have so far been unavailing. A committee is therefore in formation to launch a nationwide and worldwide campaign to restore Paul Robeson's right, as an American citizen and world artist, to his passport. This campaign will be launched at a Cultural Salute to be given him by fellow artists in New York City on May 26. (See enclosed announcement)

We know that there are people in every country in the world who will be glad to join in this campaign for their own right to hear Paul Robeson, as well as his right to travel abroad, and for the promotion of cultural interchange among the nations, which is one of the firmest foundations for peace. There are several ways in which you can participate directly:

1. By sending a message of support to Paul Robeson
2. By getting others to join with you in this message, or to send separate messages of their own; and sending names and addresses of others to whom we might write.
3. By writing or cabling the U.S. State Department, Washington, D.C., or the U.S. Embassy in your country, protesting the withholding of Paul Robeson's passport, and getting others to do likewise. (Please send us copies)

We would like to have as many messages as possible, by letter or cable, to be read on May 26. But it is desirable to have a continuing flow of messages after that date, until this important fight to keep open the avenues of cultural interchange is won. Messages should be addressed to the Provisional Committee at the above address. We shall appreciate hearing from you.

Sincerely yours,

DR. W.E.B. DU BOIS DOROTHY PARKER
CHARLES WHITE C.B. BALDWIN
MAUDE GREENE, Secretary

For the Provisional Committee

PLANNING COMMITTEE
for a
CULTURAL SALUTE TO PAUL ROBESON

June 4, 1954

Dear Friend:

On Saturday, June 12, we are planning the final meeting of the Planning Committee for the Cultural Salute to Paul Robeson, to be followed with a "Thank-You Party" for the artists and all who helped to make the Salute a success. Both gatherings will be held in the headquarters of the New York Negro Labor Council, 303 West 125th Street, Suite 4-E (4th Floor).

The Committee meeting will begin at 8:30. A financial report, an evaluation of the Salute in which we hope you will participate, and information on the next steps in the passport fight, will be the agenda.

The Party will begin at 10:30 P.M. Of course Paul Robeson will be there to greet and thank all of you for your splendid cooperation in the Salute,

We do hope that you can come. Will you let us know so that we will know how many to prepare for.

Sincerely,

Maude Greene

Maude Greene, Secretary
Planning Committee

John Gray

John Gray
Secretary to Paul Robeson

PROVISIONAL COMMITTEE
to
RESTORE PAUL ROBESON'S PASSPORT
Suite 6, 139 West 125th Street
New York 27, New York

May 1954

Dear Friend:

The enclosed announcement will inform you of a Cultural Salute to Paul Robeson to be held in New York on May 26, to initiate a nationwide and worldwide campaign to restore Mr. Robeson's passport for travel abroad, which has been withheld by the U.S. State Department for the past four years. This means he has been unable to accept the invitations that have come to him from many countries for concert, stage, film and opera appearances.

We know that there are people in every country in the world who will want to join in this campaign for their own right to hear Paul Robeson's magnificent voice, and for the promotion, through him, of cultural interchange among the nations which is one of the firmest foundations for the strengthening of the friendship of peoples and world peace.

We would very much appreciate your sending a message of support to Paul Robeson, letting him know of the desire of the people of your country to hear him, and how much this would mean in the interest of friendly relations between your country and ours. We would also appreciate your assistance in getting similar messages from leading public and cultural figures in your country.

It would be useful to have as many such messages as possible, by letter or cable, to be read on May 26th. But it is also desirable to have a continuing flow of messages after that date, because this campaign will continue until Mr. Robeson has his passport.

All messages should be sent to our Provisional Committee at the above address.

With warm greetings,

Sincerely yours,

HOWARD FAST
CHARLES WHITE
MAUD GREEN, Secretary

For the Provisional Committee to
Restore Paul Robeson's Passport

PROPOSED COMMITTEES

I. Publicity Committee
    a. Fact Sheet
    b. Throw-aways
    c. Press Conference
    d. Posters
    e. Press Releases

II. Contact Committees
    1. Harlem Contact Committee

    2. General Contact
        a. Special Promotional events
        b. U. N. Delegates -- Embassies
        c. Organizations -- Unions
        d. Individuals

III. Program and Arrangements Committee
    a. Script and Program
    b. Invitations -- mailing
    c. Solicitation of Greetings and Offers
    d. Refreshments

IV. Ticket Committee

PLANNING COMMITTEE
for a
CULTURAL SALUTE TO PAUL ROBESON
139 W. 125th St., New York, N. Y., Monument 6-8836

June 9, 1954

Dear

Our records indicate that you still have ____ tickets unreported for the Salute to Paul Robeson on May 26.

Since the Planning Committee is very anxious to complete its report and turn over all monies to the permanent committee, we will deeply appreciate your cooperation in completing your report this week.

If this is impossible because you still have some tickets you have distributed still unreported for, will you please make a special effort to get them in, or the money. Also will you kindly let us know when to expect your final report.

Sincerely yours,

Maude Greene, Sec'y-Treas.

- -

To the Planning Committee for a Cultural Salute to Paul Robeson:

You can expect a final report from me for all tickets sold and tickets unsold on ______________________________

Name______________________________

Address______________________________TELE________

PLANNING COMMITTEE
For
A CULTURAL SALUTE TO PAUL ROBESON

139 West 125th Street, Suite 6 -- New York 27, N. Y. -- MOnument 6-8700

May 14, 1954

Dear Friends:

A Cultural Salute to Paul Robeson, to be held on May 26, at the Renaissance Casino, 138th and Seventh Ave., opens a nation-wide campaign to restore his passport.

Joining in this tribute to our nation's most loved and renowned artist will be many artists and hundreds of men and women of every walk of life who have found Paul Robeson always at their side in their struggles for human dignity, security and peace. Particularly, in the ranks of labor is the announcement of this affair being greeted enthusiastically as an opportunity to pay tribute in a concrete way to Paul Robeson -- namely, by helpingto develop a campaign for the restoration of his passport so that people throughout the world may be able again to hear this greatest of people's artists.

We, therefore, feel confident that the membership of your organization will want to participate in this event and enclose an order blank for blocks of tickets and for boxes. We will appreciate your early response so that we can get the tickets to you for distribution as quickly as possible and also reserve whatever boxes you may wish.

Fraternally yours,

Howard Fast
Charles White
Maude Greene, Secy

For the Committee

(Partial list of participants in the Cultural Salute to Paul Robeson)

American String Quartet
Leon Bibb
Alan Booth
Nadyne Brewer
Lawrence Brown
Alice Childress
Marion Cumbo
Laura Duncan
David Johnson
Peggy Kisseloff
Tony Kraber
Margaret McCaden
Chauncey Northern
Beulah Richardson
Earl Robinson
Betty Sanders
Pete Seeger
Frances Walker
Felix Weir
Charles White

PLANNING COMMITTEE
for a
CULTURAL SALUTE TO PAUL ROBESON
139 W. 125th St., Suite 6, New York, N. Y.

June 1, 1954

Dear

We deeply appreciate the contribution you made to the overwhelming success of the Cultural Salute to Paul Robeson.

Our Planning Committee is anxious to wind up its work on the Salute and turn over to the permanent committee which will carry on the fight to restore Paul Robeson's passport the net proceeds of the affair.

According to our records you have ____ tickets outstanding. Will you please try to make a complete report by the end of this week, turning in all monies for tickets sold and all unsold tickets.

We will greatly appreciate your cooperation in helping to complete our report as quickly as possible so that the permanent committee can immediately follow up our successful Salute to Paul Robeson with the next steps in gaining his passport.

Sincerely yours,

Maude Greene

Maude Greene, Sec'y-Treas.

FOR RELEASE MAY 25

Planning Committee for a
CULTURAL SALUTE TO PAUL ROBESON
139 West 125th Street, Suite 6
New York 27, N. Y. -- MO 6-8700
May 20, 1954

WORLD LEADERS URGE PASSPORT FOR ROBESON

Outstanding personalities of Great Britain, France, Soviet Russia, and other countries have expressed support for the campaign to secure a passport for Paul Robeson, it was disclosed yesterday by the Planning Committee for a Cultural Salute to Mr. Robeson.

The Committee is sponsoring an evening of song and dramatic events in which more than two score Negro and white artists are taking part will be held Wednesday, May 26th at the Renaissance Casino, 138th Street and Seventh Avenue from 8 to 11 P.M.

Among those who have written to Mr. Paul Robeson expressing support to him for his right to travel and sing the world over are:

Mme Felix Eboue, widow of the late leader of French Africa and former vice president of the French National Assembly.

Laurence Housman, the famous British poet and playwright.

Dennis N. Pritt, leading British lawyer and former member of parliament.

J. G. Crowther, foremost British scientist.

Boris Polevoi, prize-winning Soviet novelist.

V. O. Ibeneme, president of the West African Students' Union.

In addition to these declarations of support from these figures, the Planning Committee for the Cultural Salute to Paul Robeson has received scores of letters from ordinary folk in Sweden, Australia, and Great Britain.

In the office of one business organization of Amsterdam, Holland, all the employees signed a letter in common urging that the State Department grant Mr. Robeson's right to travel and sing.

Among the messages received are many poems and songs addressed to Mr. Robeson.

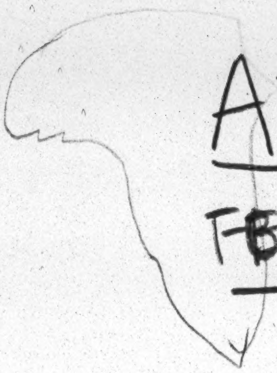
The French Confederation of Labor, representing five million organized workers, sends a special greeting signed by its general secretary, Alain Le Leap.

Admission to the Renaissance Casino affair is $1.10 and can be had at the Planning Committee's headquarters, Suite 6, 139 W. 125 St., New York City, MO 6-8700.

##

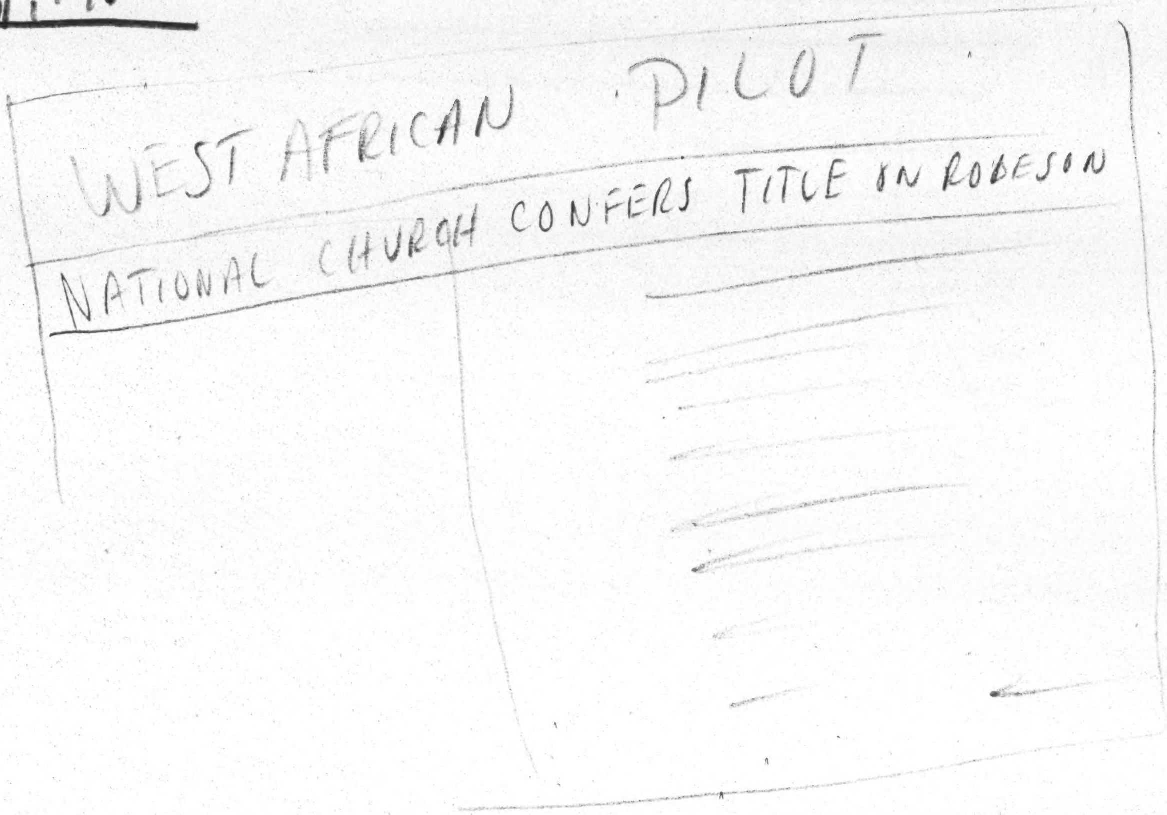
I. F. Stone Weekly
301 East Capital St.
Wash 3 D.C.

Sept 27, issue



AFRICA

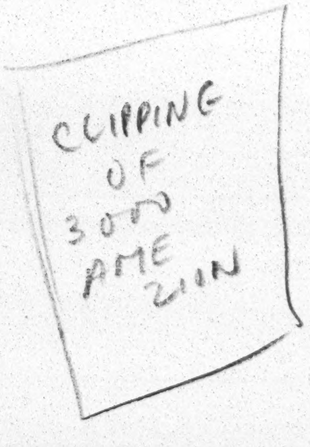
FEBRUARY, 1952



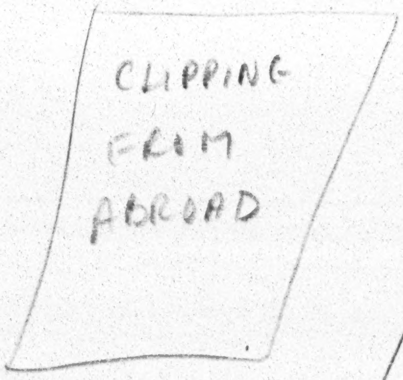
WEST AFRICAN PILOT

NATIONAL CHURCH CONFERS TITLE ON ROBESON

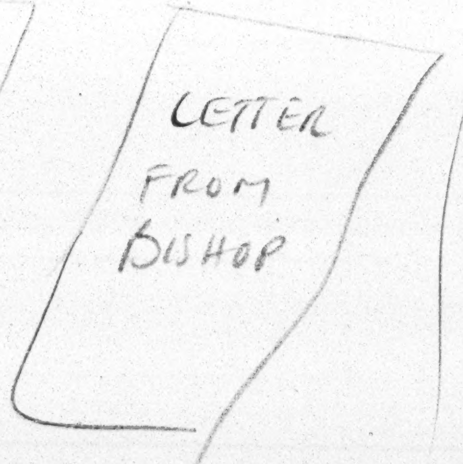
WHO SUPPORTS MR. ROBESON?



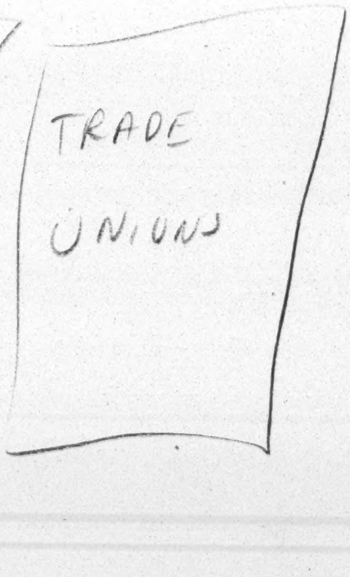
CLIPPING OF 3000 AME ZION



CLIPPING FROM ABROAD



LETTER FROM BISHOP



TRADE UNIONS

ETC.

JUST A FEW MOMENTS OF YOUR TIME ..

WHAT YOU CAN DO.

WASHINGTON, D.C.
FEBRUARY, 1952

"Furthermore,

"

(an excerpt from the brief
filed by the U.S. Gov't
against Paul Robeson's
demand for a passport
U.S. Court of Appeals)

PROGRESSIVE PARTY

1133 BROADWAY
NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

CHelsea 2-9146

Honorary Chairmen
Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
Dr. Robert Morss Lovett

Chairman
Elmer A. Benson

Co-Chairmen
Hugh Bryson
Paul Robeson

Vice-Chairmen
Hugh DeLacy
Rev. Charles A. Hill
Senora B. Lawson
Alice F. Liveright

Treasurer
Katharine A. Van Orden

. . .

Secretary and Campaign Manager
C. B. Baldwin

May 7, 1954

Dear Friend:

On May 26 a Cultural Salute will be tendered Paul Robeson, world-renowned peoples' artist, by leading cultural figures at the Renaissance Ballroom, 138th Street & Seventh Avenue. This tribute will launch a national campaign to win a passport for Mr. Robeson so that he can fulfill worldwide concert and operatic engagements offered him over the past several years. As you know, Mr. Robeson was one of the founders of the Progressive Party and has served as National Co-Chairman since its inception. Throughout the life of the American Labor Party, he has lent his great talent for our program.

We know that members of the A.L.P. will want to join in this tribute to Mr. Robeson as well as to enjoy the cultural riches which will make this occasion a memorable one. We are, therefore, urging you to sell a minimum of ten tickets in your club so as to help guarantee a maximum turnout for this affair.

Tickets are available through the State Office and County Offices of the A.L.P., and at Freedom Associates, 139 West 125th Street. (General Admission $1.10)

Sincerely yours,

CB Baldwin
Paul Ross

C.B.Baldwin
Secretary
Progressive Party

Paul Ross
Vice Chairman
N.Y. State American Labor Party

PLANNING COMMITTEE
for
CULTURAL SALUTE TO PAUL ROBESON
139 West 125th Street, New York 27, New York
MO 6-3836

May 20, 1954

Dear Friend:

We urgently need your help as an usher at the Cultural Salute to Paul Robeson on Wednesday evening, May 26th at the Renissance Casino, 138th Street and 7th Avenue.

We must be certain of fifty persons. Therefore, it is important that our friends sign up at once so that adequate help may be guaranteed.

We impose one requirement. We ask you to attend a meeting of the ushers on Monday evening, May 24 at 8 P.M. This meeting (a sort of dress rehersal) will be held at the Renissance Casino. This affords us the opportunity to familarize ourselves with the hall and to accept responsibility for the occasion.

The success of the campaign to secure Paul's passport, of which the Cultural Salute is the beginning, will be determined, in part, by the amount of funds collected at the event. Responsible, careful workmen and women are needed who will draw from each person in his or her section the maximum amount under the direction of our Collection Speaker. And, because of the nature of this event, it is imperative that we work skillfully in ushering our guests to the sections reserved for them.

We anticipate an over-flow attendance. We definitely need your assistance in keeping down to a minimum any irregular practices which may arise in the auditorium.

Will you take on this task? We will be grateful.

Please return the enclosed card indicating your willingness to serve.

See you on Monday at the Casino, I am

Sincerely yours,

Maude Greene

ENC:

Maude Greene
Secretary-Treasurer

THE PAUL ROBESON 1954 TOUR

During the months of July through September 1954, inclusive, Paul Robeson, the distinguished artist and people's leader, will make another nationwide tour. The tour will include major cities and some small centers, from coast to coast.

The purpose of this memorandum is to outline for those who will be involved in local preparations the character of the tour and the major objectives to be achieved. Let us consider the minimum schedule that should be fought for in each city. In the main, the schedule or program pattern should be more or less the same in all areas. What would be this minimum program?

1. One Concert, testimonial dinner or other mass affair, with the sponsorship being determined from city to city, but always striving for the broadest sponsorship.

2. Negro Church Concerts: In cities where outdoor concerts are not being planned, all efforts should be made to arrange the major appearance at a leading Negro church. Wherever possible, the concert should be sponsored by the church or an organization within the church. The purpose here must be to place Mr. Robeson as a concert artist in the center of Negro life to benefit financially from his appearance. Such concerts will also need the full support of the progressive forces in the city, but the emphasis again should be on attendance from the church involved and other sectors of the Negro community. In the church concerts also other artists (instrumentalists, etc.) should be involved.

3. One broad conference of a hundred trade unionists, Negro and white, with the major emphasis being Negro. This is not an NLC conference, and it must not be NLC sponsored. It should be organized by a small representative group of trade unionists, working primarily as individuals. An invitation, not a call, should be gotten out over the signatures of a few trade union leaders (three to fifteen, depending on composition, would be adequate) for this conference.

4. One broad meeting of Negro community leaders, perhaps around a discussion of Africa or the passport campaign. Here we should endeavor to bring together anywhere from five to fifty key people. These people should come through invitation only; otherwise we will have a hodge podge of left wingers. We do not need a famous name to organize this gathering; for if we wait to get such a name, we will not have it. Let it be held in the home of a reasonably representative person.

5. One major appearance before a church, a ministrial alliance, or lodge.

6. One major fund raising effort, perhaps a private concert in a middle class home for Freedom and/or the Council on African Affairs or the Passport Campaign.

From the viewpoint of politics, and what we are trying to achieve, we should fight for the above type of schedule.

Other Activities That May Be Considered

1. Individual meetings with key leaders. We must work on this. We must fight relentlessly to guarantee that the time of the artist is not monopolized in unscheduled coffee-clatch discussions. On those days when there are no major evening engagements, we should seek to get in one or two or three organized appointments with one or another individual leaders.

- more -

2. An NLC or Freedom sponsored affair. The NLC, of course, should be a part of the proposed trade union conference. It would, of course, be advantageous if the artist met with the Freedom personnel on questions related to the development and expansion of the paper. But this should be a scheduled meeting, and a modest meeting, composed primarily of Freedom personnel and workers, people who are committed to building the paper.

3. Stress should be placed on trying to hold a major outdoor meeting in each city, perhaps Wrigley Field in Los Angeles, Washington Park in Chicago, etc.

4. Press interviews or appointments.

5. Visit to community institutions or trade union halls: i.e., community centers, churches, nurseries, cultural centers (e.g., the art center).

If the trip is to be successful in each area, there must be a group of activities placed in a list and marked top priority, with other possible activities being placed in a second category. In other words, we must adhere to and fight for a concentration policy in relationship to the schedule.

6. We should set up in each city a small committee of five to seven people to be politically responsible for organizing, planning, and conducting the entire program in that city. The Committee needs a chairman, a secretary, and possibly a treasurer. If not a treasurer, then a secretary-treasurer. Under no circumstances should the program in a given city be worked out and sponsored by a single organization such as the NLC or Freedom. **The object should be to have representatives of such organizations join with other forces in sponsoring the visit.**

   What should be the composition of this Committee? At least the following should be on it: A leading trade unionist responsible for the trade union phase of the program; a professional or leading community person responsible for the community conference and individual appointments with community figures, a leading white progressive or cultural or professional responsible for a fund raising affair (private concert) for Freedom and other related activities in which the artist is a part; one person responsible for the concert; the chairman and the secretary who will coordinate, clear all dates, etc.

   This Committee should be selected as a result of the most careful examination of its composition. These seven people must be free from a million other things to concentrate on guaranteeing this project.

7. At the very outset the most careful attention has to be given to finances. The financial objective of this tour is to raise upward of $25,000 for work among Negro people.

   a) A budget covering the minimum advance work that is required.

   b) A budget covering the upkeep required for the stay in each city, including the pro-rata travel expenses.

   c) Based upon the above, the Committee in each city must know what their financial obligations are, so that the progressive movement as a whole is mobilized to guarantee that these committments are met. Each city must advance $500 to make possible the visit; we cannot wait until the end of the trip before collecting funds.

- more -

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

d) A financial quota must be set for every affair in which the artist participates. For instance:

The Trade Union Conference ---------	$500 to $1,000
The Community Meeting --------------	250 to 1,000
The Concert, or Mass Affair---------	1,000 to 2,000
The Private Concert Affair ---------	2,000

Why cannot 100 trade unionists come to a conference with this artist and bring at least $5 each. If 50 come they should bring at least $10 each. We must discuss with the people attending these affairs in advance the urgent need for funds. And we must wage war against the liberal, pseudo-idealistic, and opportunistic approach towards funds that characterize so much of our work. The same is true of the gathering of leaders of the Negro community.

e) It must be understood at the outset that the funds being raised are to support the activities of the artist. We should not agree, for instance, to an NLC luncheon unless they agree to produce $500 to the funds being raised by the artist, and unless they turn over one-half of this before the luncheon. Hasn't the time arrived for the democratic forces in this country to produce some funds so that this great artist may conduct his activities, so that Freedom, the records, the passport fight, support of African resistance campaign, and his other projects can unfold? There is no reason whatever why a sum of from three to five thousand dollars clear profits should not be forthcoming from each of these cities without exception, and will be if we fight for a correct approach on this question.

8. Above all we must build Freedom and the African Council's Newsletter, and establish Passport Campaign committees, during this trip. This question must be placed at the very center of the arrangements and all preparations. A quota for a minimum number of subscriptions must be worked out in each city and stubbornly fought for while preparing for the visit of the artist. These subs should be presented to him during the visit. The unfulfilled portion of the quota can be fought for during the visit. For instance, why should not the trade unionists go out to get two to three subs each before the artist arrives in each city. This means a fight by the Committee that will be sponsoring the trip in a given city.

   A minimum goal of 500 Freedom subs and 100 Newsletter subs and a passport campaign committee should be established in each city to be visited.

Let us then set four primary organizational objectives for this year: 500 Freedom subs, 100 Newsletter subs and the organization of a Passport Campaign Committee in each city visited; three to five thousand dollars from each city visited. In order to realize these organizational objectives, we must concentrate upon them, thereby excluding prime or equal attention to other projects.

Tentative Dates:

Detroit or Cleveland	July 1-7 (8-9) Rest July 10-15 (16) Rest	San Francisco Oakland	August 13-24
Chicago	July 17-27	Los Angeles	August 27- September 7
Border	August 1	Denver	?
Seattle Portland ?	August 3-9		

I. Publicity Com.
  a Fact Sheet
  b Throw-aways
  c Press Conf.
  d Posters
  e Press releases

Mel
Alex
Florence
Vi Scott
Marilyn Alexander

Maude
Essie

II Contact Committees
1. Harlem Contact Committee (John Gray)
Space
2. General Contact " (Louise Patterson)
  a Special Promotional events Norma Starobin
  b. U.N. delegates – Embassies
  c. Orgs. – Unions
  d. Individuals

III. Program & Arrangements Com. (Reception)
  a Script. & Program
  b Invitations – mailing
  c Solicits Greetings & Offers
  d. Refreshments

Reggie
Alan Booth
Alice Childress
Beulah
Leon Bibb
Ruth Jett

IV. Ticket Com.

Edith
Bea Goodlow
Thelma Dale

CULTURAL SALUTE TO PAUL ROBESON
On the Occasion of Launching the Campaign to Restore His Passport
(May 26, 1954, at the Renaissance Casino)

Budget:

Chairs (Rental)	$60.00	
Printing (Invitations)	50.00	(Labor Donated)
Postage	115.00	
Advertising	100.00	
Stationery	25.00	
Telephone	25.00	
Refreshments	100.00	
Publicity--posters, throw-aways	50.00	
Misc.	125.00	
		$650.00
Hall		160.00
Promotional Person (Part time or full time -- $50.00 $75.00 per week)		300.00
		$1,110.00

Income:

Tickets -- 1000 @ $1	$1000.00	
Patrons -- 100 @ $5	500.00	
Boxes -- 10 @ $100	1000.00	
" 20@ $50	1000.00	
" -- 20 @ $25	500.00	
Collection	2000.00	
	6000.00	$5000.00

50
20
1000

IMMEDIATE PROMOTIONAL STEPS

1) Prepare list and send out 1000 letters for patrons -- local or national.
2) Luncheon or tea, other form (social), to get women's committee to work on wealthy box holders ($100 and $25).
3) Trade union gathering (luncheon or other form) to get (a) mass distribution of tickets in trade unions and (b) boxes.
4) Harlem gathering to mobilize forces for mass sale of tickets + support passport campaign
5) Gathering of Harlem leaders.
6) Press Conference for Negro and progressive press on launching of passport campaign, with May 26 the first milestone. Should be informative on background of case and steps to be taken in campaign.

PROPOSED COMMITTEES

X I. Publicity Committee

- a. Fact Sheet Disc Jockeys
- b. Throw-aways
- c. Press Conference Visit bars on Sat. before May 26.
- d. Posters
- e. Press Releases → contact report
- f. Street meetings

X II. Contact Committees

1. Harlem Contact Committee

2. General Contact
    - a. Special Promotional events
    - b. U. N. Delegates -- Embassies
    - c. Organizations -- Unions
    - d. Individuals ______

X III. Program and Arrangements Committee Ruth Jett, Leon Bibb,

- a. Script and Program
- ✓ b. Invitations -- mailing
- ✓ c. Solicitation of Greetings and Offers Jessica Smith
- d. Refreshments
- e. Patrons

X IV. Ticket Committee

V. Restore Paul Robeson's Passport Campaign Com

The Committee to Restore Paul Robeson's Passport
139 West 125th Street, Suite 6
New York 27, New York
Phone: MO 6-8700

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE: April 30, 1954

Paul Robeson, the world-renowned Negro singer and actor, will be feted at a Cultural Salute to be given him by stars of stage, screen and radio May 26 at the Renaissance Casino, 138th Street and Seventh Avenue.

The Salute will open a campaign to restore Robeson's passport. The State Department, for the past four years, has denied Robeson a passport to meet his singing commitments throughout the world.

Scores of singers and actors, some of whom have performed with Robeson throughout the nation, will pay their tributes to the famed Negro star at the reception.

#

/

$92.90.

Nat Witt Mu. 3-8673
Fri. 3 P.m. 9 E. 40th St.

NEW CENTURY PUBLISHERS
INCORPORATED
TELEPHONE: ALGONQUIN 4-0233 • 832 BROADWAY, NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

May 20, 1954

Paul Robeson Salute Committee
53 West 125th Street
New York 27, N. Y.

Dear Friends:

We wish to call attention to the debt of $16.88 incurred by the Committee to Restore Robeson's Passport, in February of 1952. We hope that it will be possible at this time to see that this bill is paid, and we are taking the liberty of enclosing a statement.

Sincerely yours,
NEW CENTURY PUBLISHERS

Joe Felshin

JF:MB
enc.

at Freedom

STATEMENT

NEW CENTURY PUBLISHERS
INCORPORATED
832 BROADWAY, NEW YORK 3, N. Y.
TELEPHONE ALGONQUIN 4-0233

May 1, 1954
DATE [redacted]

Comm. to Restore Robeson's Passport
2286 Seventh Avenue
New York, N. Y.

TERMS:
NET CASH

209

DATE	FOLIO	ITEM	DEBIT	CREDIT
		Account Rendered		
2/15/52	5095		16.88	
			16.88	

PAST DUE!
PLEASE REMIT

PLEASE REMIT PROMPTLY

WITT & CAMMER

NATHAN WITT
HAROLD I. CAMMER
RALPH SHAPIRO

9 EAST 40TH STREET
NEW YORK 16, N.Y.
MURRAY HILL 3-6790

April 1, 1953

COUNCIL ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS, INC.

-to-

WITT & CAMMER, DR.

To bill rendered	
For disbursements	$ 92.90

Paul—
Harold Cammer
has phoned + written me
several times about this bill,
unpaid for some months,
for expenses of passport case.
I asked Lou to remind
you of it.
Alphaeus

53 West 125th Street
New York, New York

cc: Mr. Paul Robeson
22 East 89th Street
New York, New York

PROMPT PRESS

Prompt Printing Press, Inc.

PRINTERS • 113 FOURTH AVENUE · NEW YORK 3, N. Y. · GRAMERCY 7-8582-3

209

Nº 4667

William L. Patterson
6 East 17 St.
nyc 3 ny

Pd.

Date Oct 25, 1955

Your Order No.

Terms: Net Cash

5M - 7x10 L.H.				
(250 Letters - 4750 LH)	20	—		
3% cst		60		
			20	6

7277

PROMPT PRESS

PROMPT PRINTING PRESS • INC
113 Fourth Ave. • New York 3 • GR 7-8582-3

Date 10/17 19

Received from Wm L. Patterson

Twenty ——

Amt. $ 20 60/ Tax $ Deposit $ Bal. $

$

By B Cole

209

508 - PATTERSON WM L. 9 50
NYC
OCT 23 JT

№ 8523

HOTEL CONGRESSIONAL
A Knott Hotel
300 NEW JERSEY AVE., S.E.
WASHINGTON 3, D.C.
All Bills Due When Rendered

Acct. Forwarded from No.______ to No.______

LOCAL TELEPHONE CALLS							
DATE	OCT 23	10/24					
BALANCE FORWARDED		9 78					
ROOM	9 50						
D. C. SALES TAX	28						
CAFE							
LOCAL PHONE							
LONG DISTANCE							
TELEGRAMS							
LAUNDRY							
VALET							
NEWS — CIGARS							
GARAGE STORAGE							
PAID OUT							
TOTAL CHARGES		9 78					
CREDITS — CASH		9 78					
CREDITS — ALLOW.							
BAL. FORWARDED							

TRANSFER TO CREDIT LEDGER

Charge to______ C. C. No.______ O.K. ______
Street______
City-State______ Guest's Signature______

5623 PACKWOOD PRINTING CO., INC., WASH. 1, D. C.

Feb. 6, 1956.

Received $30.00 for painting material —

Calvin Gutsay

LAW OFFICES OF
MILTON H. FRIEDMAN
342 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N.Y.
MURRAY HILL 7-1162

July 1, 1956

William L. Patterson, Esq.
23 West 26th Street
New York, New York

To

Milton H. Friedman, Dr.

- -

Statement

Re: Robeson v. Dulles

Balance due, ...	$203.07

Re: Davis v. Bennett and Brownell

Balance due, ...	300.00
	$503.07

RABINOWITZ & BOUDIN
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
25 BROAD STREET
NEW YORK 4, N. Y.

VICTOR RABINOWITZ
LEONARD B. BOUDIN

TELEPHONE
DIGBY 4-5564

July 12,1956

Re: Robeson vs Dulles

Received Five Hundred Dollars ($500).

RABINOWITZ & BOUDIN
by Arthur Schutzer
Arthur Schutzer

LAW OFFICES OF
MILTON H. FRIEDMAN
342 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
MURRAY HILL 7-1162

RECEIVED from WILLIAM L. PATTERSON the sum of TWO HUNDRED DOLLARS ($200) on account of the amicus curiae brief in the matter of Paul Robeson.

Dated, New York, February 21, 1956

Milton H. Friedman

TELEPHONE MESSAGE

Date 2/28

For

From

Their No. Time Rec'd

Remarks: Rec'd from W.L. Patterson $25.

CB

PROMPT PRESS
PROMPT PRINTING PRESS • INC
113 Fourth Ave. • New York 3 • GR 7-8582-3

7496

Date 1/18 1956

Received from Mr Patterson

Nineteen + 57/100

Amt. $ 19 *Tax* $ 57 *Deposit* $ *Bal.* $

$ 19 57

By Pat

209

December 14 1955

Received from Mr. Wm. Patterson

Two Hundred Fifty & no/100 Dollars

For Robeson v. Dulles on Acct.

$250.00 Jas. T. Wright Atty.

GOLDSMITH BROTHERS

77 NASSAU STREET NEW YORK CITY

RETURN $10.00 OF THESE RECEIPTS AND RECEIVE 50c IN MERCHANDISE.

Date	Am't	No.	
FEB 29	-7.50	032	55

Date	Am't	No.	
FEB 29	-7.50	032	55

The Downtown Department Store

PETTY CASH VOUCHER

Date 3/1 1956

PAY to Off Exp. - tech. Asst.

For Carfare + lunch

$ 1 | 20 cents

Signed CB

Joseph Meyer Co., 424 Broadway, New York 13, N. Y., CA. 6-1657-8

Phone: WAtkins 4-1360

THE HECLA PRESS

LAW PRINTERS
225 Varick Street

81391A

NEW YORK, Feb. 29, 1956

M Milton H. Friedman, Esq.
342 Madison Ave.
New York, N.Y.

Terms Cash

Our Order No. 6354

Robeson vs John Foster Dulles

Printing Motion for leave to file Brief and Brief Amici Curiae		
27 pages @ 3.10	83.70	
30 additional copies: 27pp @ .60	16.20	
Footnotes	4.88	
Covers	12.00	
Overtime Saturday 2/25/56	75.00	
	191.78	
3% City Sales Tax	5.85	
Author's Corrections: 1½ hrs. @ 8.50	12.75	210.38
500 Reprints	225.00	
3% City Sales Tax	6.75	231.75
Additional names (page 27) 200 copies- 1 page	10.00	
3% City Sales Tax	.30	10.30
		$452.43

LAW OFFICES OF
MILTON H. FRIEDMAN
342 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
MURRAY HILL 7-1162

April 2, 1956

William L. Patterson, Esq.,
23 West 26th Street,
New York, N. Y.

-To-

MILTON H. FRIEDMAN, Dr.

Re: Robeson v. DULLES

Statement

Balance of fee		$100.00
Disbursements:		
Special stenographic service	$48.00	
Toll calls	14.98	
Transportation in connection with filing amici curiae brief	40.09	103.07
TOTAL		$203.07

SUMMARY STATEMENT

RE: ROBESON

Balance due on fee		$1,000.00
Due on research		1,500.00
		$2,500.00
Balance due on printing brief and record	448.66	
Printing costs- reply brief in Court of Appeals	136.73	
Disbursements:		
January 16 bill	199.71	
February 7 bill	335.07	
March 13 bill	282.07	
Total printing costs and disbursements		1,402.24
Total due		$3,902.24

Town Hall June 13th — $1000 or 75% net.

Carnegie Hall July or Aug. — all net to Paul.

The Canada affairs.

ORDER BLANK
For
CULTURAL SALUTE TO PAUL ROBESON
May 26, Renaissance Casino, 138th & 7th Ave.

Committee to Restore Paul Robeson's Passport
139 West 125th Street - Suite 6
New York 27, New York

Please send us _____ tickets for the Cultural Salute to Paul Robeson.

Also reserve the folowing box(es) for this affair for our organization.

$100 box ______________

$ 50 box ______________

$ 25 box ______________

Name of Organization__________________

Address____________________________

Ordered by_________________________
(Signature) (Title)

ORDER BLANK
For
CULTURAL SALUTE TO PAUL ROBESON
May 26, Renaissance Casino, 138th & 7th Avenue

Committee to Restore Paul Robeson's Passport
139 West 125th Street - Suite 6
New York 27, New York

Please send us______ tickets for the Cultural Salute to Paul Robeson.

Also reserve the following box(es) for this affair for our organization.

$100 box ______________

$ 50 box ______________

$ 25 box ______________

Name of Organization__________________

Address____________________________

Ordered by_________________________
(Signature) (Title)

PLANNING COMMITTEE
for
CULTURAL SALUTE TO PAUL ROBESON
139 W. 125th St., Suite 6, New York 27, N. Y.
MO 6-8836

Dear Friend:

According to our records you have _____ tickets for the Cultural Salute to Paul Robeson on May 26 at the Renaissance Casino.

We are asking for ticket reports by Friday of this week, May 21. The office will be open all day and evening for this purpose and we hope that you can give us your full report, money for tickets sold and returns on tickets unsold.

Again thanking you for your contribution to the success of this important event.

Sincerely yours,

Maude Greene cs

Maude Greene, Sec'y-Treas.
For the Committee

+✓ Yusuf M. Dadoo, 47 End st, Johannesburg, So. Africa

x Confederacion De Ferroviarios De Bolivia
Ayacucho # 284 3er Piso, Bolivia

x People's Educational Organization
64 Barry Street, Kingston, Jamaica

x Thunder, 97 Laluni St. Georgetown, British Guiana

✓ Natal Indian Congress, P.O. Box 2948 Johannesburg, S.A.

x Worker's Music Association
17 Bishops Bridge Road, London W 2. England

x Mr. & Mrs. Daniel Latifi, 4, Harkness Road, Malabar Hill
Bombay 6, India

x Jean Laffitte, World Council of Peace, Vienna, Austria

x All India Peace Council, 14 Munshi New Delhi, India
Niketan, Kamla Market ↘

x National Union Of Mine Workers Scottish Area
5 Hillside Crescent Edinburgh 7, Scotland

x Building Workers' Industrial Union of Australia
J.C. Chandler, State Secy. 51-53 Little Bourke St, Melbourne

II

Ichiro Ayukawa
x c/o Tsukiji Transport Co. 2-15 Irifunecho Chuoku Tokyo, Japan

World Federation of Trade Unions
6 Chichester Chambers, Chichester Rents
London W.C.2, England.

Upali Abeygunawardena
Katugahahena, Ceylon

New Age Weekly
M. P. Ramamurti, Editor
Khanna Bldg.
Delhi, India

~~World Federation of Democratic Youth~~

FOREIGN LIST

Diallo Abdoulaye, Union Syndicats, Bamako, French Sudan, French West Africa

Mr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, P. O. Box 573, Lagos, Nigeria, West Africa

Dr. R. T. Bokwe, Middledrift, Cape Province, Union of South Africa

Editor, Daily Service, 5 Apongbon St., Lagos, Nigeria, West Africa

Ethiopian Press and Inf. Dept., Addis Adaba, Ethiopia, East Africa

Dr. Y. M. Dadoo, Pres., South African Indian Congress, 18 Barkly Arcade, 28 Market St.
Johannesburg, S.A.

Mrs. Mabel D. Danquah, c/o Ollivant, P. O. Box 117, Accra, Gold Coast, West Africa

Mr. E. E. Esua, Gen'l Sec'y, Nigeria Union of Teachers, P. O. Box 488, Lagos, Nigeria

Mr. Nduka Eze, Nigerian Nat'l Fed. of Labor. 1 Eletu Wase St., Lagos, Nigeria, W. A.

Mr. Brian Bunting, Advance, 6 Barrack St., Capetown, South Africa

Mr. Victor Mbobo, P. O. Box 766, Johannesburg, South Africa
Honorable Prime Minister
Mr. Kwame Nkrumah, P. O. Box 821, Accra, Gold Coast, West Africa

Editor, Reveil, 64 Rue Valmath, Dakar, French West Africa

Mr. I. T. Wallace Johnson, 7 Trelawny Street, Freetown, Sierra Leone, West Africa

V. Faran, 196 Lower Main Road, Observatory, Cape Town, South Africa

Mrs. Funmilayo Ransome-Kuti, Pres., Nigerian Women's Union, Abeokuta, Nigeria, W. Africa

Mr. Julius Lewin, Witwatersrand Univ., Johannesburg, South Africa

Dr. J. S. Moroka, Pres., African Nat'l Congress, Box 9207, Johannesburg, South Africa

Mr. Charles Mzingeli, P. O. Box 679, Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia, Africa

Gold Coast Observer, P. O. Box 36, Cape Coast, Gold Coast, West Africa

Mr. H. S. Sachs, Garment Workers Union, 13-18 Progress Bldgs., 156 Commissioner St,
Johannesburg, W. Africa

Secretary, South African Indian Congress, P. O. Box 365, Durban, South Africa

WEST AFRICAN PILOT, 24 Commercial Ave., Yaba Estate, Lagos, Nigeria, W. Africa

---

Mr. Ken Hill, Vice Chrm., Trade Union Congress of Jamaica, 129 Tower St., Kingston,
Jamaica, B. W. I.

N. W. Manley, Editor, Jamaica Arise!, Edelweiss Park, Cross Roads, Jamaica, B.W.I.

Editor, THE MASSES, 64 Church St., Kingston, Jamaica, B. W. I.

Mr. Dan F. Blackett, Torch Publishing Co., 89 Roebuck St., Bridgetown, Barbados, BWI

Frank Marshall Davis, Hauula Post Office, Ohahu, Hawaii

FOREIGN LIST -2-

Desmond Buckle, 57 Charlwood St., London S. W. 1, England

Mr. Semakula Mulumba, 1 Hempstead Hill Gardens, London, NW3, England

African Press Agency, 22 Cranleigh St., London N. W. 1, England

Colonial Information Service, 16 King St., London, W. C. 2, England

X Daily Worker, Swinton House, 324 Gray's Inn Road, London, W. C. 1, England

X West African Students Union, 13 Chelsea Embankment, Chelsea, London, S. W. 3, England

India League, South Africa Comm., 47 Strand, London W. C. 2, England

Mr. R. Palme Dutt, Labour Monthly, 134 Ballards Lane, London N. 3, England

Learie N. Constantine, Flat 2, 101 Lexham Gardens, London, W. 8, England

League of Coloured Peoples, 19 Old Queen St., Westminister, S. W. 1, London, England

~~Mr. A. J. Siggins, The Authors Club, 2 Whitehall Court, London, S. W. 1, England~~ No longer a member Returned

Student Labour Federation, ~~174 Cambridge Road, London W. 12, England~~ Returned

----

Lucille Giacome, Telepress, Ltd., P. O. Box 119, Prague, Czechoslovakia

Gabriel D'Arboussier, World Peace Council, Palais S. I. A., Janska 100, Prague, Czechoslovakia

Paloczi-Horyath Gyorgy, Magyar Radio, Brody Sandor UTCA 5-7, Budapest, Hungary

Editor, Land og Folk, Dr. Tvaergado 3, Copenhagen, Denmark

Mr. Gabriel D'Arboussier, ~~World Congress of Defenders of Peace, 15 Rue Feydeau, Paris 2, France~~ Returned

Pierre Courtade, L'Humanite, 37 Rue du Louve, Paris 2, France

X World Federation of Democratic Youth, 21, rue de Chateaudun, Paris 9, France

X Louis Saillant, World Federation of Trade Unions, Seilerstatte 3, Vienna 1, Austria

----

X C. T. A. L. News, Plaza de la Republica, No. 6, Mexico, D. F.

Vicente Lombardo Toledano, Villa Obregon, Mexico D. F.

✓ Margaret Gould, Toronto Star, 80 King St./ West, Toronto, Ontario, Candda

X Mr. Daniel Braithwaite, 676 Shaw St., Toronto, Ontario, Canada

✓ Editor, The Canadian Tribune, 70 Tecumseth St., Toronto 2b, Ontario, Canada

✓ Minerva Cooke, Sec'y, Negro Progressive Club, 226 Melite Ave., Toronto, Canada

----

229 Whites Road Lota Brisbane Q,

+ Nance Macmillan, ~~296 The Avenue, Parkville, Melbourne,~~ Australia

Edith-Alphaeus will call to say when he will
be in to give you his list

Robeson statement to be mailed out to the following:

✓Mr. Claude Barnett
Associated Negro Press
3503 South Parkway
Chicago 15,Ill.

✓Mr. Louis Lautier
NNPA News Service
2005 Fifteenth Street,N.W.
Washington,D.C.

✓~~JudgexWxCxH~~
~~Dr. J.Finley Wilson~~
Washington Eagle
1813 Vernon Street,N.W.
Washington,D.C .

✓Dr. J.P. Barbour
National Baptist Voice
1614 W. Second Street
Chester,Pennsylvania

✓Mr. James Ivy
Crisis Magazine
20 West 40th Street
New York,N.Y.

✓Editor,Journal of Negro History
1588 Ninth Street,N.W.
Washington,D.C.

~~R~~
✓Phylon
Atlanta University
Atlanta,Georgia

✓Dr.L.L.Berry
Voice of Missions(A.M.E.)
112 W.120th St.
New York,N.Y.

✓Dr. Wendell Somerville
Lott Carey Herald
1501 Eleventh St.,N.W.
Washington,D.C.

Editor,A.M.E.Zion Missionary Seer
1421 You Street,N.W.
Washington,D.C.

A.M.E. Christian Recorder
716 S.19th Street
Philadelphia,Pa.

Mr. Christopher Bates
Arkansas State Press
610 W.Ninth Street
Little Rock,Ark.

Editor,Atlanta Daily World
210 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3,Georgia

~~Chix~~Editor,Chicago Defender
3435 Indiana Avenue
Chicago 16,Ill.

Editor,Iowa Bystander
221½ Locust St.
Des Moines 3,Iowa

~~Mr. Charles P. Howard~~
~~515 Mulberry St.~~
~~Des Moines,Ia.~~

Mr. Carl Murphy
Publisher,Afro American Newspapers
628 N. Eutaw Street
Baltimore,Md.

Mr. William Harrison
Boston Chronicle
794 Tremont St.
Boston,Mass.

Mrs. Maude Trotter Stewart
Boston Guardian
977 Tremont Street
Boston,Mass.

Editor,Detroit Tribune
2146 St. Antoine St.
Detroit 1,Mich.

Editor, Kansas City Call
1715 E.18th St.
Kansas City 8,Mo.

Editor,St.Louis Argus
2312 Market St.
St. Louis,Mo.

Editor,New Jersey Herald News
130 W.Kinney St.
Newakr,N.J.

Press for Robeson Statement-Cont.

Editor, New York Amsterdam News
2340 Eighth Avenue
New York,N.Y.

Editor,New York Age
230 W.135th Street
New York,N.Y.

Editor,Carolina Times
P.O.Box 59
Durham,N.C.

Mr. Ralph Matthews
Cleveland Call Post
2319 E. 55th St.
Clevland,Ohio

✓ Mr. Roscoe Dungee
Oklahoma Black Dispatch
324 N.E. Second St.
Oklahoma City 4,Okla.

Mr. Eustace Gay
Philadelphia Tribune
524 S .16th Street
Philadelphia,Pa.

Mr. John McCray
Lighthouse and Informer
1022½ Washington St.
Columbia 20,S.C.

Mr. Carter Wesley
Houston Informer
2418 Lelland St.
Houston 3,Texas.

Mr. John Johnson
Negro Digest
Calumet Ave.
Chicago,Ill.

Mr. Lloyd Brown
Masses and Mainstream
832 Broadway
New York,N.Y.

Negro Columnists

Look up following
✓ International News Service 235 E. 45
✓ United Press 220 E. 42
Associated Press 50 Rockefeller Plaza
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
Christian Science Monitor
Boston,Mass.
Federated Press 401 Broadway
Daily Worker,Mr. John Pittman,Foreign News Editor.
Freedom
~~New World Review~~
Miss Jessica Smith
New World Review
114 E.32nd Street
New York 16,N.Y.
Peoples Daily World
✓ 819 Folsom St.,San Francisco,Calif.
See Alphaeus about following

Dr. Joliot Curie →
World Peace Council,
Palais S.I.A. Janska 100
John Darr Praha, Czech.
World Peace Council,Prague

✓ Letter to Mr. Warren Austin
American Delegation
United Nations Headquarters

✓ Main UN Delegates
Mr. Malik,USSR
Czechoslovakia
~~Italy~~
India
United Kingdom
Liberia
Haiti
Indonesia
Mr. Trigvie Lie

PL-4
1334

Foreign News Agencies
Tass 50 Rockefeller Plaza
X Reynolds News — ? London
X London Daily Worker —
Note carefully
Mr. Thomas Richardson,Peace Crusade
Mr. Abbott Simon, Peace Crusade 1186 Broadway
Dr. W.E.B.DuBois
409 Edgecombe Ave.New York,N.Y.
X Chinese News Agency for Chinese Peoples Republic
New York Times, Editor
New York Herald Tribune,Editor
Mr. Ted O.Thackery
Daily Compass — 164 Duane
Mr. Jack McManus
National Guardian 17 Murray St.

Mobilization for Wed. Hearings

out	Thelma Dale	Ch 2-9146
✓	Vicki	Mo 6-5122
	Jesse Gray	Sa 2-0298
✓	Haloise	Wo 4-6740
✓	Frances Smith	Mo 2-0618
	~~Maude Green~~	~~Mu 3-2080~~
✓	Marvel Cook	Su 7-4677
✓	Beulah	Lo 8-6740
	Alex Jones	Wa 9-3119
	Marilyn Alex	Fo 8-2479
	Maude Katz	Fo 8-8908
	Doxey	Wa 9-1600
	Louise	Ju 2-1890
	Tommy	Mu 4-8256

Newspapers

Jimmie Hicks	Afro-Am
Evelyn Cunningham	Courier
Sinclair	Amsterdam
Worker	

Wed 10 A.M. Dec. 15,

270 Broadway Room 1405

Jt. Leg. Com. on Charitable + Philanthropic Agencies

Priority

Negroes all marked personal

Norman O. Houston (personal)
President
Golden State Mutual Life Ins. Co.
199 W. Adams Blvd. Los Angeles 18

#

Lawrence H. Lightner (personal)
2100 Downing St % American Woodmen.
Denver 5 Colo.

A. N. B. Herndon % Atlanta Life Ins. Co.
148 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta Ga.

Charles H. Mahoney Pres.
Great Lakes Mutual Life Ins.
82 E. Hancock Ave. Detroit 1.

Bishop F. L. Lewis Pres.
~~Lincoln~~ Lighthouse Life Ins.
1209 Pierre Ave. Shreveport La.

Henry A Boyd
Citizens Saving Bank & Trust Co
Nashville Tenn.

John W. Roxborough
Superior Life Ins. Soc.
319 E. Kirby Ave Detroit Mich.

over.

Citizens & Southern Bank & Trust Co.
Mr E. C. Wright Pres.
Philadelphia Pa.

Dr Charles S. Johnson Pres.
Fisk University
Nashville Tenn.

Dr Benj. E. Mays Pres.
Morehouse College

Dr Rayford W. Logan
Howard University
Washington DC.

Belford V. Lawson Esq
2001, Eleventh St N-W
Washington, DC.

Archibald MacLeish
Cambridge, Mass

Robeson matter

1.) Jan 17th to file brief. Needed 2 wks. Feby 1st
Boudin vs Dulles better than Robeson vs Dulles.
significance of Robeson greater than others.

2.) Stop order.
Can travel as a matter of law. Hawaii
Has not been stopped from leaving USA.
Denial by State Department that he is stopped from going to other parts of USA.
Dept. Hawaii Virgin Is. M

3.) Argument probable in April at latest March.

4.) The material of protest may be relevant. By Friday.
High lights of career. clippings. " "

B. Brief
1.) Interpretation of regulation that give authority is invalid. Secty has only ministerial power.
2.) Regulations violate due process
Vague - Communist la
Violate standard statute of Congress regarded as unconstitutional
3.) Freedom of speech substantive point under
If they had right no bona fide hearing
Procedural Demand for affidavit improper

4.) Adm. remedies were not exhausted because not necessary.

What permits travel to non-passport country.
Making this a distinct point.

Mr Brown has placed the question correctly. Mr Robeson is not the right kind of Negro.

The enforceable documents.

arguments not only pushed by Rooce.

We are not making it a political case.

Public how do you now raise a passport fight.

* There has been a fight - to otherwise is wrong.

Place certain limits on the passport.

Ben: -

Till matter logically links itself and vice-versa.

Paul's voice in the Till matter.

Main Question

Passport fight.

More not done I wanted Paul in Willie McGee.

The Washington issue separated from the Negro people. The press -

Take passport fight on from Canada.

1. Travel in Carribeanan.

Complete success.

The impact of Geneva.

Letter on Paul's passport (isolation) now.

The spirit of Geneva and Negro people.

" " " " Paul's passport.

Other organizations helping.

Till campaign - makes Robeson's passport more valuable.

Only from subjective side is Till spontaneous.

Senator Ellender travels -

- Paul speaks on Till

United Nations.

* Telegram to Sunday's Meeting.

* Paul's non compliance with affidavit and the open letter.

Proposals.

1.) Statement on passport - letter.

Travel.

Other statements.

See Allen on affair for Paul.
Committee.
Apparatus.
Every letter of or to Paul answered.
Lloyd - Paulie - John - Dorothy.
The value of the open letter (talk)

Lou. Idea in the letter.
Dunjee might initiate the letter.

Practical questions
attorney must raise Negro question.
forces must work.
A leading Negro figure to entertain.
Marian Anderson.
Hennings Committee Questionaire.
(a) The open letter put aside for the moment.
Paul as a unifying factor.
The left in the united front.

1. Meet once a week.

Robeson Case expenditures.

Jan	Boudin	$750.00
"	Wright	250.00
Feby	Friedman	400.00
"	mail and typing	32.00
Mar 8	Washington trip	22.00
" 2	Clarise	20.00
Feby 29	Goldsmith	7.50
"	Misc.	57.56

1719 Taylor Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.
April 21, 1956

Mr. William L. Patterson
123 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

Dear Mr. Patterson,

Here is a list of ministers' names that you requested. Please feel free to write to them. Should you need additional names, I will be glad to furnish them.

NAMES	ADDRESSES*
Rev. C. H. Hamilton	915 St. Catherine Street, N. E.
Rev. W. L. Turley	1820 Swann Street, N. W.
Rev. W. A. Tutt	1829 Nineteenth Street, N. W.
Rev. M. McQueen	47 New York Avenue, N. W.
Rev. R. Lockheart	1327 Holbrook Street, N. E.
Rev. G. E. Stevenson	535 Twenty-First Street, N. E.
Rev. G. Travis	5327 Central Avenue, S. E.
Rev. F. L. Jones	1810 Kalorama Road, N. W.
Rev. H. B. Thigpen	2355 Champlain Street, N. W.
Rev. E. Thomas	4831 Ninth Street, N. W.

*All addresses are in Washington, D. C.

Sincerely yours,

Rev Roosevelt MCIntyre

Rev. Roosevelt McIntyre

Q Mc P. –
C.P. –

I

Rev. Shelton H. Bishop
215 W. 133rd St

Dr. Lucien M. Brown
2460 Seventh Ave

Mrs. Lucille Chance
740 St. Nicholas Ave.

Dr. H. B. Delaney
2303 Seventh Ave.

Dr. Arnold Donawa
2171 Madison Ave.

Rev. Asapanza Johnson.
Interdenom. Alliance

Bapt Alliance

A.M.E. Zion Alliance

Rev. Carrington
Brooklyn A.M.E. Zion

Baptist Church in Brooklyn.

Rev. Edler Hawkins, St. Augustine Church
165th St. + Prospect Ave. Bronx

Rev. Joseph C. Hill Mt Calvary Meth Ch
Edgecomb at 140th St.

Rev. W. Eugene Houston Rendall Memorial Pres. Ch
61 W 137th St

II

Rev Henderson P. Hughes Emmanuel A.M.E. Ch.
37 W 119th St.

Mrs. Nettie Carter Jackson Grand Daughter Elks
35 Tompkins Pl.
Staten Island N.Y. Gi 2-3775

Rev. John H Johnson St. Martins Episcopal Ch
230 Lenox Ave.

Rev. Joseph Joyner Metro. A.M.E. Ch
132 W. 134th St.

Bishop Robert C. Lawson
167 W 124th St.

Rev Julius Major Trinity A.M.E. Ch
259 W. 126th St.

Dr. Cecil Marquez
125 W. 121st St.

Rev. O. Clay Maxwell, Sr. Mt Olivet Bapt Ch
201 Lenox Ave.

III

Rev Louis H Midgette Greater Bethel A.M.E.
32 W. 123rd St.

Rev. Carnes McKinney Caldwell A M E Zion Ch
1288 Stebbins Ave. Da 9-2933

Rev James H. Robinson
86 Moringside Ave.

Rev. Shelby Rooks
206 W. 137th St.

Rev. Joseph Simmons Mt Zion A.M.E. Ch
116th St. & Madison Ave.

Rev. Gardiner C. Taylor
170 Halsey St. Brooklyn

Rev. C.Y. Trigg Salem Meth. Ch.
2190 Seventh Ave.

Rev. James W. Wactor Greater Hood Memo. A.M.E. Zion
160 W. 146th St.

IV

Rev. L. S. White   Williams Institutional C.M.E. Ch
131st St & 7th Ave.

Rev. Kilgore

Rev. A. Clayton Powell

Dear Sir:

We, the undersigned, appeal to you to grant a passport to Mr. Paul Robeson. Since 1950, your department has refused to take such action. The Department's action has in effect denied Mr. Robeson the basic right to earn a living by refusing him the right to travel abroad to fulfill numerous professional engagements. By the same token, it has denied vast cultural audiences abroad the opportunity to see and hear one of America's foremost artists. Thus, our country, in the eyes of the world, is seen to stand in the way of free cultural expression and exchange.

In addition, because Mr. Robeson is a Negro, son of a slave father and known as a leader in the struggle of his people for full equality, we believe the best interests of American prestige abroad would be served in allowing him the right to appear in the great concert halls of the world. Thus, he would give eloquent testament to our continuous efforts in America to bring about full equality of all our citizens. President Eisenhower has expressed himself on several occasions as being dedicated to the principle of equality of all citizens under the law. Our Supreme Court on May 17, 1954, further documented this thesis by its historic decision banning segregation in education as unconstitutional.

In the interest of fair play to an outstanding citizen and in the spirit of greatness long associated with our country, we urge you to give this matter immediate and favorable consideration.

Very truly yours,

- -

TEAR OFF

( ) I agree to sign the above letter to Sec of State John Foster Dulles.
( ) You may list me as a sponsor of the Robeson Passport Case Committee.
( ) I contribute $_______ in furtherance of the work to secure Mr. Robeson's passport.
( ) Please send further information.

Prof. Fowler V. Harper
Yale University Law Sch.
New Haven Conn

Prof Thomas I. Emerson
Yale Univ. Law School
New Haven Conn

Prof Murray G. Branch
Morehouse College
atlanta, Ga,

Mr. Angus Cameron ?
Upper Jay N.Y.

E. Washington Rhodes
Phila Tribune

Mrs. W. W. Goins

Wilmington Del.

Atty Louis Redding

Earl Dickerson

Rev. Kenneth R. Forbes ?

Rev. Chas. A. Hill

Rev Kenneth PDe. Hughes ?

Cambridge, Mass

Roscoe Dunjee

Larkin Marshall

Mrs. M. Simkins

Williard Ransom

I

✓ Dr. Ulysses Campbell

East Orange N.J.

✓ Miss Nannie Burroughs
✓ Rev. Bell Oakland

✓ Dr. Mary McLeod Bethune
✓ Mrs. Cora Peters Denver
✓ Mrs. Charlotta A. Bass

Dr. Dwight O.W. Holmes

Baltimore, Md.

✓ Dr. W. E. Garner
1802 Geary San Francisco

Miss Fredi Washington

2

Mr. & Mrs.
✓ Corliss Lamont ✓

✓ Elmer Benson ✓

✓ Dean John B Thompson

✓ Mr. Olin Downs
N.Y. Times 229 W 43rd St, N.Y.

✓ Harry Bridges
✓ Rev Andrew Fowler Wash, D.C.
Ring Lardner, Jr.

Gail Sondergaard

Bishop Matthews

✓ Bishop H. T. Medford
✓ Rev. P. S. Ogborne

✓ Dr. Carlton Goodlet

✓ Dr J. Pious Barbour

✓ Atty Willard Ransom

✓ Bishop O. T. Jones, Sr.

✓ Miss Mahalia Jackson ✓ Alt 5-0900
3728 So. Prairie Ave Chicago

Bishop R. R. Wright

Bishop Reverdy Ransom
Wilberforce Ohio

✓ Bishop C. C. Alleyne

Bishop Frank Madison Reid

✓ Mrs. Modjeska Simkins

✓ Dr. James W. Eichelberger
128 East 58th St Chicago, Ill.

✓ Mrs Carl Hansberry
1145 Hyde Park Blvd. Chicago

✓ Mrs. Pearl White

Seattle, Wash

✓ Bishop John W. Martin
4550 So. Michigan Ave.

Bishop Wm. J. Walls

✓ Bishop Stephen G Spottswood

✓ Bishop William A. Stewart

✓ Rev. T. E. Brown Chicago

✓ Earl B. Dickerson

✓ Rev. Jos. M. Evans

✓ Mrs. Annie Malone

✓ Mr. Duke Ellington
935 St. Nicholas

✓ Atty Hugh E. MacBeth, Sr
1558 W. 37th St Los Angeles, Cali

✓ Mrs. Betty Murphy Phillips
c/o Afro-Am. Baltimore

✓ Rev. Chas. A. Hill ✓

Detroit Mich
Rev. Fauntleroy

Winston-Salem, N.C.

✓ Wm Chester

✓ Asbury Howard
✓ Bishop James C. Taylor
Dorothy Parker

✓ Julius Emspak
11 E 51st St U.E.

Initiators

Essie to write
Enclose list of people that are being invited along with you to initiate letter.

✓ Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois
✓ Earl Dickerson
Miss Nannie Burroughs
Atty Louis Reddings
✓ Prof Thomas Emerson
✓ Rev. Kenneth deP. Hughes
? Rev. John Paul Jones Union Ch of Bay Ridge, Brooklyn 9. 201 80th St.
✓ Carey McWilliams The Nation
✓ Prof. G. Murray Branch Moorehouse College
✓ Miss Mahalia Jackson
Dr. Mary McLeod Bethune
Dr. Carlton Goodlet
✓ Atty Willard Ransom
Bishop H. T. Medford
⑯ Mrs. Modjeska Simkins
Mr. Duke Ellington

Mr. J. A. Rogers ✓

E. Washington Rhodes, Esq.

Mrs. Maudelle B. Bousfield

Dr. Linus Pauling 3500 Fairpoint St Pasadena 8, Cali

[illegible]

Mrs. Nettie Carter Jackson

Judge Hubert T. Delaney ✓

Rev. C. Asapansa Johnson

Bishop C. C. Alleyne

Mr. Clarence C. White ✓

Mrs. Annie Malone

Rev. Dr. Willard Uphaus ✓

Rev C. Asapansa Johnson
29 Livingston Ave.
Staten Island N.Y.

✓ Dr. Lucien Brown ✓

✓ Mrs. Nettie Carter Jackson ✓

✓ Dr. W. E. B. DuBois

✓ Rev Shelton Hale Bishop ✓

Mr Robert Douglas

✓ Judge Jane Bolin ✓

✓ Mrs. Lucille Chance ✓

✓ Judge Hubert T. Delaney

✓ Mr. Lionel Hampton

✓ Rev. Edler Hawkins

✓ Mr. Erskine Hawkins

✓✓ Mr. James Hicks

✓ Rev W. Eugene Houston

✓ Miss Alberta Hunter

✓ Mrs. Alma V. Johns

✓✗ Mrs. James Weldon Johnson

✓ Rev. John H. Johnson

✓ Mr. Robert W. Justice

✓ Bishop Robert C Lawson

✓ Mr. Chauncey Northern

✓✗ Dr. C. B. Powell

✓ Judge Francis E. Rivers

✓ Rev James H. Robinson

✓ Mr. J.A. Rogers
✓ Rev. Shelby Rooks
✓ Atty Hope Stevens
✓ Rev. Gardiner C. Taylor
✓ Rev. C.Y. Trigg
✓ Rev. James W. Wactor
✓ Mr. Clarence C. White
✓ Miss Abbie Mitchell
✓ E. Washington Rhodes, Esq
Philadelphia Tribune

Louis L. Redding, Esq
921 Market St, Suite 303 Wilmington 7. Del
Dr. Charlotte H. Brown, Palmer Memorial Inst. Sedalia, N.C.
Dr. John E.T. Camper, 639 No Carey St, Baltimore 17 Md
✓ Rev. William Faulkner
Mrs. Maudelle B. Bousfield, 9323 Michigan Ave, Chicago
Mrs. Ida S. Taylor, 421 T St. N.W. Washington, D.C.
Mr. Teddy Wilson 270 St. Nicholas Ave, N.Y

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

Yale Law Review Feb. 1952

Robeson's right to work

Political Approach

Political Climate of Opinion in this Country

Record of last European tour

C. C. White
Wm. S. Braithwaite —
Fred O'neil ;
Roscoe Dungee
Olin Downes
Waldo Frank
Arthur Huff Fauset
J. Murray Branch
Oliver Cox
L.U. Jeff. Louis Redding
P. Pauline
Nannie Burrough
Mary Church Terrell
Malcolm Sharp
Dr. Bernard Loomer

Havighurst
Dr. Joseph Johnson
Lenert Roberts
Bishop Alleyne
J. Pious Barbour
Hubert Delaney
Carl Murphy
P.L. Prattis
B.V. Lawson
Earl B. Dickerson
Lawrence Reddick

Ollie Stewart: "Afro" article "No day goes by without playing of Robeson records"

Com. to issue statement

Harper, Fowler
Dr. Rowland Bainton, Divinity, Yale U.
Rev. John Paul Jones
Bishop Wm. J. Walls

Letter to list over E. Robeson signature

Charlotte H. Brown
Dr. Bennett
Rev Joe. M. Evans
Raymond Pace Alexander
Leonard DePour

Letter

1.) Issue factual statement on Case
2.) Get support for legal suit
3.) Public meetings
4.) Letters to State Dept & signature
Sign statement and return (Support for right as artist to earn living need passport)
Fact sheet

Rev. Chas. Hill
Willard Motley
Rev. Adam Powell
Z. Alexander Looby
Mrs. Nettie Carter Jackson
Mrs. Irene McCoy Gaines

1. List
2. Letter - draft
3. Clerical help Alice - WO2-6851 near Canal
401 Broadway Rm 810
4. Yale Law Review - order copy
5.

a) Action in D.C. Court (absolute right to travel)

1st & 5th Amend. Cultural Exch.

Right to work,

b) Fees — $2000.00 - $2500.00 (flexible)

Contacts for Volunteers

2/8/52 Polly Shaw
3031 Brighton 14th St.
B'klyn, N.Y.

* Dr. Cyril Olivierre
225 W 144
~~[illegible]~~

* Cleophus Jacobs –
150 St James Place – St 9-4164
Hope Stevens

~~Dr Cuthbert Spen~~

Dr. Gerald Spencer *
129 W 129
at 9

* Dr Arnold Josephs
3680 B'way – Wa 6-1880
(152)

Dr [illegible] Peltier
135 W 123 Mo 2-4444 *

* Mrs. Asadata Dafora
306 W 111 #54 Mo 3-3548

* Mrs. Charles Seifert
203 W 138 – Wa 6-5634

Windsor Shavers
256 W 116 ~~[illegible]~~ Mo 3-7256

~~Emezekwe~~

~~E~~ R

J.C. Emezekwe - John Jay Hall
Columbia Un 116 B'way
Mo 3-6600 - Rm 914

Jean Wellfish -
31 W 99th

Edward Barnes Henry
(Esh World Fed.)
2008 5th Ad 4-3589

Mr. Busterman - c/o Harlem Mutl Co.

erman
Mr + Mrs. H B Osborne
[redacted]

Jack Patterson
2340 8 Av
c/o Arlain Pth

Rev. Samuel Jones
25 W 99
NYC

Dist 65 Com for Halleran Bass
Hotel Capitol.
Nov 1
Mrs. Halleran. 500 people.

Ram Kumar
All India Peace Council
14. Munshi Niketan
Kamla Market
New Delhi, India

1.) Otto Nathan Lit
2.) Clark Foreman
3.) Joe Clark
4.) Lester Rodney
5.) Gordon McIntyre Italy
6.) Jane Foster Zlatovski
7.) [illegible]

PAUL ROBESON'S FIGHT FOR THE RIGHT TO TRAVEL (PASSPORT)

THE FACTS IN THE CASE

I. The Government Acts and Why.

1) On July 28, 1950 two agents of the State Department called on Mr. Robeson and demanded that he turn in his lawfully held passport. On the advice of his attorneys, Mr. Robeson refused to do so.

2) On August 4 1950, the State Department announced to the press that it had cancelled Paul Robeson's passport and had informed all U. S. border officials to detain Mr. Robeson should he attempt to leave the country.

The attitude of the government in this matter was said by men in authority to have been a reaction to a statement made by Mr. Robeson to an inter national peace conference convened in Paris, France to the effect that the American Negro stood for peace and had no desire to participate in another war.

At the time his passport was revoked, Robeson had made arrangements for a trip to Europe to attend several meetings and to fulfill concert and speaking engagements at Prague, Czechoslovakia and Nice, France, and to make a speaking and singing tour of Scandanavia and give several concerts in Italy and the British Isles.

Mr. Robeson had possessed a passport continuously since 1922 when he first went abroad at the beginning of his concert career. Never before had a question arisen as to its renewal or the issuance of a new passport to him.

3) In response to written inquiries made by Mr. Robeson through his attorneys, representatives of the State Department stated on August 7, 1950, that the action taken by it was in accordance with "discretionary powers" of the Secretary of State.

During an interview with the State Department on August 23, 1950, Mr. Robeson was told that he could regain his passport if he agreed to refrain from making speeches abroad.

II. Mr. Robeson Brings Suit.

1) After this interview attorneys for Mr. Robeson instituted suit on December 19, 1950 in the U.S. District Court at Washington, D.C. petitioning the Courts to correct this unwarranted violation of Mr. Robeson's citizenship rights by the Executive branch of government.

III. The Charge Against the State Department.

1) The suit contended that:
a) The State Department's action deprived Mr. Robeson of the constitutional rights of freedom of speech, thought, assembly, petition and association guaranteed by the First Amendment.

b) The State Department's action deprived Mr. Robeson of the constitutional right to own and procure property guaranteed by the Fifth Amendment.

The first constitutional violation of Mr. Robeson's rights as a citizen by the Executive branch of government is clear. If a citizen is to be permitted to travel abroad only when he echoes views pleasant to the State Department or any other government agency, his right of freedom of movement and of speech is wrongfully restricted.

The second constitutional violation, that of Mr. Robeson's property right - his right to earn a living - is based on scheduled concert appearances which had to be cancelled as a result of the State Department's action.

IV. The Courts React.

1) On April 20, 1951, the U. S District Court upheld the State Department in its arbitrary action, by claiming it had no jurisdiction in the case.

2) Notice of appeal from this decision was filed by attorneys for Mr. Robeson on April 23, 1951. The appeal itself was entered in the U. S. District Court of Appeals in Washington, D. C. in August, 1951. The appeal reiterated and elaborated upon the contentions of the original brief.

V. The State Department Exceeds Its Powers.

1) On January 31, 1952, Paul Robeson was prevented from leaving the United States to go to Canada. This arbitrary action was directed by the State Department through a "stop order" barring Mr. Robeson from leaving the country even for travel requiring no passport. So far as is known, Mr. Robeson is the only citizen of the U. S. subjected to this type of restraint.

VI. The State Department's Amazing Contention.

1) The United States government's brief (State Department) submitted for the Court of Appeals hearing in February, 1952 on the case of the withholding of Paul Robeson's passport contained the following amazing statement:

> ". . . Furthermore, even if the complaint had alleged, which it does not, that the passport was cancelled solely because of appellant's recognized status as a spokesman for large sections of Negro Americans, we submit that this would not amount to an abuse of discretion in view of appellant's frank admission that he has been for years extremely active politically in behalf of independence of the colonial peoples of Africa (supra, p. 2). Though this may be a highly laudable aim, the diplomatic embarrassment that could arise from the presence abroad of such a political meddler, travelling under the protection of an American passport, is easily imaginable. After all, ' the President is the sole organ of the federal government in the field of international relations.' "

VII. The Court Dodges the Issue.

1) In August, 1952, the Court of Appeals denied the appeal on the ground that since Mr. Robeson's passport had expired the case was "moot".

VIII. Paul Robeson Applies and Reapplies for a Passport.

1) On January 30, 1953, Paul Robeson applied for a passport. Passport denied.

2) On July 29, 1953, Paul Robeson again applied for a passport in response to an invitation from the Leslie Linder Productions in London to play the starring role of "Othello". Linder had requested a work permit for Mr. Robeson from the British Actors' Equity Association. The Actors' Equity Association, through its General Secretary, Gordon Sandison, replied:

> "It was the unanimous opinion of the Council that Mr. Robeson's status is such that we cannot raise any objection to his appearing in this country. Indeed the Council expressed its satisfaction at the prospect of seeing Mr Robeson play this part, in which he has previously made so striking an appearance. We would welcome his appearance in this country."

3) On July 2, 1954, Robeson applied for a passport to fulfill concert and state appearances in Great Britain and Israel.

IX. The State Department Is Adamant.

1) On July 27, 1954, this passport application was denied.

X. Other Passport Cases and Their Disposition.

1) On February 28, 1955, U. S. District Court Judge Schweinhaut ruled that Otto Nathan, who had been denied a passport as a so-called "security risk", was justified in refusing to submit to a hearing conducted by the Passport Office. Said the judge in this ruling: "It does not satisfy me to argue that the plaintiff has not exhausted his administrative remedies since I think as a matter of practical fact he had none." Dr. Nathan, executor of Albert Einstein's estate, was granted his passport.

2) In other legal actions that followed the Nathan case, passports were granted to Clark Foreman, Martin Kamen, and others who previously had been refused on "security" grounds. Joseph Clark, foreign editor of the Daily Worker, was also granted a passport; and he was not required to sign the "non-Communist" affidavit which the State Department insists Mr. Robeson must sign before his application can be considered.

XI. More Invitations From Cultural Organizations.

1) On May 10, 1955, Mr. Robeson requested a passport so that he could accept an offer to appear in a film version of "Othello" to be produced by Mosfilm Studios in the Soviet Union.

a) The State Department's Arbitrary Stand.

The Passport Office replied that if Mr. Robeson wished to have his application considered he should sign a "non-Communist" affidavit and submit to a hearing by officials of that office.

XII. The Court of Appeals Makes a Ruling.

1) On June 23 1955, the U.S. Court of Appeals ruled in the Shachtman case that the "right to travel is a natural right" which cannot be restrained except by due process of law. The ruling was widely hailed as a historic decision, curbing arbitrary denial of travel rights by the Passport Office. Shachtman, who had been refused a passport because he belonged to an organization on the Attorney General's list of so-called "subversive" groups, was subsequently given his passport.

XIII. But The State Department Overrules.

1) On July 18 1955, in Washington D. C., Mr. Robeson renewed his demand for a passport. "In view of recent court decisions," he said, "and the granting of passports to others whose passports were previously refused, I insist that my right to travel be granted at once." Together with his attorneys he conferred with Loy W. Henderson, Under-Secretary of State for Administration, Frances G. Knight, Director of the Passport Office, and other ranking department officials. Mr. Robeson made it clear that he would not sign any affidavit concerning his political views, and that the demand that he do so violated his constitutional rights. Mr. Henderson acknowledged that the department could grant a passport under the circumstances, and promised to give "careful and prompt" attention to the matter.

XIV. A Partial Victory.

1) On July 20, 1955, the Passport Office sent the following telegram to Mr. Robeson's attorneys: "Stop order was rescinded travel Paul Robeson to Canada".

No reply was sent to Mr. Robeson on the passport matter, but it was announced in the press that the State Department would contest the case in the courts.

XV. Again the Courts Move In.

1) On August 16, 1955, in a hearing in the U. S. District Court in Washington, Judge Burnita S. Mathews refused to order the State Department to issue a passport to Paul Robeson. Judge Mathews, a Mississippian, said that in challenging the constitutionality of the Passport Office's denial of his passport, the plaintiff "had not exhausted his administrative remedies" - - a reversal of the position taken previously by Judge Schweinhaut of this same court. (See paragraph X, 1 above).

a) Another Amazing Contention.

The State Department's case was argued by U. S. Attorney Leo A. Rover, who charged that Mr. Robeson, "during his concert tours abroad had repeatedly criticized the conditions of Negroes in the United States."

XVI. The Robeson Passport a Vital Issue.

The decision of Judge Mathews was directly opposite to her ruling in the case of Clark Foreman, who was granted his passport. Attorney Leonard B. Boudin, who had been counsel for Mr. Foreman, represented Mr. Robeson in this hearing together with associate counsel James T. Wright.

XVII. Present Status of Case.

A brief is now being prepared for an appeal to the U. S. Court of Appeals.

XVIII. Your Help is Wanted.

THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD WANT TO SEE AND HEAR PAUL ROBESON

A sample of the messages pouring into the United States supporting Robeson's fight to regain his passport.

SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN CONGRESS

" . . . We salute Paul Robeson as one of the most outstanding artists of our time, a great champion of the oppressed people and a brave fighter for peace . . . by virtue of his genius, (he) is a beloved citizen of the world and the United States authorities have no right to deprive us of the privilege of listening to his gifted and magnificent voice."

* * *

WEST AFRICAN STUDENT'S UNION

" . . . We add our support to your campaign. As a first step we have sent a letter to the United States Government and a personal one to President Eisenhower pleading that Paul Robeson's passport be restored."

* * *

M. M. MOERANE (Noted African composer of Johannesburg)

"In the name of all that is right and honourable, in the interests of world culture and the humanization of the peoples of the earth, we in Africa solemnly call upon the State Department of the United States . . . to restore to Paul Robeson his freedom of movement beyond the confines of the United States."

* * *

PABLO NERUDA (Chilean Poet)

"Chilean people want the greatest singer here."

* * *

ALL-INDIA PEACE COUNCIL

"We feel that it is a criminal attack on the artists by preventing Paul Robeson - the beloved musician of millions of people all over the world - from going out to other countries to give his musical recitals. It is the moral duty of every artist and lover of art in all countries to raise his voice in protest against this brutal attack on the fundamental rights of the artist."

* * *

THE YOUTH GROUP (TEL AVIV, ISRAEL)

"Be strong our friend Paul Robeson. We are sure you will win if you stand in your opinion, Peace in the World! "

* * *

MRS. JANEL JAGAN (Georgetown, British Guiana)

"In British Guiana, we can perhaps appreciate Mr. Robeson's plight more than others, for we too, are today encountering the terrible hysteria which causes governments to act with such repression. Many of us are similarly restricted from going abroad. In fact, many of us cannot move out of the boundaries of our villages or districts . . . We are hoping that when his passport restrictions are finally lifted he will find it possible to visit us."

* * *

PEOPLE'S EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATION (Kingston, Jamaica)

"We recall with pride Mr. Robeson's visit to Jamaica, and the lasting impression he made on our people by consenting to place at the disposal of the public, free of cost his great talent in the form of a recital . . . It is widely known how much the programme was hailed by every section of Jamaica, and how much all Jamaicans desire the return of this great artist to our country . . ."

* * *

MAURICE DOBB (Fellow and Lecturer, Trinity College, Cambridge)

"Warmest wishes and support in campaign to regain his rights as an American citizen and as an artist of world wide renown."

* * *

JOHN TAKMAN, MD. (Editor, Clarté, Swedist cultural magazine)

"Paul Robeson's records are frequently played over the radio and at popular meetings. But we want above all to have Paul Robeson tour Sweden again. Nobody here can understand the iron curtain preventing him leave the United States. Please restore his passport."

THE COMMITTEE TO RESTORE PAUL ROBESON'S PASSPORT

Suite 6, 139 W. 125th St.
New York, N. Y.

THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD WANT TO SEE AND HEAR PAUL ROBESON

A sample of the messages pouring into the United States supporting Robeson's fight to regain his passport.

SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN CONGRESS

" . . . We salute Paul Robeson as one of the most outstanding artists of our time, a great champion of the oppressed people and a brave fighter for peace . . . by virtue of his genius, (he) is a beloved citizen of the world and the United States authorities have no right to deprive us of the privilege of listening to his gifted and magnificent voice."

* * *

WEST AFRICAN STUDENT'S UNION

" . . . We add our support to your campaign. As a first step we have sent a letter to the United States Government and a personal one to President Eisenhower pleading that Paul Robeson's passport be restored."

* * *

M. M. MOERANE (Noted African composer of Johannesburg)

"In the name of all that is right and honourable, in the interests of world culture and the humanization of the peoples of the earth, we in Africa solemnly call upon the State Department of the United States . . . to restore to Paul Robeson his freedom of movement beyond the confines of the United States."

* * *

PABLO NERUDA (Chilean Poet)

"Chilean people want the greatest singer here."

* * *

ALL-INDIA PEACE COUNCIL

"We feel that it is a criminal attack on the artists by preventing Paul Robeson - the beloved musician of millions of people all over the world - from going out to other countries to give his musical recitals. It is the moral duty of every artist and lover of art in all countries to raise his voice in protest against this brutal attack on the fundamental rights of the artist."

* * *

THE YOUTH GROUP (TEL AVIV, ISRAEL)

"Be strong our friend Paul Robeson. We are sure you will win if you stand in your opinion, Peace in the World! "

* * *

MRS. JANEL JAGAN (Georgetown, British Guiana)

"In British Guiana, we can perhaps appreciate Mr. Robeson's plight more than others, for we too, are today encountering the terrible hysteria which causes governments to act with such repression. Many of us are similarly restricted from going abroad. In fact, many of us cannot move out of the boundaries of our villages or districts . . . We are hoping that when his passport restrictions are finally lifted he will find it possible to visit us."

* * *

PEOPLE'S EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATION (Kingston, Jamaica)

"We recall with pride Mr. Robeson's visit to Jamaica, and the lasting impression he made on our people by consenting to place at the disposal of the public, free of cost his great talent in the form of a recital . . . It is widely known how much the programme was hailed by every section of Jamaica, and how much all Jamaicans desire the return of this great artist to our country . . ."

* * *

MAURICE DOBB (Fellow and Lecturer, Trinity College, Cambridge)

"Warmest wishes and support in campaign to regain his rights as an American citizen and as an artist of world wide renown."

* * *

JOHN TAKMAN, MD. (Editor, Clarté, Swedist cultural magazine)

"Paul Robeson's records are frequently played over the radio and at popular meetings. But we want above all to have Paul Robeson tour Sweden again. Nobody here can understand the iron curtain preventing him leave the United States. Please restore his passport."

THE COMMITTEE TO RESTORE PAUL ROBESON'S PASSPORT

Suite 6, 139 W. 125th St.
New York, N. Y.

ASP NATIONAL NOTES

June 18, 1954 35 West 64 St., N. Y. 23, N. Y.

ASP DRAWS CROWD AT SOCIAL WORK CONFERENCE On June 12th, while the National Conference of Social Work was in session in Atlantic City, New Jersey, ASP held a meeting there at the Ambassador Hotel on the subject "McCarhtyism vs. Social Work." About 200 social workers attended and heard talks by Bertha C. Reynolds, leading social work teacher and writer, and Clifford T. McAvoy, former Deputy Commissioner of Welfare in New York City. Miss Reynolds' talk is now available as a pamphlet, and may be obtained at 25¢ a copy from the ASP office in New York.

FINE ARTS BILL IN COMMITTEE With mass unemployment casting its shadow over the land, cultural workers are showing renewed interest in the Howell Bill for encouraging and subsidizing increased cultural activities. The bill, sponsored by fifty-four Senators and eighty Representatives, has been the subject of hearings before the House Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. A synopsis of the bill is enclosed.

SCUTTLING THE BILL OF RIGHTS The McCarran Immunity Bill (S. 16), designed to destroy the Fifth Amendment, has passed the Senate and is now pending before the House Judiciary Committee. There is grave danger that this bill will pass unless more people are aroused to oppose it. To acquaint the people with the meaning of the bill, the National Lawyers Guild has printed an excellent four-page analysis called "Scuttling the Bill of Rights." Copies may be ordered from the National Lawyers Guild, 40 Exchange Place, New York 5, N. Y. Price: 10 copies, 50¢; 100 copies, $3.00.

UNBRIDLED POWER The arbitrary listing of organizations as "subversive" is challenged by the Hon. Herman P. Eberharter of Pennsylvania, in his speech in the House of Representatives on March 29, 1954. A reprint of this speech is enclosed. Additional copies may be obtained by writing to Rep. Eberharter in Washington, D. C.

MARIN COUNCIL PLEDGES $$$$$ Responding to the national office appeal for funds to finance national activities, the Marin Council has pledged to raise $100. Other chapters are urged to give equally serious consideration to the appeal.

The June membership meeting of the Marin Council will hear Bill Glazier of the International Longshoreman and Warehouseman's Union, talking on "The Economic Crisis and Jobs."

LAWSUIT TO CHALLENGE PASSPORT BANS Continuing its efforts to reestablish the basic rights of Americans to travel abroad, the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee is beginning a series of lawsuits challenging the procedures of the State Department in denying passports to people whose political convictions do not conform to the State Department's ideas. The E.C.L.C. is raising a fund to cover the basic research and major part of the legal expenses necessary in taking these cases to the Supreme Court.

Persons who have been denied passports and wish to join in this action should communicate with the attorney Leonard B. Boudin, 25 Broad Street, New York, N. Y.. Contributions to the fund may be sent to the E.C.L.C. at 421 Seventh Avenue, New York 1, N. Y.

SPEAKING UP FOR PEACE The New York Council of ASP is holding a rally on June 29th to give expression to the American people's strong opposition to further involvement in the war in Indo-China. Speakers will be Eslanda Robeson, Kumar Goshal, and Carl Marzani.

MEDAL OF HONOR The Art Divison of the New York Council held a reception this month in honor of Lena Gurr, winner of the Medal of Honor of the National Association of Women Artists.

STARLIGHT FORUMS Many New Yorkers will keep cool on Sunday evenings this summer by attending the ASP Starlight Forums. Sitting comfortably in a penthouse garden, they will hear talks by authors Dr. Herschel Meyer, Dr. Joseph Furst, John Killen, Yuri Suhl, and others.

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

WELCOME FRIENDS!

Because of the overflow attendance at the Renaissance Ballroom for the Salute to Paul Robeson, we have made arrangements to accommodate everyone holding or wishing to purchase tickets at Mother A. M. E. Zion Church, 146 W. 137th St. (just around the corner) where a program including Paul Robeson will be presented.

We know that you will not mind this inconvenience since it is due to the overwhelming determination of the people to see that Paul Robeson's passport is restored.

COMMITTEE TO RESTORE PAUL ROBESON'S PASSPORT

The Case Of...
PAUL ROBESON'S PASSPORT

A FACT SHEET PREPARED BY THE PROVISIONAL COMMITTEE TO RESTORE PAUL ROBESON'S PASSPORT

PEOPLES OF THE WORLD WANT TO HEAR ROBESON'S VOICE

"We propose to hold an All-India Cultural Conference in November at Calcutta and we request you to make every effort to encourage us by your presence there."

ALL INDIA PEACE COUNCIL

"The Union of Roumanian Composers is inviting you together with the pianist Lawrence Brown to give concerts in our land beginning from September 15th, 1951. Our public is writing for these concerts."

THE UNION OF ROUMANIAN COMPOSERS

"Are you able to accept recital concert tour Great Britain commencing November or January next. Minimum period required eight weeks. State terms."

LONDON, W. I.

ISRAEL

The leading concert agency in Tel-Aviv has offered Paul Robeson a series of ten concerts at an unprecedented fee with the assurance that his appearance in Israel would take on the aspect of a national festival.

SCOTLAND

The executive board of the Scottish area of the National Union of Mine Workers has invited Paul Robeson to sing.

During recent months many additional invitations have been tendered Mr. Robeson to sing, act and speak in many countries throughout the world.

But Paul Robeson cannot fulfill these engagements.

YOU ought to know WHY.

THESE ARE THE FACTS:

1. On July 28, 1950, two agents of the State Department called on Mr. Robeson and demanded that he turn in his lawfully held passport. On the advice of his attorneys, Mr. Robeson refused to do so.

2. On August 4, 1950, the State Department announced to the press that it had cancelled Paul Robeson's passport and had informed all U. S. border officials to detain Mr. Robeson should he attempt to leave the country.

At the time his passport was revoked, Robeson had made arrangements for a trip to Europe to attend several meetings and to fulfill concert and speaking engagements at Prague, Czechoslovakia and Nice, France, and to make a speaking and singing tour of Scandinavia and give several concerts in Italy and the British Isles.

Mr. Robeson has owned a passport continuously since 1922 when he first went abroad at the beginning of his concert career. Never before has a question arisen as to its renewal or the issuance of a new passport to him.

3. In response to written inquiries made by Mr. Robeson through his attorneys, representatives of the State Department stated on August 7, 1950 that the action taken by it was in accordance with "discretionary powers" of the Secretary of State.

During an interview with the State Department on August 23, 1950, Mr. Robeson was told that he could regain his passport if he agreed to refrain from making speeches abroad.

4. After this interview, attorneys for Mr. Robeson instituted suit on December 19, 1950, in the U. S. District Court at Washington, D. C. petitioning the Courts to correct this unwarranted violation of Mr. Robeson's

(OVER)

rights and privileges by the Administrative branch of government.

The suit contended that:

(1) The State Department's action deprived Mr. Robeson of the constitutional rights of freedom of speech, thought, assembly, petition and association guaranteed by the First Amendment.

(2) The State Department's action deprived Mr. Robeson of the constitutional right to own and procure property guaranteed by the Fifth Amendment.

5. The first constitutional violation of Mr. Robeson's rights as a citizen by the Administrative branch of government is clear. If a citizen is to be permitted to travel abroad only when he echos views pleasant to the State Department or any other government agency, his right of freedom of movement and of speech is severely restricted.

The second constitutional violation, that of Mr. Robeson's property right, is based on scheduled concert appearances which had to be cancelled as a result of the State Department's action.

6. On April 20, 1951, the U. S. District Court upheld the State Department in its arbitrary action, by claiming it had no jurisdiction in the case. It also refused to order Mr. Robeson to surrender his passport to the State Department.

7. Notice of appeal from this decision was filed by attorneys for Mr. Robeson on April 23, 1951. The appeal itself was entered in the U. S. District Court of Appeals in Washington, D. C. in August, 1951. The appeal reiterated and elaborated upon the contentions of the original brief.

8. This appeal will be heard in the current fall term of the Court of Appeals at a specific date still to be set.

9. Attorneys for Paul Robeson in the passport suit are Judge James A. Cobb and George E. C. Hayes, 613 F St. N.W., Washington, D. C.; George A. Parker and Barrington D. Parker, 1130 Sixth Street, N.W., Washington, D. C., all members of two of the most distinguished Negro law firms in Washington, D. C.; and Nathan Witt, 9 East 40th Street, New York 16, New York.

10. Though Paul Robeson was the first, and remains the most distinguished American, to suffer this infringement of his constitutional rights by the State Department, the number of victims of passport revocation has grown alarmingly in the past year and is steadily increasing.

Among those similarly deprived of the right to travel are two outstanding Negro women leaders: Mrs. Charlotta Bass, former publisher and editor of the (Los Angeles) California Eagle. Mrs. Therese Robinson, Grand Directress of Civil Liberties, Independent Benevolent, Protective, Order of Elks of the World.

Others are: Corliss Lamont, writer and lecturer. Howard Fast and Albert Kahn, writers. John K. Fairbanks, Professor of History, Yale University, and Reverend Richard Morford.

The facts make it clear that upholding the State Department's "right" to take such arbitrary action in the case of Paul Robeson threatens the right of any American citizen to travel abroad for any purpose and to speak freely abroad or at home, if the matter is distasteful to the Administration.

WHAT YOU CAN DO:

Action aimed at restoring Paul Robeson's right to travel, therefore, will help preserve the constitutional rights of all. The following actions are urged upon all individuals and organizations:

(1) Send a letter, postal card, or telegram to President Harry S. Truman, the White House, Washington, D. C., and to Dean Acheson, U. S. State Department, Washington, D. C., urging that Mr. Robeson's passport be unconditionally restored.

(2) Have your church club, social, civic or fraternal organization, or trade union discuss the passport case and pass a resolution to be forwarded to the President and to the Secretary of State.

(3) Write letters to the editor of your community newspaper on the case.

(4) Get your organization to prepare a brief amicus curiae (friend of the Court) which may be used to support the arguments of Robeson's attorneys when the case is heard. Such a brief can be submitted by any individual or organization and is in keeping with legal procedure. Send a copy to Mr. Robeson's attorneys as well as copies to the Attorney General's office.

(5) See that the Robeson passport case is presented at all public meetings and that action is taken wherever possible.

(6) Send a contribution to help the work of organizing and coordinating a national campaign.

Miss Margaret McCaden, Secretary
Provisional Committee to Restore Paul
Robeson's Passport
2286 Seventh Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Phone: Au 6-6465

I have written to President Truman and to Dean Acheson.

My Social Club or other Organization has discussed the Paul Robeson Passport Case and passed a Resolution.

Send me _____copies of this Fact Sheet • 1¢ each.

I wish to support the national campaign to Restore Paul Robeson's Passport. Enclosed is my contribution.

(Name)____________________

(Organization)____________________

(Address)____________________

____

A GIANT FOR FREEDOM

++++++++++++++++++

Paul Robeson, American Negro and world-famous concert and opera singer, whose voice is beloved in all lands, has many times been described as a Giant. This is appropriate in many ways - a Giant of Song, a Giant of Opera, and a Giant of Man.

When he last visited Britain in 1949, he said upon landing at Southampton, "I represent here the section of American opinion that feels we can build a world in peace and that the next war would certainly mean the end of whatever we mean by civilization."

Since 1950 Robeson has been denied the opportunity to travel outside the U.S.A., by action of the State Department withholding his passport.

In a recent conference with State Department officials, Robeson declared his passport had been "abitrarily and unlawfully denied me for the past 5 years," and that the right to travel is not only a natural right as the U.S. Supreme Court recently declared, but also an "equal right". Continuing, he said, "That is the way the Negro citizens of this country see it. Indeed, coloured people all over the world will see here a basic test of democratic principles."

Robeson told the State Department that he planned concert tours of Britain, France, the Scandinavian countries, India, Soviet Union, Israel, and China. In London, a new production of Othello is planned for him, where he first played the role 25 years ago.

He said that the many offers he had received for concert, stage and film appearances in other lands were of great importance to him as an artist.

RIGHTS OF NEGROES

++++++++++++++++

On July 19th of this year, the U.S. Passport Division, allowed him to travel to Canada, but on August 4th the State Department, after consultation at the highest level, announced that it will continue to refuse him a passport for all other countries. Robeson denounced this sharply stating, "....the reason you have taken my passport away is because of my opposition to the Government's policy and because you don't want me to talk about the rights of Negroes here and the rights of colonial people."

Robeson is well known in Britain, where he first played Othello in 1930. Appearing with him at that time were Peggy Ashcroft, Dame Sybil Thorndike, Maurice Brown and Ralph Richardson. Now 56 years old, he is recognised as one of the greatest singers in the world. He made his first appearance as a concert singer in New York in 1925, and since then has had sensational successes in all the leading capitals. In addition he has acted in numerous plays and well-loved films.

Son of a Negro slave, Robeson was born in Princeton, N.J. He achieved fame in his school days on the All-American football team in 1919. He has law degrees from both Rutgers and Columbia Universities, and numerous honorary degrees from other colleges.

/continued.

He was awarded the Springarn Medal for Outstanding Achievement by the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured peoples in 1945. To him in 1944 went the Gold Medal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, for the best diction in the American Theatre. Also in 1944, he was given the Donaldson award for the best acting performance. These last two referred to his performance in the title role of the Theatre Guild production in New York of Othello. This had the longest run (1 year) in history of a Shakespearian play on Broadway.

PRESS SUPPORT FOR ROBESON

Robeson's outstanding ability and popularity as an artist; his great standing as a Negro-American amongst Negro and white citizens of all groups; his self-sacrificing qualities as a fighter for civil liberties, Negro rights, and the organisation of Negro workers into Trade Unions - all demand that he shall be granted the freedom so long denied him.

Support for Robeson's freedom comes from a diversity of sources.

The Tory "Daily Telegraph" had an editorial on August 6, in which it stated: "In America a Court recently ruled that 'The right to travel is a natural right.... The denial of a passport causes a deprivation of liberty.' Yet, even there, the State Department still refuses to grant a full passport to Paul Robeson."

Influential Catholic newspaper, "The Tablet", in its August 13th, 1955 issue, wrote concerning Robeson "We think that the American Government is making a wrong decision....."

Britain's foremost cartoonist, Vicky, in the September 13th issue of the "Daily Mirror", presented a striking cartoon in favour of Robeson being granted a passport.

Charlie Chaplin, cabled America saying "To deny a great artist like Robeson his right to give his art to the world is to destroy the very foundation upon which our culture and civilization is built."

POLITICAL VOICE OF CO-OPERATION

To these and others, has now been added the Political Committee of the London Co-operative Society, the political voice of over one million Co-operators.

Writing in "Reynolds News" during February, 1949, Paul Robeson acknowledged his debt to the British Co-operative, Labour and Trade Union movement. He recalled how one of his old friends from his student days in America asked what had caused him to change from the mild person of the past into the militant and political fighter of today. "I think back" wrote Robeson "and wonder why my attitude changed since my student days. Then I realize that I learned my militancy and my politics from your Labour movement here in Britain."

British Labour has a special duty to fight in support of Paul Robeson, one of its most brilliant and yet so humble and warm hearted pupils.

E N D.

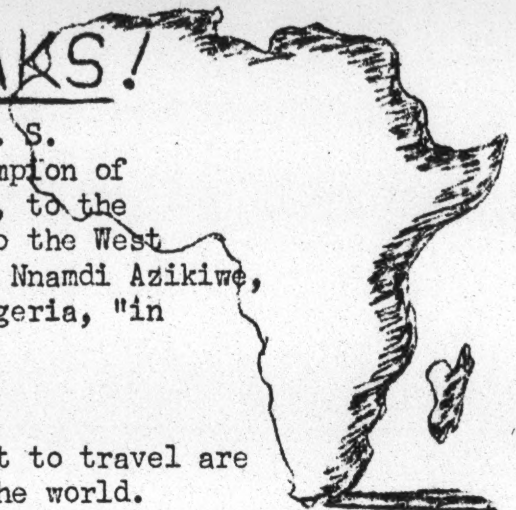
PAUL ROBESON'S PASSPORT

WASHINGTON, D.C.

FEBRUARY 1952

"...Furthermore, even if the complaint had alleged, which it does not, that the passport was cancelled solely because of the appellant's recognized status as a spokesman for large sections of Negro Americans, we submit that this would not amount to an abuse of discretion in view of appellant's frank admission that he has been for years extremely active politically in behalf of the independence of colonial peoples of Africa...Though this may be a highly laudable aim, the diplomatic embarrassment that could arise from the presence abroad of such a political meddler, travelling under the protection of an American passport, is easily imaginable..."
(From the U.S. Government brief submitted for a Cour of Appeals hearing, Feb. 1952 in the case of the withholding of Paul Robeson's passport.)

AFRICA SPEAKS!



Robeson may be a "...political meddler..." to the U. S. government but to the people of Africa he is a "Champion of African Freedom." In February 1950 at Aba, Nigeria, to the "deafening applause" of more than 5,000 according to the West African Pilot, Robeson along with Kwame Nkrumah and Nnamdi Azikiwe, was awarded that honor by the National Church of Nigeria, "in honor of their selfless services to Africa."

WHO ELSE SUPPORTS ROBESON ?

Letters and statements of support to Robeson's right to travel are steadily streaming in from the U. S. and all over the world.

The Star of Zion, organ of the A.M.E.Zion Church, "...He has sacrificed his career and its wealth 'rather than retreat one tiniest measure of space from his beliefs', beliefs that his native land, 'The Land of the Free and the Home of the Brave', whould guarantee to Negro citizens the same equality it promised all other citizens"...Paul Robeson belongs in the same class as John Brown, who had little enough sense to die that men, black men, might be free..."

Union of South African Artists -- "We deeply appreciate Mr. Robeson's work for our own liberation..."

South African Indian Congress -- "Ten million non-whites and European democrats...support worldwide demand to see and hear Paul Robeson...

People's Educational Organization (Jamaica, B.W.I.)-- "We demand ... an end to the persecution of this great and noble American."

National Union of Scottish Mine Workers -- "...People all over Britain would welcome an opportunity to hear again this magnificent singer..."

Latin American Confederation of Labor (Mexico)-- "...We have resolved to support your campaign..."

General Confederation of Labor (France)-- "The refusal of a passport to the great artist Paul Robeson is among the many examples of a policy of ideological persecution which is in flagrant violation of the rights of man...proclaimed by the United Nations."

International Union of Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers (Canada)--"You are doing something for the people of the whole world that will be appreciated."

Australian Seamen (S.S. Denman) -- "Support demand for travel freedom for you and all others."

National Negro Labor Council(East Bay Chapter, California)--"We are happy to join...in launching the campaign to restore the passport of Paul Robeson."

Charles Chaplin -- "To deny a great artist like Paul Robeson his right to give his art to the world is to destroy the very foundation upon which our culture and civilization is built. It negates every principle of democracy and freedom and follows a path of the worst type of tyranny."

Here's WHAT YOU CAN DO- to help win back Paul Robeson's passport --

① Write the U.S.State Department, Washington, D.C., demanding restoration of Robeson's passport. ② Take delegations to the State Department, and your Congressmen. ③ Organize meetings in your community to bring the fight to your neighbors. ④ Write your newspaper and discuss your views on the matter. ⑤ Get your neighbors, shop and office mates to write. ⑥ Write our committee and let us us know of your plan and activities. ⑦ Invite Paul Robeson and/or his representatives to come and discuss this fight with you.

COMMITTEE TO RESTORE PAUL ROBESONS PASSPORT
Suite 6-- 139 West 125th St.,New York,NY

l.d.

FACT SHEET ON THE PAUL ROBESON PASSPORT CASE

(1) On July 28, 1950, two agents of the State Department called on Mr. Robeson and demanded that he turn in his lawfully held passport. On the advice of his attorneys, Mr. Robeson refused to do so.

(2) On August 4, 1950, the State Department announced to the press that it had cancelled Mr. Robeson's passport and had informed all United States border officials to detain Mr. Robeson should he attempt to leave the country.

At the time his passport was revoked, Robeson had made arrangements for a trip to Europe to attend several meetings and to fulfill concert and speaking engagements at Prague, Czechoslovakia, and Nice, France, and to make a singing and speaking tour of Scandinavia, and give several concerts in Italy and the British Isles.

Mr. Robeson has owned a passport continuously since 1922 when he first went abroad at the beginning of his theatre and concert career. Never before has a question arisen as to its renewal, or the issuance of a new passport to him.

(3) In response to written inquiries made by Mr. Robeson through his attorneys, representatives of the State Department stated on August 7, 1950, that the action taken by it was in accordance with "discretionary powers" of the Secretary of State.

(4) Attorneys for Mr. Robeson instituted suit on December 19, 1950, in the United States District Court at Washington, D.C. petitioning the Courts to correct this unwarranted violation of Mr. Robeson's rights and privileges by the Administrative branch of the Government.

The suit contended that:

(a) The State Department's action deprived Mr. Robeson of the constitutional rights of freedom of speech, thought, assembly, petition and association guaranteed by the First Amendment.

(b) The State Department's action deprived Mr. Robeson of the constitutional right to own and procure property guaranteed by the Fifth Amendment.

(5) The first constitutional violation of Mr. Robeson's rights as a citizen by the Administrative branch of the government is clear. If a citizen is to be permitted to travel abroad only when he echoes views pleasant to the State Department or any other government agency, his right of freedom of movement and of speech are severely restricted.

The second constitutional violation, that of Mr. Robeson's property right, is based on the cancellation of scheduled concert appearances because of the State Department's action. This constitutes a denial of Mr. Robeson's right to earn his living by practicing his profession.

(6) On April 20, 1951, the United States District Court refused to order Mr. Robeson to surrender his passport to the State Department.

(7) Notice of appeal from this decision was filed by attorneys for Mr. Robeson on April 23, 1951. The appeal itself was entered in the U.S. District Court of Appeals in Washington, D.C. in August, 1951. The appeal reiterated and elaborated upon the contentions of the original brief.

(8) On January 31, 1952, Mr. Robeson was arbitratily prevented from leaving the United States to go to Canada, even though no passport is necessary for crossing the United States-Canadian border.

(9) The United States Government's brief submitted for the Court of Appeals hearing in February, 1952, on the case of the withholding of Paul Robeson's passport contained the following statement:

> ".....Furthermore, even if the complaint had alleged, which it does not, that the passport was cancelled solely because of appellant's recognized status as a spokesman for large sections of Negro Americans, we submit that this would not amount to an abuse of discretion in view of appellant's frank admission that HE HAS BEEN FOR YEARS EXTREMELY ACTIVE POLITICALLY IN BEHALF OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE COLONIAL PEOPLES OF AFRICA (supra, p. 2). Though this may be a highly laudable aim, the diplomatic embarrassment that could arise from the presence abroad of such a political meddler, travelling under the protection of an American passport, is easily imaginable ....."

(10) In August, 1952, the Court of Appeals denied the appeal on the ground that since Mr. Robeson's passport had expired the case was "moot."

(11) On January 30, 1953, Paul Robeson applied for a passport. Passport denied.

On July 29, 1953, Paul Robeson again applied for a passport in response to an invitation from the Leslie Linder Productions in London to play the starring role of "Othello." Mr. Linder had requested a Work Permit for Mr. Robeson from the British Actors' Equity Association. The Association, through its General Secretary Gordon Sandison, replied:

> "It was the unanimous opinion of the Council that Mr. Robeson's status is such that we cannot raise any objection to his appearance in this country. Indeed the Council expressed its satisfaction at the prospect of seeing Mr. Robeson play this part, in which he has previously made so striking an appearance. We would welcome his appearance in this country."

(12) On July 2, 1954, Mr. Robeson applied for a passport to fulfill concert and stage appearances in Great Britain, Scandinavia, France and Israel. On July 27, 1954, this passport application was denied.

(13) In November 1954 Mr. Robeson invited to attend the Congress of Soviet Writers in Moscow starting December 9, 1954. On November 18, the Passport Office of the State Department again refused permission to travel to Moscow.

Expressions of protest and deep concern over Mr. Robeson's virtual imprisonment in the United States keep pouring in, by cable and letters, to our office. The general sense of this correspondence is that denial of Mr. Robeson's right to travel and to work at his profession is also a denial of the right of millions of people all over the world to see and hear him express his universally acclaimed art. Mr. Robeson's travel abroad would be in the interest of cultural exchange and friendly peaceful international relations.

Discussion and action on this case would make it possible for many other artists, scientists and educators who are now similarly restrained, to also travel abroad.

Mr. Robeson is challenging the right of the Secretary to wield such arbitrary power. He is bringing a suit in federal court to compel the Department to issue him a passport on the ground that refusal to do so deprives him of his constitutional rights of freedom of speech, thought and assembly, and the freedom to earn a living guaranteed by the First and Fifth Amendments to the Constitution.

* * *

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

FACT SHEET ON THE CASE OF PAUL ROBESON'S PASSPORT

1) On July 28, 1950, two agents of the State Department called on Mr. Robeson and demanded that he turn in his lawfully held passport. On the advice of his attorneys, Mr. Robeson refused to do so.

2) On August 4, 1950, the State Department announced to the press that it had cancelled Paul Robeson's passport and had informed all U. S. border officials to detain Mr. Robeson should he attempt to leave the country.

At the time his passport was revoked, Robeson had made arrangements for a trip to Europe to attend several meetings and to fulfill concert and speaking engagements at Prague, Czechoslovakia and Nice, France, and to make a speaking and singing tour of Scandinavia and give several concerts in Italy and the British Isles.

Mr. Robeson has owned a passport continuously since 1922 when he first went abroad at the beginning of his concert career. Never before has a question arisen as to its renewal or the issuance of a new passport to him.

3) In response to written inquiries made by Mr. Robeson through his attorneys, representatives of the State Department stated on August 7, 1950, that the action taken by it was in accordance with "discretionary powers" of the Secretary of State.

During an interview with the State Department on August 23, 1950, Mr. Robeson was told that he could regain his passport if he agreed to refrain from making speeches abroad.

4) After this interview, attorneys for Mr. Robeson instituted suit on December 19, 1950, in the U. S. District Court at Washington, D. C. petitioning the Courts to correct this unwarranted violation of Mr. Robeson's rights and privileges by the Administrative branch of government.

The suit contended that:

1) The State Department's action deprived Mr. Robeson of the constitutional rights of freedom of speech, thought, assembly, petition and association guaranteed by the First Amendment.

2) The State Department's action deprived Mr. Robeson of the constitutional right to own and procure property guaranteed by the Fifth Amendment.

5) The first constitutional violation of Mr. Robeson's rights as a citizen by the Administrative branch of government is clear. If a citizen is to be permitted to travel abroad only when he echoes views pleasant to the State Department or any other government agency, his right of freedom of movement and of speech is severely restricted.

The second constitutional violation, that of Mr. Robeson's property right, is based on scheduled concert appearances which had to be cancelled as a result of the State Department's action.

6) On April 20, 1951, the U. S. District Court upheld the State Department in its arbitrary action, by claiming it had no jurisdiction in the case. It also refused to order Mr. Robeson to surrender his passport to the State Department.

7) Notice of appeal from this decision was filed by attorneys for Mr. Robeson on April 23, 1951. The appeal itself was entered in the U. S. District Court of Appeals in Washington, D. C. in August, 1951. The appeal reiterated and elaborated upon the contentions of the original brief.

8) On January 31, 1952, Paul Robeson was arbitrarily prevented from leaving the United States to go to Canada, even though no passport is necessary.

The United States government's brief submitted for the Court of Appeals hearing in February, 1952, on the case of the withholding of Paul Robeson's passport contained the following statement:

> "... Furthermore, even if the complaint had alleged, which it does not, that the passport was cancelled solely because of appellant's recognized status as a spokesman for large sections of Negro Americans, we submit that this would not amount to an abuse of discretion in view of appellant's frank admission that he has been for years extremely [illegible]ive politically in behalf of the independence of the colonial [illegible]s of Africa (supra, p. 2). Though this may be [illegible] highly laud[illegible]aim, the diplomatic embarrassment that could aris

> under the protection of an American passport, is easily imaginable. After all, 'the President is the sole organ of the federal government in the field of international relations.'"

9) In August, 1952, the Court of Appeals denied the appeal on the ground that since Mr. Robeson's passport had expired the case was "moot".

10) On January 30, 1953, Paul Robeson applied for a passport. Passport denied.

11) On July 29, 1953, Paul Robeson again applied for a passport in response to an invitation from the Leslie Linder Productions in London to play the starring role of "Othello". Linder had requested a work permit for Mr. Robeson from the British Actors' Equity Association. The Actors' Equity Association, through its General Secretary, Gordon Sandison, replied:

> "It was the unanimous opinion of the Council that Mr. Robeson's status is such that we cannot raise any objection to his appearing in this country. Indeed the Council expressed its satisfaction at the prospect of seeing Mr. Robeson play this part, in which he has previously made so striking an appearance. We would welcome his appearance in this country."

12) On July 2, 1954, Robeson applied for a passport to fulfill concert and stage appearances in Great Britain and Israel. (See attached press release of July 7, 1954.)

13) On July 27, 1954, this passport application was denied.

*****

PAGES MISSING IN THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT

8) Jan. 31, 1952. Paul Robeson was abritrary prevented from leaving U.S. to go to Canada. Even there no passport necessary.

Excerpt from U.S. Brief In Court Of appeal ---

8) Aug. 1952 : Case thrown out of Court of Appeals Reason given ———

10.) Jan. 30, 1953. Paul Robeson applies for passport. To receive International Peace Prize. Application denied

11.) July 29, 1953. Paul Robeson again applies for passport. To play Othello in London.

9) In Aug. 1952 the Court of Appeals denied the appeal on the ground that since Mr R passport had expired the case was "moot."

Quote

8.) Jan. 31, 1952. Paul Robeson was arbitrarily prevented from leaving the United States to go to Canada, even though no passport is necessary.

The United States Government's brief submitted for the Court of Appeals hearing in February, 1952, on the case of the withholding of Paul Robeson's passport contained the following statement:

"....Further

9.) In August 1952, - The Court of Appeals denied the appeal on the ground ~~that~~ since Mr. Robeson's passport had expired the case was "moot".

10) Jan. 30, 1953. Paul Robeson applied for passport. ~~To receive Stalin Peace Prize~~ ? Passport denied.

11.) July 29, 1953. Paul Robeson again applied for passport to play role of Othello in London for [illegible] production. See Press Release July 30-53. A Passport denied.

12.) July 2, 1954, Robeson applied for passport to fulfill concert and stage appearances in Great Britain and Israel.

(see press release – July 7, 1954)

13.) July 27, 1954. Passport denied.

NEWS RELEASE FROM: PROVISIONAL COMMITTEE TO RESTORE PAUL ROBESON'S PASSPORT
139 W. 125th St., New York 27

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ROBESON SINGS THIRD BORDER CONCERT

The artistry of Paul Robeson winged unimpeded across an international frontier with the appearance of the world-beloved singer and actor in his third annual concert in beautiful Peace Arch Park on the United States-Canadian border.

Although denied a passport to appear in their countries, Robeson sang to friends from many lands as the audience was swelled by athletes and visitors from all parts of the British Commonwealth who are in Vancouver for the famous Empire Games.

The many thousands who made the annual pilgrimage to the Peace Arch spread out across the smooth green lawn, up the gentle flower-splashed slope, which make the park a natural amphitheater, and overflowed into the trees rimming the eastern boundary. Estimates ranged from fifteen to twenty thousand. However, a Canadian Mounted Police check of 8,000 cars lends weight to the larger figure.

Although the informality and warmth of an outdoor affair remained, Robeson, this year, sang a complete, formal concert program ranging from the beloved spirituals of his people, the folk music of many lands, to the somberly dramatic "Prayer and Death" excerpt from Moussorgsky's "Boris Godunov". The artist freely admitted that he had some doubts as to the suitability of this selection for a huge, outdoor audience, but these soon vanished. The audience loved it and cheered when the singer expressed the hope that he would soon be able to present it on the opera stage of Europe and "even in my own country."

Since its inception the annual border concert has been linked to the fight to force the U. S. State Department to rescind its ban on Robeson's passport. The first was held when the singer was unable to get permission to leave the U. S. to appear in a Vancouver, B. C., concert sponsored by the Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers. If Robeson cannot come to us, the union said, we will go to him. So the great artist went to the border and the people flocked to hear him. Each year Mine Mill has sponsored the concert.

This year the union put out an elaborate, printed program which contained greetings from many Canadian trade union and fraternal groups. Included as well were some of the messages from personages all over the world protesting the passport ban. Harvey Murphy, Mine Mill regional director, introduced Robeson as a "great American who is loved throughout the world."

As a special tribute to the fighting traditions of the Canadian union, Robeson presented a reading of the scene "I Speak for Joe Hill" from the play "The Man Who Never Died" by Barry Stavis. And the program included, as it does every year, a request for "Joe Hill". In response to the greetings from Murphy the singer pledged to his audience that he will "press for the freedom of Africa and all colonial people" and will "keep fighting for the dignity of my people and all people."

During an intermission a young Australian athlete paid tribute to Robeson and presented him with gifts from the youth movement of that country. The gifts included a boomerang and Australian Empire Games pin.

July 7, 1954
FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

PROVISIONAL COMMITTEE TO RESTORE PAUL
ROBESON'S PASSPORT
139 W. 125 St., Suite 6 - MO 6-8700
New York 27, N. Y.

PAUL ROBESON FILES NEW APPLICATION FOR PASSPORT

Renewing his efforts to obtain a passport, Paul Robeson, noted singer and actor, informed the U. S. State Department last week of his desire to leave the country next September in order to make concert and stage appearances in Great Britain and Israel.

In a letter accompanying his new application sent to the Passport Division, which for four years has barred him from foreign travel, Mr. Robeson presented photostatic copies of several contract offers he recently received from abroad.

Included was a bid for him to play the title role in a new London production of Othello, and a statement by the British Actors Equity Association unanimously approving the offer and expressing "satisfaction at the prospect of seeing Mr. Robeson play this part in which he has previously made so striking an appearance."

Another English offer cited was for a concert tour of the country under the sponsorship of the Workers Music Association, with supporting personal invitations from a distinguished group of British musicians and composers, including Vaughn Williams and Benjamin Britten.

Also listed was an invitation for a concert tour of Israel sent to the singer by Adam Holender, leading Tel Aviv impressario.

In his letter, Robeson pointed to the fact that in the U. S. his opportunities for performing in opera, drama, motion pictures, concert halls, radio and TV are severely limited. "I am one of the many American artists," he declared, "who have been thus blacklisted for political non-conformity."

"Consequently," he wrote, "the invitation to sing and act abroad is welcomed by me with heightened enthusiasm in that it affords me the only opportunity to practice my profession in conventional entertainment media before large audiences.

"The value of this opportunity lies in the fulfillment of my artistic efforts and in permitting me to earn a livelihood in my profession."

The complete text of Robeson's letter follows:

Department of State
Passport Division
Washington, D. C.

July 2, 1954

Gentlemen:

This letter is intended to accompany my application for a passport. It is submitted in compliance with Item No. 3 of printed instructions issued by you and entitled "Essential Requirements to Obtain a Passport". That item calls for a letter "stating where, when, why and length of stay abroad". I hereby furnish the information requested:

1. I intend to visit the British Isles and Israel. I may also visit such areas of continental Europe, particularly France and the Scandinavian countries, as may invite me to sing or perform during my stay abroad.

2. I propose to leave in or about September, 1954.

3. My purpose in traveling is to practice my profession as a singer and actor. More particularly:

    (a) I have been invited by Leslie Linder Productions to play the title role in a production of Othello. British Actors' Equity Association has unanimously approved my appearance and performance in England. Annexed hereto is a photostatic copy of the offer of Leslie Linder Productions. Also annexed hereto is a photostatic copy of the approval of British Actor's Equity Association. I call specific attention to the following language of the letter of the British Actors Equity Association:

"It was the unanimous opinion of the Council that Mr. Robeson's status is such that we cannot raise any objection to his appearing in this country. Indeed the Council expressed its satisfaction at the prospect of seeing Mr. Robeson play this part, in which he has previously made so striking an appearance. We would welcome his presence in this country."

(b) I have been invited by Workers' Music Association Ltd. to make a concert tour of England under its auspices. Annexed hereto is a photostatic copy of the offer, supported by a personal invitation from the vice-presidents and another from R. Vaughn Williams, the renowned dean of contemporary British music. The vice-presidents who signed the invitation are:

Geoffrey Corbett
Phil Cardew
Inglis Gundry
Arnold Goldsbrough
Bernard Stevens
Rutland Boughton
Edward J. Dent
Elizabeth Maconchy
Benjamin Britten
Joseph Lewis
Alan Rawsthorne
Arthur Benjamin

I call your specific attention to the following language of the vice-presidents' invitation:

"We cordially support this invitation and, as representative British professional musicians, assure you that such a visit would undoubtedly be greatly appreciated by thousands of music-lovers here."

(c) I have been invited by Adam Holender, Impresario of the Agence Internationale de Concerts, Theatre de Variete of Tel Aviv, Israel, to make a concert tour of Israel. It is my understanding that Mr. Holender has made arrangements for me to sing in various concert halls in Israel. Annexed hereto is a photostatic copy of a proposed contract tendered to me by Mr. Holender. It is my intention to enter into a contract to sing in Israel upon satisfactory terms to be arranged.

(d) I have received many expressions of interest in my singing or performing in other lands. It is probable that when I travel to England to fill my engagement there, arrangements may be made for me to sing and perform in other European countries, notably France and Scandinavia.

4. I expect to stay abroad for about six months.

* * *

I am a singer and actor by profession and I have achieved recognition in many foreign countries as well as in the United States. However, my opportunities for performing in the ordinary channels of entertainment in this country have been severely limited, in that opera, drama, motion pictures, the larger concert halls, radio and television have unfortunately been closed to me here. I am one of many American artists who have been thus blacklisted for political non-conformity.

Consequently the invitation to sing and act abroad is welcomed by me with heightened enthusiasm in that it affords me the only opportunity to practice my profession in conventional entertainment media before large audiences. The value of this opportunity lies in the fulfillment of my artistic efforts and in permitting me to earn a livelihood in my profession. If I should be unable to accept the present invitations to perform abroad, I should be without any corresponding opportunity to employ my talents for compensation at home.

Accordingly, I request your speedy and favorable consideration of the within application.

Very truly yours,

(signed) Paul Robeson

Room 200
6 East 17th Street
New York 3, New York

October 28, 1955

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

CHARLES CHAPLIN SUPPORTS
ROBESON'S RIGHT TO TRAVEL

Hailing Paul Robeson as an international artist "whose art is a credit to America", Charles Chaplin declared that the denial of the singer's right to travel is "stupid and inhuman".

In a public statement issued from his home in Switzerland, the world-famed film star said that the refusal of passports to artists like Robeson and Rockwell Kent, noted painter, "who are held in such general respect abroad", is destructive of "American prestige and creates doubt and suspicion in the countries whose friendship America most needs".

Warning that "every aspect of American democracy and freedom" is endangered by the practice of withholding passports for political reasons, Chaplin stated that, "every American today, whether he knows it or not, is a prisoner on probation, with a chain around his leg to be drawn in by a jailer at any time he may disagree with the political policy makers who are in temporary power."

"And who knows," Chaplin added, "that what we agree about today, we may disagree about tomorrow."

Attorneys for Robeson, who is Sydenham Hospital in Harlem recuperating from a recent operation, are preparing an appeal to the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in Washington against the travel ban which has kept the artist from fulfilling contracts for concert and stage appearances abroad.

The text of the Chaplin statement follows:

"The natural right of every free man to travel is being violated more and more by the unscrupulous withholding of passports. The situation is most alarming. For every American, whether he knows it or not, is a prisoner on probation, with a chain around his leg to be drawn in by a jailer at any time he may disagree with the political policy makers who are in temporary power. And who knows that what we agree about today, we may disagree about tomorrow.

"Such international artists as Paul Robeson and Rockwell Kent, whose art is a credit to America and whose art has enriched understanding between America and Europe, are chained by this vicious and dangerous policy. To deny the right to travel to Americans held in such general respect abroad, is stupid and inhuman. It destroys American prestige and creates doubt and suspiciou in the countries whose friendship America most needs.

"This is not a plea alone for American artists in chains, but for every American over whose fundamental freedom this menacing shadow is creeping. The violation of the right to travel affects every aspect of American democracy and freedom."

From: Provisional Committee to Restore Paul Robeson's Passport
139 W. 125th St., Suite 6, New York 27, N. Y.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

WORLD PROTESTS MOUNT OVER LATEST STATE DEPARTMENT REFUSAL OF ROBESON PASSPORT

As news of the U. S. State Department's refusal of Paul Robeson's most recent application for a passport spreads, new scores of protests and pledges of support are streaming into the office of the Provisional Committee to Restore Paul Robeson's Passport from Europe, Asia, Africa, the Caribbean, South America, Canada and Australia.

Mr. Robeson's application for a passport to travel to England, Israel, France and Scandanavia was submitted July 2. The State Department reply of July 27, signed by R. B. Shipley, Director of the Passport Office, said that the issue of a passport was "precluded" under passport regulations "upon the basis of information which the Department has received from various sources." Paul Robeson states he will appeal this decision to the U. S. Supreme Court, if necessary, on constitutional grounds.

"This fight is not a personal one alone," he said, "but one that affects an increasing number of artists, scholars and others, particularly of my own people, who are now being denied passports. In this fight for my constitutional rights I now shall extend my request. Not only do I want to visit the places already mentioned, but to accept invitations from many peace groups all over the world, including India, China, the Soviet Republics, many South American and Caribbean countries and Africa. This I shall do in the interest of cultural exchange so vital to the easing of world tensions."

The following excerpts from a few of the hundreds of messages of support and copies of protests to the State Department and U. S. Embassies over the world coming into the Provisional Committee indicate that world opinion is with Paul Robeson:

From 75 African, Indian and white cultural and civic leaders in Johannesburg, South Africa: "When the United States Government deprived you of your passport, they deprived the people of the world of your wonderful voice. It is not a personal move against you - it was a political move of world-wide importance.

"To us you represent the real America, the true America - not of the H-Bomb, McCarthy, blood and thunder comics and Mickey Spillane - but of the love of peace and real culture that we know exists among ordinary people everywhere. By preventing you from travelling, your Government is depriving itself of its finest ambassador."

From Negombo, Ceylon: "To us in this faraway but lovely tropical Island of Ceylon, the name of Paul Robeson is honored ... His birthday is always commemorated by the Robeson Society here which has many hundreds of members ... In fact his voice and personality have left an abiding imprint on the heart of Ceylon. The Robeson fans in Ceylon, like those all the world over, look forward to the day when this great singer will be able to tour this physically doomed and spiritually dead planet, and with his heaven-endowed voice rouse the soul of mankind to arise and save itself."

From Ivor Montagu, well-known English author: "In name of Magna Carta by which already in Thirteenth Century Englishmen won right of unimpeded travel from and to their homeland and whose tradition is shared by and links our two countries, I wish joy and success to campaign to restore that right to Paul. May his noble voice and presence soon bring us and other folks much needed reminder (of) fundamental virtues and character of American people whose best and greatest ambassador he will ever be."

From Fucikove, Vice-President Czechoslovak Peace Committee: "Express solidarity your campaign."

From a long list of the best known artists of Indian to the Embassy in Delhi: "The Indian people demand that the passport of Paul Robeson be restored to him, and that no fetters be put in his way to move from continent to continent singins his songs of freedom and peace, bringing joy and hope to millions of people all over the world."

From the Building Workers' Industrial Union of Melbourne, Australia to the State Department in Washington: "We write in respect to the with-holding of a passport by the State Department from the American singer and actor, Paul Robeson. This is against Article 13 (2) of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which states that 'Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country;' and the United States of America, being one of the Great Powers, is expected to give leadership to the rest of the world in putting the United Nations Charter into effect.

"In addition, we are of the opinion that the exchange of culture between countries is one of the strongest means of building world peace; and because of the universal love of music by all people and the very high degree of artistry achieved by Paul Robeson, he could be of the greatest service to his country in helping to forge a link of friendship between America and other countries."

From the renowned African novelist Rene Maran, in Paris: "My heart and spirit are with you in the campaign which you are waging for the granting of all citizenship rights to the great Paul Robeson... Are they (the government) never to understand that they cannot set themselves up as the defender of free peoples while denying the most elementary right to one of the most illustrious of their sons?"

From a member of the House of Commons in London: "Your State Department surely cannot any longer be under any illusions as to the harm being created by the withholding of Paul Robeson's passport... In paying tribute to an artist who has delighted and enthralled me and my friends, I beg America to appreciate the harm to our western way of life, which is being caused by this denial of freedom and this resort to economic strangulation."

From the Staff of the Bulgarian Cinematography, Sofia: "Our appeal to the American Minstry of Foreign Affairs is to restore Paul Robeson's passport and to give him license for foreign concerts, so that, through him, the peoples of the world may have the possibility to lay the foundations of cultural exchange and strengthen friendship and peace in the world.

From Haifa, Israel, comes this ringing, simple appeal: "As a simple woman without political orientation I am deeply concerned by the fact that your Government is denying lawful passport to the beloved and famous singer Paul Robeson. The songs of Paul Robeson have always inspired me with a feeling of brotherhood and love for your people and I have always regarded Paul Robeson a pride to his country.

"Therefore as a mother of children I appeal to you that country and Government be like a true mother to her children and citizens without prejudice to their convictions or race and restore the honour of the United States of America by restoring without delay the passport to our beloved Paul Robeson."

From 50 signators of the Staff of the National Library of Paris to John Foster Dulles: "The undersigned, members of the staff of the National Library of Paris, having diverse political, philosophical and religious beliefs, having learned that the great American artist, Paul Robeson, has been refused his passport and permission to travel abroad, we wish to intercede and urge your reconsideration of this question, divorcing it from all political considerations. We are aware of the tremendous renown of Paul Robeson and believe that the ban placed upon this artist singing in foreign lands can only harm the cause of the United States. We hope that the State Department will appreciate this point of view of sincere friends of the great American people and will allow other peoples to hear once more this master of vocal music who honors America."

From Henri Jourdain of the World Federation of Trade Unions, Vienna: "The undemocratic action of the State Department is an insult to all peoples. The world's workers who know and love the voice of Paul Robeson are with you. They express to him their solidarity and protest energetically against this discriminatory act on the part of the American authorities.

From Jean Laffitte, General Secretary of the World Peace Council, Vienna: "We are certain that this campaign will get broad support in the different countries and we ardently hope that your work will be successful. It is a valuable contribution to the efforts of all defenders of peace to develop cultural and artistic exchanges and to strengthen friendship between the peoples, particularly between the people of the United States and the other peoples of the world."

From the People's Progressive Party, Georgetown, British Guiana: "Accept wholehearted support in efforts to restore your rights. Best wishes for a successful campaign."

From writers and intellectuals of Montevideo, Uruguay: "It is impossible that at this hour when all of the people of the world want to establish and strengthen cultural and fraternal relations, that such a great artist, universally loved and admired, should be prevented from leaving his country because of policies hostile to culture, to individual rights and to the friendship of peoples."

*****

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Statement by Paul Robeson

Suite 6
139 West 125th Street
New York 27, New York

I deeply appreciate the concern, expressed in recent editorials in the Negro press, that I should be dealt with fairly in my efforts to secure a passport. It has been pointed out that there is involved not only my right to pursue my career as an artist, but also the matter of equal justice; and that I am, as one newspaper asserted, "entitled to the same consideration that other Americans had received from the State Department in the granting of passports".

That is all that I want -- that "same consideration" -- and indeed, that is the very essence of my long and costly legal struggle to win the right to travel.

However, there seems to be some misunderstanding of one aspect of the case, and I refer to an editorial comment in one of our papers that "we cannot go along with Robeson's decision to ignore the State Department's standard requirements".

But that is the rub. The fact is, the so-called non-Communist affidavit which the Passport Office insists that I must sign before my application can be considered is not a "standard requirement". I am told that a half million U.S. citizens annually receive passports without executing such an oath. They subscribe instead to the oath of allegiance to the United States which is printed upon the passport application, an oath which I have been proud to take upon the many occasions of my applications for a passport.

In rejecting the arbitrary and exceptional procedures demanded of me (and of Dr. DuBois and certain other individuals) I am fighting not only for my own rights but for the fundamental principle of civil liberty that is involved. The right to travel is a constitutional right no less than is the right to vote, and to deny the free exercise of such a basic right by inquiries into a citizen's political beliefs and by special oaths for arbitrarily selected individuals is to make a mockery of our democratic institutions.

For Negro Americans the right to travel -- the right to leave one state and go to another, or to go abroad -- has been of vital importance throughout our history; and conditions today in Mississippi and elsewhere in the South make it clear that this right is of continuing importance to our people. It is highly significant that the right of American citizens to travel is embodied in the 14th Amendment -- our legal guarantee of equal citizenship.

Further, it must be said that the matter of a non-Communist affidavit in my case is only a thin cover-up for the real issues behind the denial of my passport. In fact, when my passport was revoked in 1950, no question of any such affidavit was raised. Likewise, no affidavit was involved in 1952 when the State Department issued its "stop order" barring me from leaving the U.S. for travel not requiring a passport. (Except for travel to Canada, this discriminatory ban is still in effect; and, so far as I know, no other free citizen of the U.S. is subject to this restraint.)

The real issues in this case are on the record. In a legal brief submitted to the Court of Appeals in 1952 the State Department argued that the revoking of Paul Robeson's passport was justified because of his "frank admission that he has been for many years extremely active in behalf of the independence of the colonial peoples of Africa." (The Bandung Conference showed that all of the colored nations of the world are also "guilty" of that charge!)

And now in 1955, the State Department has made it clear that, along with my interest in colonial liberation and world peace, my stand for Negro freedom in America is at the heart of the case. On August 16th, U.S. Attorney Leo A. Rover got up in court and told why it was so "dangerous" to let me travel abroad. Here are his words from the official record:

"During the concert tours of foreign countries he (Robeson) repeatedly criticized the conditions of Negroes in the United States."

Mr. Rover cited as another example of this kind of "Communist" activity a message I sent to the Bandung Conference of Asian and African nations. He referred to that part of my message in which I said:

"The time has come when the colored peoples of the world will no longer allow the great natural wealth of their countries to be exploited and expropriated by the Western world while they are beset by hunger, disease and poverty. It is clearly evident that these evils can be eradicated and that the economic, social and cultural advancement of whole populations of hundreds of millions of people can be rapidly achieved, once modern science and industrialization are applied and directed toward raising the general level of well being of peoples rather than toward the enrichment of individuals and corporations.

"The possibility and practicability of such rapid social advancement have been attested by those who have objectively examined the history of the Soviet Union since 1917 and developments during the last decade in the countries of Eastern Europe, in China, and in newly emancipated Asian countries such as India."

Well, that is the truth as I see it, and I share this viewpoint with the vast majority of mankind. Let me say here, again, that so long as race oppression and economic exploitation exist here at home or elsewhere in the world, I shall continue to denounce these evils wherever I might be.

Instead of persecuting me for criticizing the conditions of Negroes in America, the U. S. Attorney ought to be down in Mississippi prosecuting those who have unleashed against our people a reign of terror and bloodshed.

PAUL ROBESON

LONDON CO-OPERATIVE PARTY PRESS DEPARTMENT

PIONEER HOUSE, 348 GRAY'S INN ROAD, W.C.1. *Telephone :* TERMINUS 9276/7/8

PRESS NOTICE

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Two hundred and forty nine delegates to the 1955 Trades Union Congress, including 5 Labour M.P.'s., 5 General Council members and 52 National Officers cabled President Eisenhower - "In the spirit of your Geneva Conference statement that 'It is time that all curtains, whether of guns or laws or regulations, should begin to come down', we delegates to the British Trades Union Congress urge that you intervene to secure the issuance of a passport to Paul Robeson, world renowned singer and artist. The British workers and people are anxious to again hear this great son of America".

The September meeting of the Political Committee noted this action with warm approval and support, stating that they were convinced that the issuing of a passport to Paul Robeson would materially assist the development of better relations and understanding between the peoples of Britain and the U.S.A.

oOo

Please note: enclosed please find article on Paul Robeson which you are invited to use should you so desire. No acknowledgement or fee is necessary.

Note: I did this article for them without a by-line. It is printed in Coop paper and sent to 150 T.U. papers

PROVISIONAL COMMITTEE TO RESTORE
PAUL ROBESON'S PASSPORT
139 West 125 Street - Suite 6
NEW YORK 27, N. Y.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

PAUL ROBESON SUES AGAIN FOR PASSPORT AS CONCERT INVITATIONS FROM ABROAD CONTINUE

John Foster Dulles, Sec'y of State, Defendant in Federal Action

---

On January 13, Paul Robeson, through his attorneys, Leonard B. Boudin of New York and James Wright of Washington, D. C., asked the Federal District Court in the nation's capital to direct the State Department to grant him a passport.

While the brief was being filed in Washington, the world-renowned singer and actor announced in New York that he has received an invitation to appear in concert at the National Opera House in Prague, Czechoslovakia. The Prague National Opera has few peers among the leading opera houses of the world; it was there that Mozart conducted his own great works and attracted the attention of the music-loving world.

Mr. Robeson names Secretary of State John Foster Dulles as defendant in the suit and claims that Dulles' actions in denying him the privilege of travel abroad "are arbitrary, capricious and without warrant or authority in the laws of the United States including the Passport Act of 1936 and are contrary to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations."

Basing his complaint on the traditional guarantees provided in the U. S. Constitution, Mr. Robeson declares that the denial of a passport has "interfered with the practice of (his) profession and with his earning a livelihood and have resulted in considerable financial injury to him." He further contends that the action of the Secretary of State has interfered with "his freedom of belief, speech and association, thus causing irreparable injury to the plaintiff in violation of his rights under the First and Fifth Amendments."

Mr. Robeson's brief also asks for a court order allowing him to visit Canada, Mexico and other Western Hemisphere countries for which a passport is not required. It points out that in January, 1952, the artist was arbitrarily prevented from leaving the U. S. to visit Canada, on the basis of a special order of the State Department "relating specifically and exclusively" to him.

Mr. Robeson had held and used a passport continuously since 1922, when the State Department announced in August, 1950, that it had cancelled his passport and informed all U. S. border officials to detain the artist should he attempt to leave the country.

In an earlier suit in which the U. S. Court of Appeals reached no decision in February 1952, the government brief admitted that revocation of the passport was due to the fact, among others, that Mr. Robeson "has been for years extremely active politically in behalf of the independence of the colonial peoples of Africa....."

Among the many invitations which continue to reach Mr. Robeson for appearances abroad are those from Linder Productions, Ltd., to play "Othello" in London; from the National Union of Mine Workers in Edinburgh, Scotland; from the All-India Peace Council in New Delhi; from the Opera Comique in Paris which recently signed the young tenor, Charles Holland, as the first Negro interpreter of a major role; from the leading cultural agency in Tel Aviv, Israel, and from the recent Soviet Writers Congress in Moscow.

30-30-30-30-30-30

Progressive Party
56 West 45th St.
New York City
MU 7-8100

August 4, 1950

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

C. B. Baldwin, Secretary of the Progressive Party, today issued the following statement on the cancellation of Paul Robeson's passport:

> The cancellation of Paul Robeson's passport serves notice to the world that the United States government will no longer support our constitutional guarantees of free speech and assembly. There is obviously no legal basis for this action, and the Department of State does not even attempt to justify its action on either legal or ethical grounds.
>
> Paul Robeson, son of a slave, one of America's greatest men, cannot be silenced. His voice today is more eloquent than ever before. America's democratic citizens, as well as people throughout Europe, Asia, South America and Africa will honor him as never before. The fearful and cowardly in Washington have committed one of their greatest blunders but our whole nation will suffer unless Paul Robeson's rights are fully restored.
>
> We ask all people, regardless of their political beliefs, to protest this action and to demand from our government that our sacred right to speak our minds fully and freely be guaranteed by all federal officials, from the President down. If we do not speak now, all of the freedoms which we cherish will soon be gone.

################

uopwa 16

From: 139 West 125th St., Suite 6
New York 27, N. Y.
July 28, 1954

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ROBESON DEPARTS FOR AMERICAN-CANADIAN BORDER PEACE ARCH CONCERT

Paul Robeson takes off from La Guardia Airport Thursday, July 29, for the Pacific Northwest and his third appearance before the International Peace Arch on the American-Canadian border in a concert. The border concert which is sponsored by the Vancouver, British Columbia locals of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers is expected to draw a crowd of 50,000 Americans and Canadians this year.

This unique type of cross-the-border concert came into being in the spring of 1952 when Paul Robeson had been invited by the Fourth Canadian Convention of the Mine, Mill union to come as their guest to Vancouver. When the State Department, using a neglected 1918 statute as a pretext, barred Robeson from leaving the United States, the singer and the miners pledged to meet at the border. Over 40,000 men, women and children showed up at this precedent-making rendezvous. Roads were blocked for miles around and the border had to be closed for two hours - an unheard of international occurrence. At this first concert, the barred singer and the cheering crowd vowed to meet that way each year until the ban on Robeson was lifted. In 1953, despite precautions taken by border authorities, the Peace Arch crowd was once more so great that roads were again jammed for miles on either side of the line.

The border concert this year comes in the wake of the tremendous "Salute to Robeson" on May 26 at the Renaissance Casino which not only brought an enthusiastic overflow crowd to the Casino but hundreds of greetings and pledges of support for the campaign to restore Paul Robeson's passport from all over the world. The word from Vancouver is that more than 50,000 will be on hand this time -- "enough people for even the blind men in the State Department to see."

*****

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE:

May 19, 1954

Planning Committee for a
CULTURAL SALUTE TO PAUL ROBESON
139 West 125th Street, Suite 6
New York 27, N. Y.- MO 6-8700

CULTURAL SALUTE TO PAUL ROBESON

The "Cultural Salute to Paul Robeson" will be highlighted by more than two score Negro and white artists who will perform and speak out in support of the restoration of Robeson's passport. The affair will be held May 26, at the Renaissance Casino, 138th Street and Seventh Avenue, from 8 to 11 P. M.

The artists will participate in a presentation that will dramatize the growing world wide demands for the opportunity to see and hear the noted actor and singer.

Prepared by Lorraine Hansberry, Negro writer, and directed by Julian Mayfield, rising young Negro actor and playwright, the program will include such events as the:

-- June 26, 1952 demonstration of Africans and Indians in Johannesburg, South Africa, when thousands marched to the songs of Robeson while shouting slogans in defiance of the racist laws of the Malan regime.

-- Canadian Border concert at Blaine, Washington when 40,000 Canadians and U.S. citizens crowded into the Peace Arch Park to hear Robeson, after U.S. authorities had forbidden his crossing the border to attend a convention of the International Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union.

-- Standing of three thousand delegates at the 34th Quadrennial Conference of the A.M.E. Zion Church in Brooklyn, New York, in support of the restoration of Robeson's passport.

Other scenes will portray the sentiments of common people throughout the world. Another will deal with the letter of support to Robeson from the Dean of English composers, Ralph Vaughn Williams. Others will pinpoint the appeal of groups in India, Sweden, Russia, Scotland, and other countries for Robeson to visit and perform as he did throughout the world before being virtually imprisoned by his own government because he spoke out against war and fascism while attending a Peace meeting in Paris.

- more -

The many artists present will receive dramatized introductions and some will give brief personal tributes. Miss Margaret McCaden, chairman of the Program Committee declared that, "many of the artists have expressed the desire to be there if only to lend their presence to this fight."

The list of those scheduled to be present is headed by the noted composer and arranger, Lawrence Brown, who for 30 years was associated with Robeson as accompanist and arranger; the American String Quartet, Leon Bibb, Alan Booth, Nadyne Brewer, Thelonius Monk and Charley Parker, exponents of modern jazz; Pete Seeger, Alice Childress, Selwart Clark, Zeebedee Collins, Marion Cumbo, cellist, Laura Duncan, Herbert Haufrecht, composer and conductor; Carroll Hollister, David Johnson, Peggy Kisseloff, Tony Kraber, Karen Morley, actress, Chauncey Northern, James T. Powell, Carl Pruitt, Beulah Richardson, Bill Robinson, Earl Robinson, Betty Sanders, Edith Segal, Edith Sewell, Frances Walker, Felix Weir, Charles White, Martha Schlamme, Ellsworth Wright, Marie McBroom, Maurice Anderson, Ruby Dee, Ossie Davis, and Beth Gardo. Others will be added.

The outpouring of these young artists of all the professions highlights a recent statement of Robeson's that "I would like to lead troupes of young Americans to the countries of the world instead of the troops that are now going abroad."

The affair is being sponsored by the Committee to Restore Paul Robeson's Passport. The admission is $1.10 and tickets may be had at the headquarters, 139 West 125th Street, Suite 6, or by calling MO 6-8700.

#

PLANNING COMMITTEE FOR A

CULTURAL SALUTE TO PAUL ROBESON

139 W. 125th Street . SUITE 6 . New York 27, N.Y. MO. 6-8700

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE May 19, 1954

Paul Robeson has been invited to England by the leading music organization and its officers, among whom are several leading composers, because he "...would undoubtedly be greatly appreciated by thousands of music lovers."

The invitation came from the Worker's Music Association Ltd., whose General Secretary, Will Sahnow wrote Robeson early in March, "...we trust you may be successful in obtaining your passport even if limited to this project of ours."

Their invitation throws into sharp relief the continued denial of a passport to Robeson by his own government and spotlights the May 26 "Cultural Salute to Paul Robeson" at the Renaissance Casino, at 138 St. and Seventh Ave. The affair will feature scores of Negro and white artists of stage, screen and radio in a dramatic presentation. Admission is $1.10, and tickets may be had at 139 W. 125th St., Suite 6. MO. 6-8700.

Among the Association officers who wrote Robeson in a separate letter signed by them were Benjamin Britten, composer of the famous opera "Peter Grimes" and who was commissioned by the Crown to write music for the Coronation of Queen Elizabeth; Alan Rawsthorne, composer of the "Street Corner Overture", written for the performance at concerts for British factory workers during World War II; and Arthur Benjamin, Australian composer of "Jamaica Rumba".

England's most celebrated composer, Ralph Vaughn Williams, holder of the Order of Merit, also joined the Association leaders in inviting Robeson. In his own letter Williams wrote Robeson, "I should like to add my name to those who I understand are writing you hoping that you will pay us another visit."

Williams, who is scheduled to visit the U.S. this fall as a visiting professor at Cornell University, told Robeson that while he was a "great admirer of your art... so far as I know your political views, I am strongly opposed to them.

The Association officers further told Robeson, "the means to ensure your passage to this country have been raised and are available when required... In the meantime we shall be making representations to the American Embassy here.

#####

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

FOR RELEASE MAY 24

Planning Committee for a
CULTURAL SALUTE TO PAUL ROBESON
139 West 125th Street, Suite 6
New York 27, N. Y. -- MO 6-8700
May 20, 1954

CHAPLIN URGES PASSPORT FOR ROBESON

Charles Chaplin, the world famous artist has denounced the continued refusal of a passport to Paul Robeson it was announced today by the Planning Committee for a Cultural Salute to Paul Robeson.

"To deny a great artist like Paul Robeson his right to give his art to the world is to destroy the very foundation upon which our culture and civilization is built. It negates every principle of democracy and freedom and follows a path of the worse type of tyranny," declared Chaplin.

The world famous artist cabled from Switzerland where he now resides with his family after being driven from the U. S. because of his progressive and humanitarian views. His message was one of many now pouring in to the committee which is sponsoring a "Cultural Salute to Paul Robeson" at the Renaissance Casino in Harlem at 138th Street and Seventh Avenue, May 26th, 8 to 11 P. M. The admission is $1.10 and tickets may be had at 139 West 125th Street, MO 6-8700.

########

FOR RELEASE MAY 24

Planning Committee for a
CULTURAL SALUTE TO PAUL ROBESON
139 West 125th Street, Suite 6
New York 27, N. Y..- MO 6-8700
May 24, 1954

WEST AFRICAN PAPER HAILS ROBESON PASSPORT CAMPAIGN

"Once there was an American Negro who contented the Western Hemisphere so long as he was happy-go-lucky baritone singing 'darkie' songs. But there came a day when the deep tones of this son of sunny Africa lost their once unbeatable mellow."

Thus begins an editorial in the West African Pilot, widely circulated newspaper on the African Continent, which goes on to express the people's resentment against the refusal of the United States to grant to the world-renowned Paul Robeson his rights to travel and sing as he has done in the past.

A "Cultural Salute" to Mr. Robeson will be given to launch the campaign for the restoration of his passport at the Renaissance Casino, 138th Street and 7th Avenue, on Wednesday, May 26th at 8 p.m., under the auspices of the Committee to Restore Paul Robeson's Passport, with headquarters at 139 West 125th Street.

Known and loved throughout the world, Robeson is probably best loved by the millions of oppressed peoples on the Continent of Africa. There is no better expression of their concern over his right to travel than the editorial, begun above, which continues as follows:

"That was only the day after Mr. Paul Robeson turned his genius away from entertaining a world which deprived millions of the people of his race of the elementary rights to life, liberty

more---

and the pursuit of happiness, to join in the crusade for Africa's redemption.

"Almost immediately, Robeson was lodged with the United States as a Communist, since, it would appear, no other philosophy, not even democracy, is capable of inspiring the love of patriotism and liberty in an oppressed people...

"The United States Government in its **brief** stated: 'If the complaint had alleged, which it does not, that the passport was cancelled solely because of the appellant's recognized status as a spokesman for the large sections of Negro Americans, we submit that this would not amount to an abuse of discretion in view of the appellant's frank admission that he has been for years extremely active politically in behalf of the independence of the colonial peoples of A frica.'

" If speculation of this type should justify the restriction of Robeson's movement, where in the world is the iron curtain more firmly entrenched? We wonder!"

Taking part in the cultural salute, in addition to Mr. Robeson, will be Leon Bibb, Alan Booth, Nadyne Brewer, Lawrence Brown, Alice Childress, Laura Duncan, Peggy Kisseloff, Tony Kraber, Margaret McCaden, Beulah Richardson, Earl Robinson, Betty Sanders, Pete Seeger, Frances Walker and Charles White.

####

139 West 125 Street, Suite 6
New York 27, New York
April 21, 1954

Dear Friend:

You are invited and urged to attend a meeting of the Planning Committee for a Reception honoring Paul Robeson. The Committee will meet next Thursday, April 29, at 8:30 P.M. here in the office.

This Reception will initiate the campaign for his passport. We know that you recognize the importance of such an affair,and that with your cooperation we can look forward to its success. Please make every effort to attend.

Sincerely,

Maude Green

Maude Green, Secretary
Planning Committee

John Gray

John Gray
Secretary to Paul Robeson

Prov. Comm. to Restore PR's Passport
139 W 125 St - MO6-8700

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE July 7, 1954

Renewing his efforts to obtain a passport, Paul Robeson, noted singer and actor, informed the U. S. State Department last week of his desire to leave the country next September in order to make concert and stage appearances in Great Britain and Israel.

In a letter accompanying his new application sent to the Passport Division, which for four years has barred him from foreign travel, Mr. Robeson presented photostatic copies of several contract offers he recently received from abroad.

Included was a bid for him to play the title role in a new London production of Othello, and a statement by the British Actors Equity Association unanimously approving the offer and expressing "satisfaction at the prospect of seeing Mr. Robeson play this part in which he has previously made so striking an appearance."

Another English offer cited was for a concert tour of the country under the sponsorship of the Workers Music Association, with supporting personal invitations from a distinguished group of British musicians and composers, including Vaughan Williams and Benjamin Britten.

Also listed was an invitation for a concert tour of Israel sent to the singer by Adam Holender, leading Tel Aviv impressario.

In his letter, Robeson pointed to the fact that in the U.S. his opportunities for performing in opera, drama, motion pictures, concert halls, radio and TV ~~in this country~~ are severely limited. "I am one of the many American artists," he declared, "who have been thus blacklisted for political non-conformity."

"Consequently," he wrote, "the invitation to sing and act abroad is welcomed by me with heightened enthusiasm in that it affords me the only opportunity to practice my profession in conventional entertainment media before large audiences.

"The value of this opportunity lies in the fulfillment of my artistic efforts and in permitting me to earn a livelihood in my profession."

The complete text of Robeson's letter follows:

Labor donated

You and Your Friends are Invited to a Cultural Salute

to

PAUL ROBESON

on the occasion of the launching of the campaign for his passport to sing again around the world

Wednesday, May 26, 1954

Renaissance Casino *138th St. at 7th Ave.*

From 8 to 11 p.m. *Admission: $1 plus 10c tax*

Cultural Tributes to Paul Robeson by... Leon Bibb, Alan Booth, Nadyne Brewer, Lawrence Brown, Alice Childress, Laura Duncan, Peggy Kisseloff, Tony Kraber, Margaret McCaden, Beulah Richardson, Earl Robinson, Betty Sanders, Pete Seeger, Frances Walker, Charles White....

...and the songs and response of Paul Robeson

Auspices: Committee To Restore Paul Robeson's Passport

PROVISIONAL COMMITTEE
to
RESTORE PAUL ROBESON'S PASSPORT
Suite 6, 139 West 125th Street
New York 27, New York

Dear Friend: May, 1954

Paul Robeson has for the last four years been denied a passport by the U.S. State Department. This means that he has been unable to accept the invitations that have come to him from all parts of the world to give concerts, to play Othello, to sing the leading role in Moussorgsky's Boris Gudounov, and many others. It means that people all over the world who want to hear his magnificent voice are denied the opportunity.

It also means that Paul Robeson is denied the opportunity to find abroad the normal means of livelihood no longer open to him in his own country. He gives of his great talent unstintingly in people's concerts, in churches and meetings. But, in the hysteria of these times, regular concert and stage and film engagements, radio and television appearances, recordings by commercial companies, are closed to him.

The State Department finds that "it is not in the best interests of the United States" that this great people's artist, who represents the best of our country's traditions and culture, of whom all true Americans, Negro and white, are deeply proud, should travel abroad today. This is a great dishonor to our country, which the people of America want to redress.

Protests and legal action have so far been unavailing. A committee is therefore in formation to launch a nationwide and worldwide campaign to restore Paul Robeson's right, as an American citizen and world artist, to his passport. This campaign will be launched at a Cultural Salute to be given him by fellow artists in New York City on May 26. (See enclosed announcement)

We know that there are people in every country in the world who will be glad to join in this campaign for their own right to hear Paul Robeson, as well as his right to travel abroad, and for the promotion of cultural interchange among the nations, which is one of the firmest foundations for peace. There are several ways in which you can participate directly:

1. By sending a message of support to Paul Robeson
2. By getting others to join with you in this message, or to send separate messages of their own; and sending names and addresses of others to whom we might write.
3. By writing or cabling the U.S. State Department, Washington, D.C., or the U.S. Embassy in your country, protesting the withholding of Paul Robeson's passport, and getting others to do likewise. (Please send us copies)

We would like to have as many messages as possible, by letter or cable, to be read on May 26. But it is desirable to have a continuing flow of messages after that date, until this important fight to keep open the avenues of cultural interchange is won. Messages should be addressed to the Provisional Committee at the above address. We shall appreciate hearing from you.

Sincerely yours,

DR. W.E.B. DU BOIS   DOROTHY PARKER
CHARLES WHITE   C.B. BALDWIN
MAUDE GREENE, Secretary

For the Provisional Committee

WHY THE CRUSADE ON THE MARTINSVILLE SEVEN?

by

The Civil Rights Congress and

The Virginia Committee to Save The Martinsville Seven

November 2, 1950

On November 17 and November 20 seven young Negro men are being murdered by the State of Virginia for the "crime" of being Negroes.

Since 1908 forty-four Negroes have been executed by the State of Virginia on the charge of rape. This, if permitted, would make it fifty-one. During the same period no white man has been executed for rape in Virginia. Not long ago two white policemen of Richmond, Va. were convicted of raping a Negro woman. The penalty? Seven years imprisonment or less.

Though one third of the people of Virginia are Negroes, no Negroes sat on the jury which tried any of these men. 84 jurors - not one Negro among them. There is not a single Negro judge in the whole state of Virginia.

Though young (6 of them were 20 or 21 years old) and poor, and surrounded by a hostile white community, these Negro defendants were given the most apathetic defense by court-appointed lawyers. In fact, the most modern assembly line methods were introduced into their trials. They were convicted in separate trials at the rate of one a day. Ten in the morning to four in the afternoon, with two hours for lunch. Four hours for a murder trial -- and a death sentence.

The woman who cried "rape", Mrs. Ruby Floyd, told a story full of discrepancies and impossibilities. Then, immediately after telling her story in court, she disappeared and no one has been able to find her since.

Needless to say Virginia is a completely segregated state. Negroes and whites are not permitted to associate together. This goes hand in hand with such frameups as this, which have the dual purpose of confusing the white man with the constantly repeated false stories of "Negro criminality" and of keeping the Negro "in his place".

Lynching, as a method of keeping Negroes and whites apart, has been so vigorously opposed that it occurs less frequently than was formerly true. But it has simply been replaced by the "legal lynching", as in this case, or the Willie McGee case, or the Trenton Case, or the Ingram case, or the Paul Washington case, or the Wesley Wells case, or the Groveland case, or the Daniels case, or the Jerry Newson case, or (if you please) the Lieutenant Gilbert case.

A "legal lynching" differs in no material respect from the old type lynching, except it takes longer and often the people are able to prevent it. Statistics on lynchings which added "legal lynchings" to the old type lynchings, would show that lynchings are on the increase in the United States.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is handling the legal aspects of the Martinsville case. But this is not enough. Unless the people of the whole country, and the whole world, are mobilized to express themselves forcefully against this "murder" by the State of Virginia, and "legal lynchings" in general, these seven young men will surely die.

The main form of expression of this mobilization is a national crusade-delegation from all over the United States, made up of white and Negro people, which will convene in the city of Richmond, Virginia on November 15th to demand of Governor Battle that he pardon these men.

All who believe in democracy and oppose Jim Crow should do the following:

1. Join in the delegation.
2. Endorse the delegation and announce it to the press.
3. Demand a pardon from Governor Battle.
4. Demand federal intervention by President Truman.

* * *

35 dpowa

Provisional Committee to Restore
Paul Robeson's Passport
139 West 125 Street - Suite 6
New York 27, N. Y.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
November 24, 1954

STATE DEPARTMENT DENIES ROBESON RIGHT TO ATTEND SOVIET WRITERS CONGRESS

Paul Robeson, the internationally famed artist, has been refused permission by the Passport Office of the State Department to travel to Moscow to attend the Congress of Soviet Writers which opens December 9.

Upon receipt of an invitation from the noted novelist, Alexander Fadeev, chairman of the Presidium of the Union of Soviet Writers, Mr. Robeson contacted the Passport office and requested that a passport application which he had filed in July be amended to include his participation as a guest in the two-week meeting of Soviet writers. His earlier application was made for the purpose of fulfilling concert engagements in England, France, Israel and the Scandanavian countries, including a London production of "Othello" under management of Leslie Linder Productions.

A letter to Mr. Robeson from Willis H. Young, acting director of the Passport Office, dated November 18, states that since the earlier application was "tentatively denied by this office on July 26, 1954, it will be necessary for you to proceed in accordance with the procedure outlined in Section 51.137 of the Passport Regulations if you desire to have the Department give further consideration to your case."

The regulations referred to require an applicant to "prove" that his views do not deviate from those of the State Department as a prerequisite for receiving a passport. Discretionary power in granting or withholding permission to travel is placed in the hands of the Secretary of State and an appeal board established within his Department.

Mr. Robeson is challenging the right of the Secretary to wield such arbitrary power. He is bringing a suit in federal court to compel the Department to issue him a passport on the ground that refusal to do so deprives him of his constitutional rights of freedom of speech, thought and assembly, and the freedom to earn a living guaranteed by the First and Fifth Amendments of the Constitution.

The invitation to the Congress of Soviet writers was also signed by Boris Polevoy, an outstanding Soviet author ~~who has written a play about Robeson which has been produced in Moscow and other centers of the Soviet Union~~. Mr. Polevoy, supporting the formal invitation with a personal message to Mr. Robeson, stated: "We do not lose the hope...to see you among us, you the greatest singer of our days, a man of great soul and pure heart, Paul Robeson."

Polevoy
did not
write play

30630-30-30-30-30-

Provisional Committee to Restore
Paul Robeson's Passport
139 West 125 Street - Suite 6
New York 27, N. Y.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
November 24, 1954

STATE DEPARTMENT DENIES ROBESON RIGHT TO ATTEND SOVIET WRITERS CONGRESS

Paul Robeson, the internationally famed artist, has been refused permission by the Passport Office of the State Department to travel to Moscow to attend the Congress of Soviet Writers which opens December 9.

Upon receipt of an invitation from the noted novelist, Alexander Fadeev, chairman of the Presidium of the Union of Soviet Writers, Mr. Robeson contacted the Passport office and requested that a passport application which he had filed in July be amended to include his participation as a guest in the two-week meeting of Soviet writers. His earlier application was made for the purpose of fulfilling concert engagements in England, France, Israel and the Scandanavian countries, including a London production of "Othello" under management of Leslie Linder Productions.

A letter to Mr. Robeson from Willis H. Young, acting director of the Passport Office, dated November 18, states that since the earlier application was "tentatively denied by this office on July 26, 1954, it will be necessary for you to proceed in accordance with the procedure outlined in Section 51.137 of the Passport Regulations if you desire to have the Department give further consideration to your case."

The regulations referred to require an applicant to "prove" that his views do not deviate from those of the State Department as a prerequisite for receiving a passport. Discretionary power in granting or withholding permission to travel is placed in the hands of the Secretary of State and an appeal board established within his Department.

Mr. Robeson is challenging the right of the Secretary to wield such arbitrary power. He is bringing a suit in federal court to compel the Department to issue him a passport on the ground that refusal to do so deprives him of his constitutional rights of freedom of speech, thought and assembly, and the freedom to earn a living guaranteed by the First and Fifth Amendments of the Constitution.

The invitation to the Congress of Soviet writers was also signed by Boris Polevoy, an outstanding Soviet author who has written a play about Robeson which has been produced in Moscow and other centers of the Soviet Union. Mr. Polevoy, supporting the formal invitation with a personal message to Mr. Robeson, stated: "We do not lose the hope...to see you among us, you the greatest singer of our days, a man of great soul and pure heart, Paul Robeson."

30030-30-30-30-30-

Suite 6
139 W. 125th St.
New York City
MO. 6-8700

April 22, 1955

For Immediate Release

A spontaneous celebration took place at the Red Rooster Restaurant in New York City on April 19, 1955 when friends and admirers discovered Paul Robeson and his party dining quietly on the 30th Anniversary of his first appearance as a professional concert singer. With Mr. Robeson was Lawrence Brown, who appeared with him at the Greenwich Village Theatre in the first concert on April 19, 1925. Also present were his wife, Mrs. Eslanda Goode Robeson, and his brother, Rev. B. C. Robeson of Mother A. M. E. Z. Church.

The years that followed the first Paul Robeson concert brought sensational successes in the major cities of the world including; London, Paris, Moscow, Berlin, Vienna, Prague, Budapest and Leningrad. During that same period he achieved success as an actor in the theatre and in films. His "Othello" was hailed by critics as one of the greatest performances in the history of Shakespearean acting.

Honors bestowed on him since his first professional concert include: the Spingarn Medal for outstanding achievement awarded by the NAACP (1945); Gold Medal for best diction in the American Theatre from the American Academy of Arts & Science (1944); Donaldson Award for best acting performance (1944); Abraham Lincoln Medal for most notable and distinguished services in human relations in New York City (1943).

The son of a Princeton (N. J.) A.M.E.Z. minister, Paul Robeson was a Phi Beta Kappa at Rutgers College and was twice chosen as an end on Walter Camps All American football team. He holds degrees from Rutgers and Columbia Universities, as well as honorary degrees from Rutgers, Hamilton, Morehouse and Howard Universities.

His great art and his concern for the dignity of all mankind have endeared the name of Paul Robeson to millions throughout the world.

Mr. Robeson's lawyers have recently filed suit in the Federal Courts to compel the U. S. State Department to renew his passport, which has been denied since 1950. He has invitations to appear as an actor and singer in London, Paris, Moscow, Israel and many other international cultural centers.

PROVISIONAL COMMITTEE FOR THE RIGHT TO TRAVEL
Room 200
6 East 17th Street
New York 3, New York

October 31, 1955

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

BALTIMORE, MD. -- Paul Robeson's right to a passport was endorsed by 300 ministers assembled here today at the annual joint meeting of the Baptist Ministers' Conferences of Washington, D. C. and Baltimore.

A resolution, moved by Rev. Henry Houston, President of the Washington Conference, in support of the right to travel for all Americans in general and for Mr. Robeson in particular was adopted after a lively discussion in which it was stressed that the action was not an endorsement of the noted artist's controversial political views.

The discussion and resolution followed a talk on the Robeson passport-denial case by William L. Patterson, Executive Secretary of the Civil Rights Congress.

Mr. Patterson, who was introduced to the meeting by Rev. Roosevelt McIntyre of Washington, quoted from court records in the Robeson case to show that the world-famed artist has been victimized because of his militant stand for colonial liberation and full citizenship for Negro Americans.

Citing the proposal of President Eisenhower at Geneva to "lift all curtains" in behalf of cultural exchange, Patterson said that the State Department should be urged to grant Robeson the right to travel without further delay.

The conference, representing 75,000 church members in Washington, Baltimore and vicinity, was held at the Enon Baptist Church, with Rev. N.H. Wicks, President of the Baltimore Conference, presiding.

# # # #

ROBESON LEAVES HOSPITAL

NEW YORK, Nov. 2 -- Paul Robeson, noted singer and actor, was discharged today from Sydenham Hospital after a three-weeks' post-operative convalescence.

Looking hale and hearty, Mr. Robeson had high praise for the care he had received from the hospital staff, and said he was feeling "strong as ever".

PRESS RELEASE Perform "Othello" In London

~~PAUL~~ ROBESON APPLIES FOR PASSPORT TO FULFILL ENGAGEMENTS ABROAD

JULY 30, N.Y.: Late yesterday afternoon Paul Robeson, renowned artist, applied for his passport in order to fulfill the starring role of Othello to be produced in London this fall by the Leslie Linder Productions of that city. Since his last appearance abroad in the spring of 1950, Paul Robeson has twice been refused a renewal of his passport by the State Department.

Leslie Linder, who at 28 is one of London's youngest producers, arranged details of the forthcoming production of 'Othello' with Mr. Robeson on the former's recent visit to New York. Upon his return to London, Linder requested a work permit for Mr. Robeson from the British Actors' Equity Association. The Actors' Equity Association, through its General Secretary , Gordon Sandison, replied :"It was the unanimous opinion of the Council that Mr. Robeson's status is such that we cannot raise any objection to his appearing in this country. Indeed the Council expressed its satisfaction at the prospect of seeing Mr. Robeson play this part, in which he has previously made so striking an appearance. We would welcome his presence in this country."

Mr. Robeson , who is currently preparing for a concert ~~[illegible]~~ in the Peace Arch Park at the U.S.-Canadian border in the State of Washington scheduled for August 16th, also announced that in addition to the 'Othello' offer he is ~~[illegible]~~ negotiating several ~~I'm~~ ~~[illegible]~~ ~~other~~ ~~and recording~~ ~~deals~~ engagements abroad. After the August 16th Peace Arch Park concert, which last year was attended by a Canadian and American audience of close to forty thousand ~~[illegible]~~, Mr. Robeson will return to New York to make preparations for his trip abroad.

FROM: Civil Rights Congress
23 West 26th Street
New York 10, New York

State Dept → White

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

ROBESON ASKS STATE DEPT. FOR SPECIAL PASSPORT TO U.N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY TO PRESENT, ARGUE ANTI-NEGRO GENOCIDE PETITION

New York, N.Y. — Paul Robeson, noted Negro singer and American peace leader, has applied to the State Department for a special passport to Paris to "present and argue before the General Assembly of the United Nations" the CRC petn ~~a petition~~ charging government ~~in~~ of the United States with a policy of genocide against American Negroes, the Civil Rights Congress announced yesterday.

In his application, Robeson declared that "the legal obligations arising out of the Charter of the United Nations as expressed in Articles 1, 13, 55, 56, 62, 68 and 76, supercedes all rulings made by either the judicial or administrative parts" of the U.S. Government.

He said that these articles "require that the United States Government remove such legal bars" which prevent him from appearing before the General Assembly.

Robeson added, "As stated in the Charter, the affiant (Robeson) and the Negro people are 'all equal before the law and shall be accorded protection before the law.'....The obligation of the United Nations to hear the complaint established the obligation of the United States to submit to the proceedings, and further involves the obligation of the United States to permit the affiant the means of travel in order to make such a complaint."

The petition, titled "We Charge Genocide", which has been published in the United States by the CRC in book form, seeks relief from a "crime of government" under Articles II and III of the UN Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide which was adopted by the General Assembly on December 9, 1948, following its ratification by the necessary twenty member nations.

The convention, which supersedes both federal and state laws in the United States, defines genocide as any killings on the basis of race in whole or in part of a racial group. Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of a group on the basis of race also constitutes genocide, according to the convention.

Robeson also declared in his application to the State Department that:

> — "that I have been chosen by the Petitioners to said Petition to present and argue said Petition before the General Assembly of

-MORE-

> the United Nations now meeting in Paris, France and to plead for the remedies prayed for in said Petition;
>
> "— that this application for a passport for the special purpose above stated in no way affects my present suit instituted to establish my right to a passport generally;
>
> "—that to deny me the means of making said complaint is to indirectly nullify my rights and the rights of the Negro people of the United States, which rights have been clearly established both by the Charter of the United Nations and the Genocide Convention, and which rights having been ratified by the United States Senate take precedence over all rules and law inconsistent with the obligations owed by the United States and arising out of the said Charter and the Convention."

The petition charging genocide against American Negroes is divided into five parts — The Opening Statement, the Law and the Indictment, The Evidence, The Summary and Prayer, and the Appendix. It contains fifty pages of hundreds of cases in which innocent Negroes have been killed or assaulted since 1945 because of their race.

It also includes a survey of all racist laws on the books of the various states. It describes the role of Big Business, the Supreme Court, the Congress, and the Executive Branch of the National Government in the oppression of the Negro people. It describes race discrimination in the armed forces, in federal employment, in the Panama Canal Zone, in Washington, D. C., — all areas in which the Federal Government is directly responsible for discrimination.

The petition also recites government statistics revealing that because of denial of work and equal pay, denial of decent housing, education, hospital and medical facilities, conditions are created which result in the deaths each year of some 30,000 Negroes who would not have died if they had been white.

The indictment shows that in addition to the thousands of innocent Negroes who have been actually killed, every Negro in the United States is robbed of eight years of life, on an average, because of the conditions under which he is forced to live.

######

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Statement by Paul Robeson

Suite 6
139 West 125th Street
New York 27, New York

I deeply appreciate the concern, expressed in recent editorials in the Negro press, that I should be dealt with fairly in my efforts to secure a passport. It has been pointed out that there is involved not only my right to pursue my career as an artist, but also the matter of equal justice; and that I am, as one newspaper asserted, "entitled to the same consideration that other Americans had received from the State Department in the granting of passports".

That is all that I want -- that "same consideration" -- and indeed, that is the very essence of my long and costly legal struggle to win the right to travel.

However, there seems to be some misunderstanding of one aspect of the case, and I refer to an editorial comment in one of our papers that "we cannot go along with Robeson's decision to ignore the State Department's standard requirements".

But that is the rub. The fact is, the so-called non-Communist affidavit which the Passport Office insists that I must sign before my application can be considered is not a "standard requirement". I am told that a half million U.S. citizens annually receive passports without executing such an oath. They subscribe instead to the oath of allegiance to the United States which is printed upon the passport application, an oath which I have been proud to take upon the many occasions of my applications for a passport.

In rejecting the arbitrary and exceptional procedures demanded of me (and of Dr. DuBois and certain other individuals) I am fighting not only for my own rights but for the fundamental principle of civil liberty that is involved. The right to travel is a constitutional right no less than is the right to vote, and to deny the free exercise of such a basic right by inquiries into a citizen's political beliefs and by special oaths for arbitrarily selected individuals is to make a mockery of our democratic institutions.

For Negro Americans the right to travel -- the right to leave one state and go to another, or to go abroad -- has been of vital importance throughout our history; and conditions today in Mississippi and elsewhere in the South make it clear that this right is of continuing importance to our people. It is highly significant that the right of American citizens to travel is embodied in the 14th Amendment -- our legal guarantee of equal citizenship.

Further, it must be said that the matter of a non-Communist affidavit in my case is only a thin cover-up for the real issues behind the denial of my passport. In fact, when my passport was revoked in 1950, no question of any such affidavit was raised. Likewise, no affidavit was involved in 1952 when the State Department issued its "stop order" barring me from leaving the U.S. for travel not requiring a passport. (Except for travel to Canada, this discriminatory ban is still in effect; and, so far as I know, no other free citizen of the U.S. is subject to this restraint.)

The real issues in this case are on the record. In a legal brief submitted to the Court of Appeals in 1952 the State Department argued that the revoking of Paul Robeson's passport was justified because of his "frank admission that he has been for many years extremely active in behalf of the independence of the colonial peoples of Africa." (The Bandung Conference showed that all of the colored nations of the world are also "guilty" of that charge!)

And now in 1955, the State Department has made it clear that, along with my interest in colonial liberation and world peace, my stand for Negro freedom in America is at the heart of the case. On August 16th, U.S. Attorney Leo A. Rover got up in court and told why it was so "dangerous" to let me travel abroad. Here are his words from the official record:

"During the concert tours of foreign countries he (Robeson) repeatedly criticized the conditions of Negroes in the United States."

Mr. Rover cited as another example of this kind of "Communist" activity a message I sent to the Bandung Conference of Asian and African nations. He referred to that part of my message in which I said:

"The time has come when the colored peoples of the world will no longer allow the great natural wealth of their countries to be exploited and expropriated by the Western world while they are beset by hunger, disease and poverty. It is clearly evident that these evils can be eradicated and that the economic, social and cultural advancement of whole populations of hundreds of millions of people can be rapidly achieved, once modern science and industrialization are applied and directed toward raising the general level of well being of peoples rather than toward the enrichment of individuals and corporations.

"The possibility and practicability of such rapid social advancement have been attested by those who have objectively examined the history of the Soviet Union since 1917 and developments during the last decade in the countries of Eastern Europe, in China, and in newly emancipated Asian countries such as India."

Well, that is the truth as I see it, and I share this viewpoint with the vast majority of mankind. Let me say here, again, that so long as race oppression and economic exploitation exist here at home or elsewhere in the world, I shall continue to denounce these evils wherever I might be.

Instead of persecuting me for criticizing the conditions of Negroes in America, the U. S. Attorney ought to be down in Mississippi prosecuting those who have unleashed against our people a reign of terror and bloodshed.

PAUL ROBESON

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
All Papers

139 West 125th Street
New York 27, New York
May 3, 1954

STATEMENT BY PAUL ROBESON

"Various newspaper columnists, radio commentators and magazines are now spreading the fantastic slander that Paul Robeson is 'changing his views.' Well, liars will continue to lie, and it's a sad but true fact that nowadays American manufacturers lead the world in the production and distribution of every variety of falsehood -- including, as we have just seen in Washington, 'doctored' photographs.

"But let me say this for the record:

"The very essence of my life and work is loyalty to my convictions. I am, as I have been for many years, firmly and fully devoted to the struggle for peace and democracy throughout the world, for Negro liberation and colonial freedom, for friendship with the peoples of the Soviet Union, new China, and the people's democracies of Europe. The interests of the working people of every land are my guiding principle, and I know of no force that can make me change.

"As for those who are telling the public that I have changed my mind, I might ask: 'How stupid can you get?' Is the struggle for peace less meaningful today when Dulles threatens momentarily to throw the H-bomb -- and bring retaliation in kind upon our own heads? Is it thinkable that Paul Robeson, winner of the International Stalin Peace Prize, would ever cease for a moment in his efforts in the sacred cause of peace?

"Am I, one of the three men awarded the title of 'Champion of African Freedom' in 1950, expected to ignore in 1954 the continuing massacre of my brothers in Kenya? And here in America -- is Jim Crow dead and buried? Has Congress passed the anti-lynching law or F.E.P.C.? Has my people's demand for economic, political and social equality been granted? If not, why should Paul Robeson, who has dedicated his life to the struggle for these goals, change his mind about them now?

"The fact is, every day brings new proof that the great cause of peace and liberation, in which I am inseparably united with the vast majority of mankind, is invincible. The doom of imperialism has been sounded in all of Asia, and soon Africa and the other colonial lands now straining against their chains, will rise in mighty freedom.

"And here at home, it's beginning to look as if those who want to 'go it alone' into a new world war can't count on having the American people go with them -- and everybody else has already said no.

"Change my mind? Gentlemen of the press, you'd better change yours, because what I believe in -- is happening."

####

PROVISIONAL COMMITTEE TO RESTORE
PAUL ROBESON'S PASSPORT
139 West 125 Street - Suite 6
NEW YORK 27, N. Y.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

PAUL ROBESON SUES AGAIN FOR PASSPORT AS CONCERT INVITATIONS FROM ABROAD CONTINUE

John Foster Dulles, Sec'y of State, Defendant in Federal Action

---

On January 13, Paul Robeson, through his attorneys, Leonard B. Boudin of New York and James Wright of Washington, D. C., asked the Federal District Court in the nation's capital to direct the State Department to grant him a passport.

While the brief was being filed in Washington, the world-renowned singer and actor announced in New York that he has received an invitation to appear in concert at the National Opera House in Prague, Czechoslovakia. The Prague National Opera has few peers among the leading opera houses of the world; it was there that Mozart conducted his own great works and attracted the attention of the music-loving world.

Mr. Robeson names Secretary of State John Foster Dulles as defendant in the suit and claims that Dulles' actions in denying him the privilege of travel abroad "are arbitrary, capricious and without warrant or authority in the laws of the United States including the Passport Act of 1936 and are contrary to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations."

Basing his complaint on the traditional guarantees provided in the U. S. Constitution, Mr. Robeson declares that the denial of a passport has "interfered with the practice of (his) profession and with his earning a livelihood and have resulted in considerable financial injury to him." He further contends that the action of the Secretary of State has interfered with "his freedom of belief, speech and association, thus causing irreparable injury to the plaintiff in violation of his rights under the First and Fifth Amendments."

Mr. Robeson's brief also asks for a court order allowing him to visit Canada, Mexico and other Western Hemisphere countries for which a passport is not required. It points out that in January, 1952, the artist was arbitrarily prevented from leaving the U. S. to visit Canada, on the basis of a special order of the State Department "relating specifically and exclusively" to him.

Mr. Robeson had held and used a passport continuously since 1922, when the State Department announced in August, 1950, that it had cancelled his passport and informed all U. S. border officials to detain the artist should he attempt to leave the country.

In an earlier suit in which the U. S. Court of Appeals reached no decision in February 1952, the government brief admitted that revocation of the passport was due to the fact, among others, that Mr. Robeson "has been for years extremely active politically in behalf of the independence of the colonial peoples of Africa....."

Among the many invitations which continue to reach Mr. Robeson for appearances abroad are those from Linder Productions, Ltd., to play "Othello" in London; from the National Union of Mine Workers in Edinburgh, Scotland; from the All-India Peace Council in New Delhi; ~~from the Opera Comique in Paris which recently signed the young tenor, Charles Holland, as the first Negro interpreter of a major role;~~ from the leading cultural agency in Tel Aviv, Israel, and from the recent Soviet Writers Congress in Moscow.

30-30-30-30-30-30

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

CANADIAN MINERS TO BREAK STATE DEPARTMENT BLOCKADE ON ROBESON THIRD TIME, AUGUST 1, AT BORDER PEACE ARCH

Confirmation was received today here that the Vancouver locals of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers have begun preparations for another concert rendezvous with the noted Negro artist, Paul Robeson, at the International Peace Arch marking the border between Canada and the United States. Definite word of the August 1st border concert was received by the Committee to Restore Paul Robeson's Passport which is in the midst of last-minute work on the star-studded "Salute to Paul Robeson" affair to be held in this city May 26 at the Renaissance Casino.

The first border concert by Robeson took place in the spring of 1952. Originally, the Negro singer had been invited to come to Vancouver to appear as guest of the Fourth Canadian Convention of the Mine, Mill Union. When the State Department, using a neglected 1918 statute as a pretext, barred Robeson from leaving this country - the singer and the miners pledged to meet at the border. 40,000 men, women and children showed up at this historic rendezvous. Roads were blocked for miles around and the border had to be closed for two hours - an unprecedented international occurrence. At this first concert, the barred singer and the cheering crowd vowed to meet that way each year until the ban on Robeson was lifted.

Last summer, despite precautions taken by border authorities, The Peace Arch crowd was once more so great that the roads were again jammed for miles on either side of the line. A spokesman for the Committee to Restore Paul Robeson's Passport expressed the opinion here today that this year's border concert is expected to be the greatest so far because of the interest already generated by the passport campaign. Basing his estimate on recent overflow concerts by Robeson in Chicago, San Francisco, Newark, and the tremendous response so far to the forthcoming May 26th "Salute to Robeson", the committee Spokesman stated that more that 50,000 would show up this year at the Peace Arch - "enough people for even the blind men in the State Department to see."

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

DISCLAIMER NOTICE

THIS DOCUMENT IS BEST QUALITY PRACTICABLE. ALTHOUGH IT IS RECOGNIZED THAT CERTAIN PORTIONS ARE ILLEGIBLE, IT IS BEING RELEASED IN THE INTEREST OF MAKING AVAILABLE AS MUCH INFORMATION AS POSSIBLE.

INTERNATIONAL UNION OF MINE MILL & SMELTER WORKERS
ORIGINALLY W.F.M. ORG. MAY 15 1893
OCT. 17. 1916

UNION NEWS

VANCOUVER, B.C. 28 July 10, 1953

PAUL ROBESON, under auspices of Mine Mill Canadian Council, will sing to Canadians at the Peace Arch Park, date this year being August 16. A fleet of buses from Vancouver has been chartered, and it is hoped that even greater crowds than last year will hear this great singer and fighter for the Negro people. Participants with cars are urged to make a family picnic of the occasion.

CEDRIC BELFRAGE REPORTS FROM MANCHESTER

Big rally in England demands Robeson get right to travel

By Cedric Belfrage

MANCHESTER, ENGLAND

YOUR EDITOR-IN-EXILE has gone a bit soft over this famous Lancashire city, to which he has made a long detour from his London childhood to find reasons for his first visit. Manchester is many things: the imperial textile center whose factory-owners fattened and qualified for earldoms out of expendable British children and colonial serfs; the cradle of a liberal school of economics which got lost somewhere; home of the Manchester **Guardian**, which looks in nine directions at once on a higher level than any paper in the world.

It's also the home of one of the world's great universities, and is situated near hilly moorlands of undeniable rugged beauty, customarily roamed over by sheep who have the sense to stay in their barns when the arctic March gales blow. I have barely survived a Sunday-morning moorland hike with three of the university's professors discussing the class structure of Britain, but it's all in a good cause.

THE GROUND OF PETERLOO: It was none of these aspects that R. W. Casasola chose to recall at our meeting here March 11, but the Peterloo Massacre of 1819 (when cavalry charged into a working-class demonstration, leaving hundreds dead and wounded) and the people's great Chartist movement of two decades later. Speaking at the first British mass meeting to demand a passport for Paul Robeson, Casasola said:

> "Here on the very ground of Peterloo, we are assembled in 1956 to ask that a little book be given to a gentleman with his photo in it and the statement that he is American by birth. Here where the Chartists met to map the first struggle for the free vote, we launch a struggle for the right of all human beings to leave their country at any time and return at any time. America must get back to the principles of the Mayflower pilgrims, who sailed from this country seeking freedom, before its name stinks all over the world. Who do they think they're kidding? If they were honest they'd pull down the statue of Liberty in New York harbor."

Who is Casasola? Belying his un-British name inherited from remote immigrants, he speaks with an accent as broad as Lancashire and typifies the best there is in class-conscious British workers. He is president of the 80,000-strong Foundry Workers Union and recently—with Manchester's Sydney Silverman, father of the anti-capital-punishment bill and defender of the Rosenbergs—was elected to the executive of the Labour Party. Nearly all of the area's top trade union figures, and all its Labour MP's except one, are on the sponsor list of the Let Robeson Sing campaign.

ROBESON WAS THERE: To the meeting in the jammed, 450-seat Free Trade Hall Robeson sent all he could of himself in a little box of sound-tape; he sang and spoke while his face smiled at us from a screen in the darkened hall. He recalled his last visit to Manchester in 1949 for a mass meeting for the Trenton Six, and on the GUARDIAN's behalf I was able to thank the good folk of this city for their support of that and the Rosenberg campaigns.

Horace Newbold, secy. of the Manchester Trades Council (co-ordinating body of trade unions), in making the collection speech recalled how he had received while visiting Moscow a cabled request to chair that Trenton Six meeting. He was about to visit the southern part of the U. S. S. R. but the Soviet government immediately arranged a special plane so he could return to Manchester. "They spared no expense and trouble," he said, "and I hope the American government will be equally generous with regard to Paul Robeson, the greatest artist in the world."

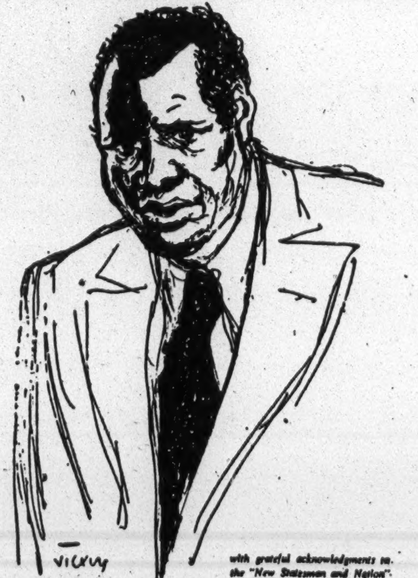
A GREAT TRADITION: Manchester is indeed many things, but for me it has established itself as the home of the biggest-hearted and most down-to-earth progressive community in Britain. These trade unionists, teachers, doctors and businessmen among whom I have spent an exciting weekend have no special interest in America. They reacted to the appeals for the lives of the Trenton Six and the Rosenbergs because they are concerned about injustice all over the world. Manchester has a small nucleus of GUARDIAN readers and when the word got around these people got to work.

The story of what they did in the Rosenberg campaign is an epic of progressive activity. I heard it from Mrs. Henni Goldman, a pre-war refugee from Germany (now British), who for four years acted as a messenger for the anti-Nazi underground between Berlin and Czechoslovakia.

Mrs. Goldman told me there is still £2 in the Rosenberg fund, and it will go toward a campaign to get Morton Sobell out of Alcatraz. A house meeting had been arranged to honor Sobell's mother on the eve of her departure from Britain to Italy.

A BIG NOISE COMING: The State Dept. is going to hear louder and louder noises from this part of the world until they release Robeson. In Scotland a broad committee is gathering petition signatures by the thousand. In the Manchester area a mass petition drive was announced at the meeting by Len Johnson, Negro ex-middleweight champion of the British Empire. The South Wales Miners Fedn. has for the fourth time invited Robeson as honor guest at its annual musical Eisteddfod (which this year will have an essay contest on the themes: "Does the popular press help to promote international understanding?" and "The role of the agitator today"). One of the two miner delegates sent to the Manchester meeting by the SWMF said: "Our executive was unanimous in deciding to send delegates. We are accused of sometimes not being in step with the rank and file, but on this we know we have the complete approbation of 100,000 miners in S. Wales."

Over a "high tea" of something British restaurateurs humorously call chop suey—recommended, bless her heart, by a GUARDIAN reader at a nearby table who recognized me—one of the miners said: "We want to see this thing become a national movement, and we think it's coming."


VICKY
with grateful acknowledgments to the "New Statesman and Nation".

"LET PAUL ROBESON SING"
PUBLIC MEETING
SUNDAY, MARCH 11th, 1956
AT THE
LESSER FREE TRADE HALL
at 7-30 p.m.

THE COVER OF THE MEETING FOLDER

What they said

"He is one of the greatest men of our time, above all a great humanist and internationalist—but the symbol of millions of victims of far worse persecution in Spain, in Kenya, in S. Africa, in Northern Ireland and many lands who get no publicity."
—**Will Griffiths, MP.**

"A man from the American embassy came to ask me recently what British trade unionists think about America. I told him we loved the America of Roosevelt but are bitterly disappointed by the tendencies today."
—**Horace Newbold**, secy.,
Manchester Trade Council.

"As a Liberal I cannot remain silent on the great principle involved here, the liberty of the individual. Robeson is a world ambassador, his art belongs to the world. America has robbed the world of him and imprisoned him in his own country."
—**Vaughan Davis**, Manchester Liberal
candidate for Parliament.

"This is an example of our complete humbug in claiming that ours is the cause of freedom. We have a precious heritage of freedom which the Russians don't have, but they are working their way up and we are half-way down."
—**Konni Zilliacus, MP.**

"Any country that encompasses its boundaries with prison and injustice cannot wonder that hunger stalks the world. Our invitation to Robeson is to a great artist and humanist. We are going out to get the support of every cultural organization in South Wales."
—**Ben Morris**, delegate of the
S. Wales Miners Fedn.

U.S. IMPERIALISTS FEAR PAUL ROBESON

For the second time this year the U.S. State Department has refused Paul Robeson, the world famous singer and actor, a passport to enable him to travel abroad to fulfill his engagements.

In turning down the latest application in July, the U.S. Passport Office said that upon the basis of information it had received from various sources the issue of a passport to him is precluded under the Passport Regulations. It added that in this connection it has been alleged that Mr. Robeson is a Communist and that he has manifested a consistent and prolonged adherence to the Communist Party line on a variety of issues. If Mr. Robeson wished to appeal against this decision then he would have to submit with the appeal "evidence of any deviation on your part from the Communist Party line."

All this jargon by no means tells the whole story. For the U.S. Government brief submitted for the Court of Appeals hearing in February, 1952, on the case of the witholding of Paul Robeson's passport contained the following revealing statement:

"........Furthermore, even if the complaint had alleged, which it does not, that the passport was cancelled solely because of appelant's recognized status as a spokesman for large sections of Negro Americans, we submit that this would amount to an abuse of discretion in view of appelant's frank admission that he has been for years extremely active politically in behalf of the independence of the colonial peoples of Africa(supra,p.2.). Though this may be highly laudable aim, the diplomatic embarrassment that could arise from the prescence abroad of such a political meddler, travelling under the protection of an American passport, is easily imaginable. After all, 'the President is the sole organ of the federal government in the field of international politics.'"

Paul Robeson has never claimed to be the official spokesman for anybody. He only claims the right, wherever he may be, to champion the cause of the oppressed and to speak in the name of peace. That is why those who oppress millions in their own country, sabotage all efforts to relieve international tension and secure peace, and openly incite to war, are determined to silence him.

From the statement submitted to the Court of Appeals last year by the U.S. Government the African people will be able to understand how U.S. Imperialists regard their struggle for freedom.

The fight to force the U.S. Government to give Paul Robeson freedom to travel abroad has become a struggle in which all those who oppose fascist tyranny and cherish freedom and peace must play an active part.

AFRICA Newsletter Africa Comm. of C.P. England

THE JEWISH CHRONICLE APRIL 8, 1938

PAUL ROBESON SINGS ENGEL'S KADDISH

An Interpreter of All Peoples

A new and even deeper, more varied, quality is entering into Paul Robeson's recitals these days, and last Sunday afternoon at the Albert Hall that quality was very evident. He does not confine himself to the medium in which he is superlative, that of spirituals, but is finding songs of other peoples which also have meaning and point for him. Thus his first group of songs included "Go Down Moses," and also a modern Soviet song, "Song of Kazakstan," expressive of the new spirit of Soviet Russia. His second group included another Cossack song, "Flame up Vengeance"—even more expressive of that spirit, and among the encores after this group he included one of the most popular songs of the U.S.S.R., "My Vast Native Country," and also one of the songs of the Spanish Republic.

Here was Robeson's deep humanity and sympathy with other races coming strongly to the forefront, and this was emphasised still further when, as the first item of his third group, he sang in Hebrew Engel's "Kaddish." Magnificent was his interpretation of this eloquent plea, and his voice throbbed, even turned harsh and rough, as he cried, "Let there be an end to all these sufferings and woes." Perhaps, if he had sung the song in English, it would have made an even more direct appeal to the audience who, even so, was moved to some of the most vigorous applause of the afternoon. He closed the recital with such a fervent and moving rendering of "Ole Man Ribber," such a powerfully sincere declaration of faith: "I must keep struggling, until I'm dying," that it marked the climax of a recital great not merely in vocal achievement, but in simple, heartfelt emotion.

In between Robeson's groups, in which Lawrence Brown assisted not only at the piano, but with effective vocal accompaniment more than once, Edna Iles and Anton Maaskoff contributed with first-rate violin and piano solos.

"DIE SCHONE MULLERIN"

Schubert's song cycle, "Die Schöne Müllerin," is rarely sung in its entirety, though it contains some of the composer's most lovely songs. Thus, the opportunity of hearing Mark Raphael give it all at the Grotrian Hall last week was not to be missed by anyone who loves Schubert. The cycle plumbs the depths of human lyrical emotion, and it calls for not only a profound understanding of the changes of mood from song to song, and a sense of the completeness and inevitability of the work as a whole, but a vocal range and coloration which few baritones possess, and certainly, though one regrets to have to say it, not Mark Raphael. He had sufficient understanding, and his singing was marked throughout by true artistic enjoyment, but his voice is too light and at the same time insufficiently flexible and controlled to do all it is called upon to do. The culminating song of the first section,

MUSIC—Continued on page 7

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

Text of the Judge's Ruling on Passports

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, Nov. 22—Following is the text of the opinion of Judge Luther W. Youngdahl of the Federal District Court for the District of Columbia holding that passports cannot be denied on evidence of secret informers:

LEONARD B. BOUDIN
v. DULLES

Memorandum Opinion

This cause came on to be heard on plaintiff's motion for summary judgment and preliminary injunction, and defendant's motion for summary judgment in opposition to the motions of plaintiff.

Plaintiff is a native-born citizen of the United States and a practicing attorney. He filed an application for a passport on April 28, 1954, to go to Europe primarily to consult with and advise certain of his clients resident there. His passport application was disapproved, tentatively, by Mrs. Ruth B. Shipley, then Director of the Passport Office. Subsequently, the plaintiff was issued a limited passport for travel in specific countries in Europe for a period limited to four months, after he executed an affidavit in which he stated, among other things, that he was not then a member of the Communist party. On Oct. 20, 1954, after his trip, plaintiff requested that the restrictions imposed be removed from his passport. He was asked to execute an affidavit relating to his past membership in the Communist party. This he declined to do, but was informed that he would be issued a standard passport. Nevertheless upon reconsideration, the Department of State, on Feb. 24, 1955, informed plaintiff that he was not eligible for further passport facilities under Section 51.135 of Passport Regulations. On March 4, 1955, plaintiff appealed to the Board of Passport Appeals of the Department of State. A hearing was held on May 6, 1955, after which the board recommended to the Secretary of State that the decision of the Passport Office be affirmed. This the Secretary did and on May 27, 1955, plaintiff was so informed.

Action Started Aug. 30

On Aug. 30, 1955, plaintiff instituted the present action seeking a declaratory judgment that he is entitled to a passport; that the passport regulations and rules of the Board of Passport Appeals, under which he was denied a passport, are invalid and unconstitutional, and that injunctive relief be granted requiring the Secretary to issue him a passport. On Oct. 17, 1955, an affidavit of the Secretary of State was filed in this court setting forth the reasons for his denial of passport facilities. These reasons were based on a review of the State Department files on the plaintiff, confidential security information, and testimony of the plaintiff before the Board of Fassport Appeals.

It must now be accepted that travel abroad is more than a mere privilege accorded American citizens. It is a right, an attribute of personal liberty, which may not be infringed upon or limited in any way unless there be full compliance with the requirements of due process. (Schactman v. Dulles No. 1240; d. c. cir., June 23, 1955 and Bauer V. Acheson 106 F Supp D. C. 1952.) Travel beyond the confines of our sovereign borders requires the possession of a passport. It is not only unlawful for a citizen to travel to Europe without a passport but it is virtually impossible to enter a European country without one. The denial of a passport must therefore comply with due process requirements. This is especially true where, as here, an unwarranted denial may constitute both a deprivation of personal liberty and of property, for plaintiff does receive legal fees from his European clients.

Text of Section Cited

The rather contradictory shifts in position by the Government regarding this plaintiff renders suspect the standard for determining the right to a passport under Section 51.135 of the Passport Regulations. Nevertheless, the court is satisfied that the Secretary of State is necessarily empowered to make reasonable classifications of persons who are to be granted or denied passports. While Section 51.135 does not appear to set forth an unreasonable classification, it must be conceded that it is sweeping in nature and does permit exceedingly wide discretion to the Department of State to deny passports. This being so, fair play requires that one have the opportunity to challenge the basis of, and reasons for, a denial under this section directly and specifically. Yet Section 51.170, adopted by the Board of Passport Appeals on Dec. 30, 1953, reads:

"In determining whether there is a preponderance of evidence supporting the denial of a passport the board shall consider the entire record, including the transcript of the hearing and such confidential information as it may have in its possession. The board shall take into consideration the inability of the applicant to meet the information of which he has not been advised, specifically or in detail, or to attack the credibility of confidential informants."

The court must consider Sections 51.135 and 51.170 together. In so doing, it becomes evident that the Passport Office retains substantially unrestricted discretion to deny passports under substantive classification 51.135. Facts which they consider warrant a denial need never appear on the record. Whether, in fact, evidence exists to warrant a denial, neither applicant nor the courts can ever know. The source, quality, or quantity of evidence which has guided the board and been instrumental in its decision can be reviewed by no one. This cannot fairly be held to constitute reasonable regulation. It must be viewed as conferring upon the board limitless authority. Any hearing provided an applicant becomes an empty gesture. Consider this case. In explaining to plaintiff why his application had been denied the Director of the Passport Office, on Feb. 24, 1955, wrote:

"Evidence has been obtained that you are a member of the Communist party, and reports of your activities in recent years indicate that if your membership was terminated it was under such circumstances as warrant the conclusion, not otherwise rebutted by the evidence, that you continue to act in the furtherance and under the discipline of the Communist party."

Letter of Counsel Considered

Does this mean that all the passport office need do is restate the wording of 51.135 (A) to deny a passport: Such conclusion is suggested, as evidence supporting the above statement scarcely appears in the record, although it may well be found in some secret file. Consider also the letter to plaintiff from Mr. John W. Sipes, counsel of the Board of Passport Appeals, dated April 19, 1955. It informed plaintiff what was indicated in the confidential files, but not what evidence was actually contained in the files or the source of such evidence.

To the same effect is the affidavit of John Foster Dulles, Secretary of State. His decision to deny plaintiff a passport rested, so he stated, on a pattern of associations and activities on the part of plaintiff over an extended period of time leading to the conclusion that plaintiff has been and continues to be a supporter of the Communist movement. Included are associations and activities disclosed by or inferred from the Department of State files concerning the plaintiff as follows:

In short, there can be no dispute that confidential information was employed; that files were not revealed; and that evidence contained therein could not be, and was not, subjected to cross-examination. See transcript of proceedings, May 6, 1955, or hearing panel of the Board of Passport Appeals, pages 62-67.

How can an applicant refute charges which arise from sources, or are based upon evidence, which is closed to him? What good does it do him to be apprised that a passport is denied him due to associations or activities disclosed or inferred from State Department files even if he is told of the associations and activities in a general way? What files? What evidence? Who made the inferences? From what materials were these inferences made?

Sees 'Absolute Authority'

To uphold Section 51.170 would grant to the Government the right to deny passports in an uncontrolled manner, with virtually absolute authority at any time and in any way it seems it. The right to a quasi-judicial hearing must mean more than the right to permit an applicant to testify and present evidence. It must include the right to know that the decision will be reached upon evidence of which he is aware and can refute directly.

It is not enough that Section 51.170 requires the board to take into consideration the inability of the applicant to meet the information of which he has not been advised, or to attack the credibility of confidential informants, or whether the board does or does not do this no one can ever know.

Confidential information is of unquestionable importance to executive officers in performing their duties, but it should be confined for use in obtaining factual data which may itself be used of record. When the basis of action by any branch of the Government remains hidden from scrutiny and beyond practical review the seeds of arbitrary and irresponsible government are sown. More and more the courts have become aware of the irreparable damage which may be, has been, and is wrought by the secret informer and the faceless talebearer whose identity and testimony remains locked in confidential files.

Section 51,170 when used in conjunction with 51,136 does not comport with due process. The case will be sent back to the Passport Office for hearing within twenty days. All evidence upon which the office may rely for its decision under Section 51,136 must appear on record so that the applicant may have the opportunity to meet it and the court to review it.

McAdoo to make 'write-in' fight

SEATTLE, Oct. 28—A whirlwind sticker campaign in behalf of Benjamin F. McAdoo Jr. got under way throughout the 37th district Tuesday after the state supreme court upheld a lower court ruling that the only Negro Democratic legislative nominee was ineligible for a place on the ballot.

McAdoo announced himself as a sticker candidate, declaring he is the legal nominee chosen by the people of the district Sept. 14 and that he will fight it out on that basis.

The Negro architect and community leader said he is printing 15,00 stickers for insertion on the "write-in" slots above the state representative positions on the Nov. 2 ballot.

TWO-PARTY GANG-UP

He said his campaign is based now, as in the primaries, on his full support to the liberal Democratic state platform.

McAdoo was the victim of a bipartisan gangup. The role of elements in the Democratic party was tipped off when Paul Revelle, white Democrat who ran behind McAdoo in the primary, sued in King county superior court to have McAdoo's name removed.

With an assist from Mrs. Dorothy Leavell, Democratic machine leader in the 37th, the court ruled McAdoo was ineligible on the basis of living in one precinct in the district while being registered to vote in another.

Democratic State Chairman Don G. Abel promptly appointed Revelle to fill McAdoo's spot on the ballot, ignoring pleas from many sections of the party that he appoint another Negro.

GOP STEPS IN

The Republican party then stepped in to make partisan hay, asserting Negro voters should bolt to its ticket in protest against the McAdoo deal.

McAdoo himself flatly rejected such a position.

"I have no position of voting for any Republican candidate," he said. "I urge votes for all Democrats except Revelle on Nov. 2."

That means that in the 37th district, McAdoo is urging votes for the legislative slate nominated Sept. 14: Sen. Pat Sutherland, Rep. Fred Dore and McAdoo himself.

5 IN THE RACE

The sticker candidacy for the Negro Democrat makes it a five-man race for the two house seats in the 37th, an unusual situation. Fred Dore is the third Democrat and Don McDermott and Louis P. Magrini are the GOP nominees. There is every indication the Republican machine will conduct a "single-shot" campaign behind McDermott in an effort to capture the second seat in

(Continued on Page 6)

HOW TO VOTE FOR McADOO

SEATTLE, Oct. 28—Here's how 37th district voters can cast a "sticker" or "write-in" ballot for Benjamin F. McAdoo Jr.:

1. Look for the name "Paul Revelle" among the candidates for state representative.

2. When you find Revelle's name, follow that column up to the very top of the ballot. Across the top of the ballot you will find a row of slanting metal slots. Pick out the slot DIRECTLY ABOVE REVELLE'S NAME.

3. Lift the lid of this slot. Under it will be a blank square of paper. To cast a "sticker" vote, paste the sticker in this space. To cast a "write-in" vote, write the following in the space:

B. F. McAdoo (D)

The (D) designates Democratic party. It is important to guarantee a valid ballot.

More about McAdoo

(Continued from Page 3)

the house, with incumbent Dor
the likely choice for first place

**McAdoo entered the sticker o
write-in phase of his tumultu
ous campaign this week with im
portant AFL-CIO-independent la
bor support. He had the offi
cial state CIO endorsement. AF
Shipscalers Local 589 sent letter
to its full membership urgin
write-in votes for McAdoo. Th
independent Warehousemen's Lo
cal 9 Political Action Commi
tee also gave the nod to McAdo**

In contrast Revelle goes o
the ballot devoid of labor back
ing. Many union political actio
groups, including the State AF
Labor's League for Political E
ucation, endorsed Sen. Pat Sut
erland and Rep. Dore and le
the third post without endors
ment.

The state supreme court Mo
day upheld the decision of Ki
county Superior Judge Fra
James. Judge James singled o
the fact that McAdoo does n
live in the precinct in which
is registered as the sole issue
which he based his ruling, a
the higher court upheld the
cision on this same issue.

THE VANCOUVER SUN: Sat., Aug. 15, 1953

Paul Robeson Invited To Play in England

American singer Paul Robeson hopes to go to London, England, to play the part of Othello, after he sings in his annual "across - the - border" peace rally at Blaine, Sunday afternoon.

Robeson can't come into Canada because the State Department cancelled his passport in 1950 after his appearances in Europe at "peace conferences."

Robeson's manager, John Gray, was in Vancouver Friday making final arrangements for Sunday's affair with Harvey Murphy, regional director of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' Union which sponsors the annual rally.

Gray said that Robeson had an invitation from a London producer to play Othello, and that British Equity, the actors union, had writtten that they would welcome Robeson's presence in England.

This is the first time, said Gray, that Robeson has applied for re-issue of his passport to appear abroad to fulfill an engagement abroad. On the other occasions when his passport had been refused by the state department, Robeson had planned to go to peace conferences.

Sunday's rally starts at 2:30 p.m. at the Peace Arch at Blaine.

DW 11-2-53

m of Barrel

Greetings to An Absent Friend . . .

Gwyn Thomas, Welsh novelist, read a message at the South Wales Miners' Eisteddfod in Prothcawl to the miners' absent guest of honor, Paul Robeson.

"The happiness of this great occasion would have been complete had you been able to be with us," Thomas said. Paul Robeson is prevented from leaving the United States by the U. S. State Department, which has seized his passport.

"What is being done here today," the miners' message continued, "is part of the task to which you have given the full force of your mighty talent as man and singer.

"That is the task of demanding for the common folk of all this earth greater dignity and a greater place in life for music and the comradeship that go with it.

"Until such time as you can hear our boys singing to you 'Swing Low, Sweet Chariot,' and we can hear you singing to us the song you love so well, 'Ar hyd y Nos' (All Through the Night). . . .

"Until such time as there will be no barrier to keep you from us, accept our cordial and brotherly greetings together with our enduring admiration."

The Eisteddfod was the sixth organized by the South Wales Area of the National Union of Mineworkers.

Robeson and Friends Deny the Record

THERE was an interesting show of abnormal psychology at the ceremonies in Harlem last week when Paul Robeson, the Negro singer, received the Stalin Peace Prize. Never has the distorted mind of the native American who yearns for the Soviet way been better displayed.

It was a cosy gathering of the infatuated. Howard Fast was there to put the citation, the gold medal, the promise of $25,000, all made in Moscow, into the hands of the towering Robeson. Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, the embittered Negro scholar, was there to say of Robeson:

"Children on the streets of Peiping and Moscow, Calcutta and Jakarta, greet him and send him their love. Only in his native land is he without honor and rights."

We cannot help wondering what honor and what rights Dr. DuBois was talking about. The whole life of Paul Robeson has been a succession of honors without discrimination, of opportunity for fame and wealth laid before him by admiring Americans white and dark, without question.

There is the first note of the scholarship that put him into Rutgers University and of his acceptance there. An end on the football squad, he was named All-American for two seasons. He practically monopolized prizes for declamation and debating. He was elected to Phi Beta Kappa, the honorary scholastic society.

After graduation from Rutgers and Columbia, he was taken into the office of a leading lawyer, one of the notable Stotsburys. A participant in amateur theatricals at Columbia, he attracted the attention of Playwright Eugene O'Neill, who wrote the famous *Emperor Jones* and rushed to offer the fat part to Robeson. The impressive young Negro left the law for the stage in the play *Taboo*, appearing in the United States with Margaret Wycherly, in London with Mrs. Patrick Campbell—and in both places to applause and unstinted notices. Heywood Broun, the columnist, heard him sing in a private home and wrote so enthusiastically in print about the magnificent baritone that Robeson was made. New York flocked to his first concert, on the strength of Broun's rave, and a second career was launched that led to fame and fortune in another field. He could afford to send his son to school in the U.S.S.R.

The honor that Dr. DuBois denies, and that Robeson himself apparently forgets, was expressed in a citation when the singer received the honorary degree of Doctor of Humane Letters from aristocratic Hamilton College in 1940: "Student, athlete, actor, singer and great American."

Hamilton's president added: "We honor you chiefly as a man . . . who above all else travels across the world as an example of the humanity and the greatness of our democratic heritage."

It is all there in the record. And the record is not exclusively Robeson's but also that of the land in which he was born and which gave him opportunity to match each of his talents. If the latter were lavish, so also has been the response and the rewards from his own country, to whose enemies he has turned in blindness.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, SATURDAY, AUGUST 1, 1953.

Robeson Asks for Passport

A representative of Paul Robeson said here yesterday that the singer and actor had applied for his passport to appear in the title role in a London production of "Othello," to be under the sponsorship of Leslie Linder. According to the announcement, Mr. Robeson, since his last appearance abroad in the spring of 1950, has twice been denied a renewal of his passport by the State Department.

The statement added that after Mr. Linder requested a work permit for Mr. Robeson from British Actors' Equity Association, the union's general secretary, Gordon Sandison, replied:

"It was the unanimous opinion of the council that Mr. Robeson's status is such that we cannot raise any objection to his appearing in this country. Indeed, the council expressed its satisfaction at the prospect of seeing Mr. Robeson play this part, in which he has previously made so striking an appearance. We would welcome his appearance in this country."

Mr. Robeson is preparing for a concert in the Peace Arch Park in the State of Washington on Aug. 16.

Daily Worker

Reentered as second class matter Oct. 22, 1947, at the postoffice at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879

Vol. XXX, No. 154
(8 Pages)

26

New York, Tuesday, August 4, 1953
Price 10 Cents

Robeson Engaged to Do 'Othello' In London, Applies for Passport

By DAVID PLATT

Paul Robeson will do "Othello" in London this year if the State Department (with Sen. McCarthy's permission) decides to renew his passport.

Since his last appearance abroad in the spring of 1950, Robeson has twice been denied renewal of his passport on grounds that he was engaged in "activities which support the communist movement." (How many times have we heard the "New Deal" and the "Fair Deal" cited by top men in government as examples of activities which support the communist movement. Seems that anyone who is for life and liberty is ipso facto a communist).

• • •

Last week Robeson applied again to go to London to star in Leslie Linder's production of "Othello."

Linder, one of England's youngest producers, engaged Robeson for the starring role on a recent visit to these shores.

Linder also got a work permit for the artist from British Actor's Equity, along with this swell note from its general secretary, Gordon Sandison:

ROBESON

"It was the unanimous opinion of the council that Mr. Robeson's status is such that we cannot raise any objection to his appearing in this country. Indeed the council expressed its satisfaction at the prospect of seeing Mr. Robeson play this part, in which he has previously made so striking an appearance. We would welcome his presence in this country."

Doesn't the tone of this letter make you feel good? This powerful British union does not fear "contamination" with Robeson's progressivism. He will get a work permit without having his political opinions looked into. No British McCarthyite will question his right to work at his profession. He will be honored as befits America's greatest singer and actor.

Compare the welcome mat the British are preparing for Robeson with the stand of Hollywood's Screen Actors Guild.

The Guild has just adopted a by-law requiring an insulting loyalty oath of all those applying for membership.

Under this by-law Robeson would be prohibited from working in Hollywood if and when the right film came along.

The British, on the other hand, see no objection to his working in England. In fact they look forward keenly to the prospect of seeing one of the great "Othellos" of all time. That is the difference at the moment between our country and theirs.

Instead of aiding and abetting the witchhunters and culture burners the influential actors union in our country should join British Actors Equity in a fight to make it possible for Robeson to do "Othello" in London and in every other part of the world.

Robeson is at present preparing for a concert in the Peace Arch Park at the U. S.-Canadian border in the state of Washington on Aug. 16. Last year his concert at this park was attended by nearly 40,000 Americans and Canadians.

Passport Policy Criticized

Times 6/15/55

It Is Held to Conflict With Laws and Fundamental Liberties

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

According to newspaper reports the Secretary of State indicated in his recent press conference with regard to my passport case that "some of the furor over the matter arose out of a lack of awareness of procedures for review of passport denials" on the part of the federal District and Appeals Courts and of myself.

This is a regrettable attempt by the State Department to justify its unjustifiable regulations and methods. My case is important, first because the public at last became aware of the existence of a passport problem; second, because the precedent established through my case will be of help to hundreds of other citizens who are in similar difficulties, frequently without knowing the reasons for which the State Department arrogates to itself the right to interfere with their lives, their businesses, their professions and their educational opportunities.

The State Department has consistently refused to offer its alleged evidence, to produce witnesses, to allow cross-examination or to comply in any way with the hard-won rules of Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence.

Review Procedures

Since the review procedures to which the Secretary of State referred were one of the crucial issues fought about in the courts, it is painful to hear him suggest that the courts and I were unaware of the Board of Passport Appeals which allegedly reviews the decisions of the Passport Office.

When after nineteen months I finally obtained an unfavorable decision from the Passport Office I refused to submit it for review to the Board of Passport Appeals. We regarded the board as the alter ego of the Passport Office; moreover, my lawyer, Leonard B. Boudin, held that the board was legally nonexistent, since the Secretary of State had no authority to establish it, that its regulations were unconstitutional, and that it did not provide due process of law.

Both the District Court and the Court of Appeals unmistakably upheld our position on the Board of Passport Appeals. If the State Department has any respect for our courts it should forthwith disband the illegal and inequitable board. No passport applicant should henceforth submit to a hearing before it. My case successfully established the legal invalidity of the board.

The other crucial problem for which I sought a judicial decision through litigation was the State Department's claim that it enjoys complete discretion in ruling on passport applications. The purpose of my suit was to challenge this claim.

My legal advisers argued that the State Department only has discretion in purely administrative matters such as the size of the passport photo, but does not enjoy any discretion in substantive matters and that it is unconstitutional to apply political standards to passport applications, as the State Department does. Except for the passport provisions of the McCarran Internal Security Act whose constitutionality is being challenged, Congress has never laid down any substantive standards for the issuance of passports.

Legality of Regulations

But even the provisions of the McCarran Act which are not yet enforceable have been far outstripped by the regulations which the State Department gave itself in August, 1952, and on the basis of which it has processed passport applications in the past few years. Under the circumstances it is difficult to assume that these regulations would be considered legal by the courts.

However, since my case was removed from the courts through the sudden issuance of a passport, no final judicial decision emerged on the regulations and the discretionary power of the department. Its "discretion" was, nevertheless, severely circumscribed by the Court of Appeals' order in great and unusual detail of procedural rules and strict time limitations for a hearing.

The time has come when no effort should be spared to make the passport policy of the department comply with our laws, our fundamental liberties and the attitude of the courts. The right of a citizen to travel cannot be restricted.

A final word should be said about the intolerable delays and frustrations which the State Department imposes upon passport applicants whose alleged political beliefs it dislikes and whom it has arrogated to itself the right to punish. The hardship visited upon many people and their families by these shameful methods cannot be measured. It is also intolerable that the State Department by allegations frequently based on undisclosed information injures the reputation of applicants beyond repair and makes it difficult or impossible for them to earn a livelihood in the regular pursuit of their work.

OTTO NATHAN.

New York, June 9, 1955.

Negro Columnist Says: Save Claudia Jones

DW 5/30/55

"Must Claudia Jones Die in Prison for Her Belief?" asks the title to a column in the Chicago Defender's Saturday issue. The column in this leading Negro newspaper is written by Mrs. Rebecca Stiles Dodson. It reads as follows:

A human being's life is at stake. NEGRO GROUP LEADERSHIP is being destroyed. WOMANHOOD is being intimidated and persecuted.

Had there not been a Patrick Henry, the Revolutionary War would, perhaps, not have been fought and America— the United States—would not have been mistress of the world, as she is today.

When Patrick Henry spoke those immortal words, "Give me liberty or give death," she shocked the entire country and he was considered by many to be a rank traitor—but as the years go by his fame grows and every school child in this country takes pride in repeating them and memorizing them. He dared to speak as he believed and now all Americans believe as he spoke but not Great Britain.

They tell us that World Powers are on the eve of accepting Communist China into the United Nations Council. The pressure that is being brought to bear by the greater part of the world is forcing the United States to recognize "the handwriting on the wall" and she is beginning to see the other side of the picture—that other people have as much right to their thoughts as we, and they can be just as right to see it their way.

If this great issue can be adjusted—an issue for which thousands have died, there can be no reason why the life of Claudia Jones can not be spared even if she is a communist. Must she die IN PRISON for her belief?

Miss Claudia Jones, a courageous Negro woman Community leader was sentenced under the infamous Smith Act, to serve a year and a day in the jimcrow federal women's prison at Alderson, West Virginia, despite the fact that she is suffering from a serious heart condition. Both Miss Jones' doctors and the court appointed physician agree that imprisonment is a hazard to her life; but still a callous judge sentenced her, stating that "prison shortens everyone's life."

Claudia Jones has been in prison since Jan. 11, 1955. This month, May, Miss Jones is eligible for parole. In the name of truth, justice and humanity, each citizen is asked to join in this mission of mercy to demand her release. Proper rest and diet plus adequate medical care is what Mrs. Jones must have. As a Negro woman in a jimcrow prison where she faces the worst conditions and treatment, she cannot get these.

A delegation was scheduled to meet the parole board in Washington about May 10. If you are interested, and you should be, for it could be you, write the parole board regarding this matter. The address is:

Chairman Federal Parole Board, 101 Indiana Ave., Washington, D.C.

U. S. VISA POLICIES SCORED, DEFENDED

Times 6/1/55

Welfare Leader Tells Parley the Country Is Harmed—Official Reveals Study

---

By **MURRAY ILLSON**

Special to The New York Times.

SAN FRANCISCO, May 31—United States immigration policy is threatening the nation's world leadership, a leading social welfare executive said tonight.

At the same time, a State Department official declared that the procedures in the issuance of visas abroad were being given "a searching study" to determine whether they could be simplified.

The warning was sounded by Robert E. Bondy, director of the National Social Welfare Assembly, which has its headquarters in New York. Disclosure of the visa study was made by Frank L. Auerbach, special assistant to the director of the State Department's visa office in Washington.

Both were scheduled speakers at a session of the eighty-second annual forum of the National Conference of Social Work. The American Immigration Conference was sponsor of the session.

Scott McLeod, State Department security administrator, also was to speak at the session but withdrew. Mr. McLeod canceled his speech after a number of delegates protested his appearance.

McLeod Sends Regrets

Edward J. Ennis of New York, chairman of the immigration conference, today quoted a letter from Mr. McLeod in which he expressed "sincere regrets" that he would be unable to speak here because of "unanticipated obligations." Mr. McLeod was to have spoken on the refugee relief program, which he administers.

The protests on Mr. McLeod's appearance were connected with the recent dismissal of Edward Corsi from the post of State Department consultant on immigration policies. An outspoken critic of present immigration policies, Mr. Corsi is to speak here tomorrow night.

A statement issued by Mr. Ennis today declared:

"It was true that some member agencies of the American Immigration Conference had stated strongly that if Mr. McLeod were to speak, another speaker would have to be added to the program from outside the Administration to discuss the inadequacy of the Refugee Relief Act and its administration."

FEDERATED PRESS Washington Bureau 856 Natl. Press Bldg. Wash. 4 D. C. June 8, 1955 (2

DULLES EVADES RESPONSIBILITY FOR NATHAN PASSPORT FIASCO IN STATE DEPT.

by Federated Press

WASHINGTON-(FP)-Sec. of State John Foster Dulles June 7 evaded taking responsibility either for withholding a passport from Prof. Otto Nathan or for a later State Dept. decision to bow to a federal court order that Nathan be allowed to travel to Europe.

Nathan received his passport June 6 after the State Dept. gave up its previous stand that travel by Nathan "would be contrary to the best interests of the U. S." Nathan, on the staff of New York University, is a German-born naturalized American who sought to go to Europe in connection with his duties as executor of the estate of the late Albert Einstein.

For two and a half years prior to Einstein's death, he had tried without success to obtain a passport to go to Europe for professional reasons. State Dept. denials were accompanied by vague and unproved assertions that Nathan had been a communist in Germany in the early 1930s, and had leftwing associations in the U. S.

Dulles ducked several questions on the department's passport retreat at his news conference here June 7. He explained that Undersec. of State Herbert Hoover Jr. had decided to issue the passport after reviewing the case, and that he, Dulles, was out of town and knew nothing about it. But observers noted he left town for the Ontario wilds about the time Federal Judge Henry Schweinhaut firmly ordered the department to let Nathan travel.

Asked whether the outcome of the Nathan affair meant the department was considering changes in its passport procedures, Dulles did not give a clear answer. He did say, in his customary involved syntax: "I would not want to say we were not considering changes, when any responsible body suggests them."

Dulles is defendant in a group of suits to be filed soon by the American Civil Liberties Union, in which unconstitutional withholding of passports is the charge. This has always been a subject on which the State Dept. is most secretive, at least during the post-world war II years when the problem has become important. Passports were not denied to Americans who wanted to travel during the first 150 years of U. S. constitutional history.

at-6/8/55

FEDERATED PRESS Washington Bureau 856 Natl. Press Bldg. Wash. 4 D. C. May 31, 1955 (1

JUDGE ORDERS STATE DEPT. TO GIVE NATHAN A PASSPORT

by Federated Press

WASHINGTON-(FP)-Sec. of State John Foster Dulles was scheduled to return from his Ontario hideaway the week of May 31 to face a firm U. S. District Court order to give a passport to Otto Nathan, executor of the will of the late Dr. Albert Einstein.

Nathan, now a New York University staff member, had been denied a passport for more than two years on the claim that he had communist associates. He had sought the right to travel to Europe for professional reasons. The death of Einstein, he told the court May 20, has made it essential that he confer with Einstein's scientific colleagues in Europe on publication of some of his papers.

Judge Henry A. Schweinhaut, after considering Nathan's new application for a week, was obviously angry over the State Dept.'s long delay in giving Nathan a hearing on his passport application, which he had ordered Mar. 15. He said:

"I am quite dissatisfied with the fact that the order of a U. S. court has not been obeyed. I have not seen in this file or heard any excuse for not obeying. I will sign an order directing that the passport be issued."

First reports from the State Dept. indicated it was taking a cautious no-comment view of the order by Judge Schweinhaut, while Dulles departed for a long Memorial Day weekend. It was not certain whether when the chief returned the department would decide finally to let Nathan go to Europe or whether it would continue to resist by appealing the Schweinhaut ruling to the U. S. Court of Appeals.

Meanwhile, the issue of passport withholding was dramatized the day before Schweinhaut's unprecedented ruling by the announcement on the part of the American Civil Liberties Union that it was filing four suits against the department on behalf of people arbitrarily denied the right to travel abroad.

The issue never came up through the first 150 years of American history. Until world war II it was considered by the U. S. government a right of American citizenship to be given a passport and go pretty much where one pleased.

at-5/31/55

Fight Dodging Denied on Nathan

By the United Press WT 6/7/55

WASHINGTON, June 7. — State Department officials said today they suddenly issued a passport to Dr. Otto Nathan — after refusing to do so for two and a half years — solely because a review of the record indicated he could be trusted to travel abroad.

They denied the department's abrupt about-face was motivated by a desire to avoid a court showdown on Dr. Nathan's contention that a passport is one of the rights of citizenship and not—as the department contends — a privilege which the Secretary of State may withhold at his discretion.

The department announced late yesterday that it had issued a passport to Dr. Nathan, New York University economics professor who is executor of the late Prof. Albert Einstein's estate.

The announcement did not mention the charges of Communist affiliation against Dr. Nathan which the department aired in court last week.

A reporter asked department legal officials whether Dr. Nathan had been cleared of these charges or whether the department had decided to overlook them in the interest of getting the passport case out of court.

"Acting Secretary of State Herbert Hoover Jr. decided on the record that Dr. Nathan was entitled to a passport," said one official.

"If we had decided he was not entitled to a passport, we'd have fought this thing all the way through the courts."

Dr. Nathan said in New York that the department had "no evidence" to back up its charges, and therefore "was unable" to give him the full hearing which the U.S. Court of Appeals had ordered.

FEDERATED PRESS Washington Bureau 856 Natl. Press Bldg. Wash. 4 D. C. May 24, 195

EINSTEIN'S EXECUTOR, OTTO NATHAN, SUES DULLES FOR PASSPORT
by Federated Press

WASHINGTON-(FP)-Prof. Otto Nathan, political scientist now on the staff of New York University, filed suit against Sec. of State John Foster Dulles here May 20 for the right to travel to Europe to carry out his duties as executor of the will of the late Albert Einstein.

Nathan, a political scientist and economist, came to the U. S. in the 1930s as a refugee from Nazi Germany, as did Einstein, his close friend over many years. During the past three years he has been unable to get a passport from the State Dept. for his own professional use. He had started court action toward getting a passport before Einstein died April 18.

Scheduled for action in the court of federal judge Henry A. Schweinhaut here about June 1, Nathan's suit has been amended to include important reasons connected with custody of Einstein's unpublished papers, of which he is legal custodian. A supplemental affidavit filed by Nathan to his original suit stated:

"One of the responsibilities which have fallen upon me as executor of Albert Einstein's will is to attend to his vast scientific and literary estate, which includes many unpublished manuscripts and documents. It is of extraordinary importance to make sure that the vast amount of material of the most outstanding scientist of our times is made available to the scientific world with speed and efficacy.

"In the pursuit of these duties, I consider it indispensable to consult with Prof. Einstein's scientific confreres, to seek their advice, and to solicit their editorial cooperation. A unique opportunity for a meeting with the outstanding physicists and mathematicians of the world will be provided by the Jubilee of Relativity Theory Conference, which will be held at Berne, Switzerland, from July 11-16, 1955.

"A copy of the invitation to the conference, addressed to Prof. Einstein himself, is attached hereto as 'Exhibit A.' This invitation illustrates the scope and significance of the conference which, because of Einstein's death, will be an even more historic event, and the worldwide attendance that is expected.

"The conference will offer the possibility of calling one or more meetings of all the interested scientists and of having joint discussions with them on the problems created by Prof. Einstein's death. It is obvious that correspondence could not possibly be a substitute for such oral exchange of views providing for an immediate give-and-take with a great number of personalities.

"Following the conference I intend to proceed to Oxford and Cambridge and London Universities in England and to the University of Paris in France, and elsewhere in Europe, for the same purpose.

(over)

"The responsibilities placed upon me by Prof. Einstein's last will have not only created duties toward a rare human being whose great contributions to mankind's store of knowledge are not contested, but also a public duty toward humanity to find the most suitable method of making Prof. Einstein's work available to the scientific world to allow them to carry on where he left off.

"Accordingly, my trip to Europe is no longer merely a private undertaking, but would serve interests of a general and much wider scope.

"I believe, therefore, that the continued withholding of a passport by the Dept. of State would tend to harm the public interest. Redress by the court has hence become even more urgent. The Dept. of State should be ordered to issue a passport to me without any further delay."

As Nathan's latest appeal was filed in court here, the State Dept. announced it had given a passport to Prof. Owen Lattimore, expert on the Orient, to travel to Europe this summer. Lattimore is under indictment on perjury charges arising from hearings before the McCarthy committee many months ago.

The State Dept. decision to permit Lattimore to travel out of the U. S. on the understanding that he will return for his trial, scheduled in the fall, indicates the extent of public pressure in his behalf. The case of Nathan, who has similar professional reasons for travel to Europe, is not so well known. The State Dept. had informed him that it was withholding his right to travel because it believed he was a sympathizer with communism.

The Washington Post May 22 congratulated the new director of the State Dept. passport division, Frances Knight, for permitting Lattimore to travel, and suggested similar action on the applications of Nathan, Judge Charles Clark and Dr. Clark Foreman.

at-5/24/55

PASSPORT ORDER BY COURT FOUGHT

Times 6/2/55

State Department Appeals U. S. Judge's Decree on Einstein Executor

---

By **LUTHER A. HUSTON**
Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, June 1 — A formal court order directing the issuance of a passport to Dr. Otto Nathan was challenged today by the State Department. It carried the case to the Court of Appeals, which granted a temporary stay of the order.

Federal Judge Henry A. Schweinhaut signed the order and took the department to task a second time for what he considered "an attempt to overrule this court." The appellate court will hold a hearing tomorrow on the Government's appeal.

Judge Schweinhaut specifically accused the department of "dilly-dallying, delaying tactics" in failing to comply with his original order for a hearing on the Nathan passport application.

Dr. Nathan is the executor of the estate of Dr. Albert Einstein. He has been trying for two and a half years to get a passport to travel in Europe on private business. After the death of Dr. Einstein on April 18, Dr. Nathan asserted that it had become urgent that he go aboard to protect valuable assets of the estate.

Hearing Ordered by Judge

His original application for a passport was rejected under regulations governing travel of persons whose journeys to other countries might be in the interest of communism. He filed an affidavit that he had never been a member of the Communist party.

The State Department asked him to sign a statement that he had never belonged to any "Communist organizations." Dr. Nathan refused unless the department named the organizations and described their character. The department declined to do this.

Judge Schweinhaut, after Dr. Nathan had filed suit to compel the department to grant him a passport, ordered the agency on March 15 to give him an "appropriate hearing" on his application.

Dr. Nathan's attorneys, Leonard Boudin of New York and Joseph Forer of Washington, argued that the department had not complied with this order.

After a hearing last Friday, Judge Schweinhaut asked the lawyers to draft an order directing issuance of a passport forthwith and said he would sign it.

Joseph J. Rafferty Jr., Assistant United States Attorney, appeared today with two proposed orders. One set forth that the department had offered Dr. Nathan a hearing before the Board of Passport Appeals, under standard departmental regulations. It also asked the court to find that the hearing provided by the regulations was a denial of due process of law.

Agency's Orders Rejected

The Fifth Amendment to the Constitution requires that no person be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law. In asking that its own regulations be held to violate due process, the department was believed to be preparing for an appeal from Judge Schweinhaut's ruling on constitutional grounds.

The judge said, however, he could not say that due process had been denied in advance of a hearing on that point. He declined to sign that proposed order, or the department's other one that, in effect, asked the court to reverse its position that it would direct that a passport be issued.

Judge Sohweinhaut said that more than two years had gone by since Dr. Nathan first asked for a passport "and in two months after an order of this court, nothing happened."

"The Court of Appeals has a right to reverse this court, but the State Department cannot," he asserted.

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

U.S. COURT ORDERS NATHAN HEARING

Times 6/3/55

Appeals Bench Tells State Department How to Carry Out Passport Inquiry

---

By LUTHER A. HUSTON

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, June 2—The Federal Court of Appeals ordered the State Department today to grant a hearing to Dr. Otto Nathan on his application for a passport. The ground rules for the proceedings were laid down by the court.

Lawyers said that this was the first time a court had ever prescribed rules for a State Department hearing. The order was issued in the face of the department's argument that denial of a passport and the adequacy of the facts on which the denial was based were the sole concern of the Executive Branch of the Government.

The exercise of the political function of the conduct of foreign affairs entrusted by the Constitution to the Executive Branch was involved, the department asserted in an affidavit filed with the court.

Pending completion of the hearing, the appellate court ordered a stay of execution of the order issued yesterday by District Judge Henry A. Schweinhaut directing the department to issue a passport to Dr. Nathan forthwith.

Earlier, the court, consisting of Chief Justice Henry W. Edgerton and Judges David L. Bazelon and George T. Washington, had compelled the department to disclose some of its reasons for denying Dr. Nathan's application. This was done in an affidavit by Ashley J. Nicholas, assistant director of the Passport Office.

Dr. Nathan, a German-born economist, first applied for a passport two and a half years ago. He pressed the application after the will of Dr. Albert Einstein, who died on April 18, named him as executor of the scientist's estate. Dr. Nathan became a United States citizen in 1939 and is a professor at New York University.

The appellate court's order, issued after a hearing, required that these things be done:

"(1) That the Department of State accord a quasi judicial hearing on the appellee's application for a passport, with opportunity provided to the Government and to the appellee to offer evidence, such hearing to be commenced on or before Tuesday, June 7, and to be concluded within three days unless this court upon application extends the time;

"(2) That the hearing officer or officers render a report and recommendation, based on the record of such hearing, within five days after the conclusion of the hearing;

"(3) That the appellee be immediately furnished with a copy of such report and recommendation, and be allowed three days within which to file objections thereto with the Department of State;

"(4) That within ten days after the rendition of such report and recommendation, action be taken by the Department of State, either granting or denying a passport, and a statement of such action be immediately furnished to appellee and to this court;

"(5) That if a passport is denied, the State Department immediately either (A) inform this court and the appellee with particularity of the reasons for such denial or (B) show cause to this court with particularity for any failure to supply such reasons."

When the department has completed this procedure, the order stated, "this court will consider what further action on its part, if any, is necessary."

Dr. Nathan, the appeals court said, "was never accorded an evidentiary hearing or confronted with the evidence, if any, which led to the denial of a passport."

Customary State Department procedure has involved questioning by passport officials of the applicant and consideration of other information, some of it confidential, obtained by the department.

At a hearing this morning on the department's application for a stay of Judge Schweinhaut's order, the appellate judges asked Harold H. Greene, an Assistant United States Attorney, the reasons for the denial of Dr. Nathan's original application.

Mr. Greene offered to submit the answer in writing if he could obtain it from the department.

The court directed that the answer be provided today, and the affidavit of Mr. Nicholas was later filed. It set forth these reasons:

¶Dr. Nathan was a member of the Communist party in Germany before 1933.

¶He was affiliated with the Civil Rights Congress, an organization listed by the Attorney General as subversive.

¶He attended a Communist-organized peace conference in Poland in 1948.

¶He was a sponsor of the scientific cultural conference for world peace in New York in March, 1949, which was sponsored by the world Communist movement.

¶Dr. Nathan was known to have associated with Communists and with officials of Iron Curtain countries.

¶He refused to answer questions regarding conversations with representatives of Communist nations.

¶He refused to answer questions regarding his associations with alleged Communists.

Mr. Nicholas said that other information had been considered that could not be disclosed for security reasons.

One of the things taken into consideration in denying the Nathan passport, Mr. Nicholas said, was that some Americans who had traveled abroad had carried on espionage and revolutionary propaganda activities on behalf of the Soviet Union.

Dr. Nathan has said that he wants to attend a July 11 meeting at Bern, Switzerland, to consult with scientists on releasing Dr. Einstein's unpublished manuscripts.

Einstein's Executor Wins Court Order for Passport

DW
6/2/55

WASHINGTON, June 1.–Federal District Judge Henry A. Schweinhaut today signed a judicial order directing the State Department to issue a passport "forthwith" to Dr. Otto Nathan, executor of the estate of Albert Einstein.

The judge rejected a State Department request that he hold up issuance of the order. He sharply rebuked the Department from the bench for what he called "evasion, dilly-dallying and delaying tactics" on the passport case.

Assistant U.S. Attorney Joseph J. Rafferty, Jr., said he would ask the U.S. Court of Appeals for a stay of the order.

Nathan, a professor at New York University and long-time friend of Einstein, has been trying to get a passport for two and a half years. He contends the State Department has never informed him why it won't allow him to travel abroad.

Schweinhaut ordered the State Department March 15 to give Nathan a "prompt and appropriate" hearing on his request for a passport. No hearing was held.

Last Friday, the Judge angrily accused the Department of "disobeying" an order of a Federal Court, and announced that he would sign a decree commanding the issuance of the passport. It was this order that he signed today after rejecting the Department's efforts to delay it.

The State Department said that the order would be referred to Herman Phleger, Department legal adviser, "for study."

DW 6/8/55

State Dept. Dodges Courts, Gives Dr. Nathan Passport

WASHINGTON, June 7.—The State Department, dodging a legal battle on the right of American citizens to passports, yesterday announced it was reversing itself, and issued a passport to Dr. Otto Nathan, economics professor of New York University. The passport issuance followed a court order that the Department must show at an open hearing why a passport had been denied to Dr. Nathan.

Dr. Nathan declared last night that the State Department action "vindicates the fundamental right of every American citizen to travel." Dr. Nathan is executor of the estate of the late Professor Albert Einstein.

The State Department about-face announcement did not mention the charges which it had aired in court last week that Dr. Nathan was a member of the Communist Party in Germany before 1933, and that he had associated with Communists and "suspected red front" organizations since becoming a naturalized American citizen.

A reporter asked legal officials of the Department whether Dr. Nathan had been cleared of these charges or whether the Department had decided to overlook them in the interest of getting the passport case out of court.

"Acting Secretary of State Herbert Hoover, Jr., decided on the record that Dr. Nathan was entitled to a passport," said one official. "If we had decided he was not entitled to a passport, we'd have fought this thing all the way through the courts."

DW 6/3/55

Court Orders Explanation for Passport Refusal

WASHINGTON, June 2.—Chief Judge Henry W. Edgerton of the U. S. Court of Appeals asked the State Department today to tell why it would be against the public interest for Dr. Otto Nathan to travel abroad.

Nathan, executor of the estate of Albert Einstein and professor of economis at New York University, has been trying to get a passport for 2½ years. District Court judge Henry A. Schweinhaut ordered the State Department yesterday to give him a passport. The Government appealed for a stay.

The Passport—And the Right to Travel

Various factors have led to the denial, to many Americans, of permission to travel abroad. Now the courts affirm that passports are a basic right, not merely a privilege.

By DOROTHY FOSDICK

WASHINGTON.

IN a series of historic decisions the Federal courts are managing to do what no individual in the Executive Branch has proved equal to doing—that is, to restore respect for the right of American citizens to travel abroad. For years individuals in the Executive Branch have tolerated unnecessary and capricious interference with freedom to travel. But this is fortunately a government of laws and not of men—and the courts are coming to our rescue.

Under present regulations authorized by Congress passports are a necessity for travel outside this hemisphere. A penal sanction is attached to traveling without one. Therefore to withhold a passport is to preclude travel.

Mrs. Ruth B. Shipley, head of the Passport Office for twenty-seven years until she retired last April, defended her performance by citing the large number of passports issued—over 400,000 in 1954—and the small number denied—not more than a few hundred a year. Quoting statistics, however, is a poor defense, as the current spate of passport cases demonstrates. Individuals who believed themselves mistreated finally went to court. What the Executive Branch refused to admit, and what most of us only suspected, is now revealed in judicial decisions—the right to travel has been unduly and arbitrarily restricted.

WE reached a point where an American citizen could try unsuccessfully for two and one-half years to obtain a passport without even being able to find out why he could not get one (in this case Dr. Otto Nathan). He was told only of "allegations," which changed from one occasion to another. An American citizen (in the case of Max Schachtman, chairman of the Independent Socialist League) could be deprived of the chance to travel—in Europe—because the name of an organization he belonged to appeared on the Attorney General's list. This because the Department of State had decided to use the list not simply to decide the fitness of an applicant for employment but also for travel abroad—and despite the fact that the organization has vainly tried for nearly six years to get a hearing before the Attorney General to prove it is not subversive.

How did America, "the land of the free," arrive at the state where American citizens could be deprived so highhandedly of the opportunity to go abroad?

The right to travel has the support of history. Clause 42 of the Magna Charta provided that, except for prisoners or outlaws, any person had the right to leave the realm at his pleasure, by land or by water, in time of peace. The King's fiat that his political opponents be restricted to the realm was thereby rescinded. English common law incorporated the principle that personal liberty included the "power of locomotion * * * of moving one's person to whatever place one's inclination may direct" (Blackstone's Commentaries). Early settlers of America exercised the right to travel by emigrating to our shores, bringing with them the principles of English common law.

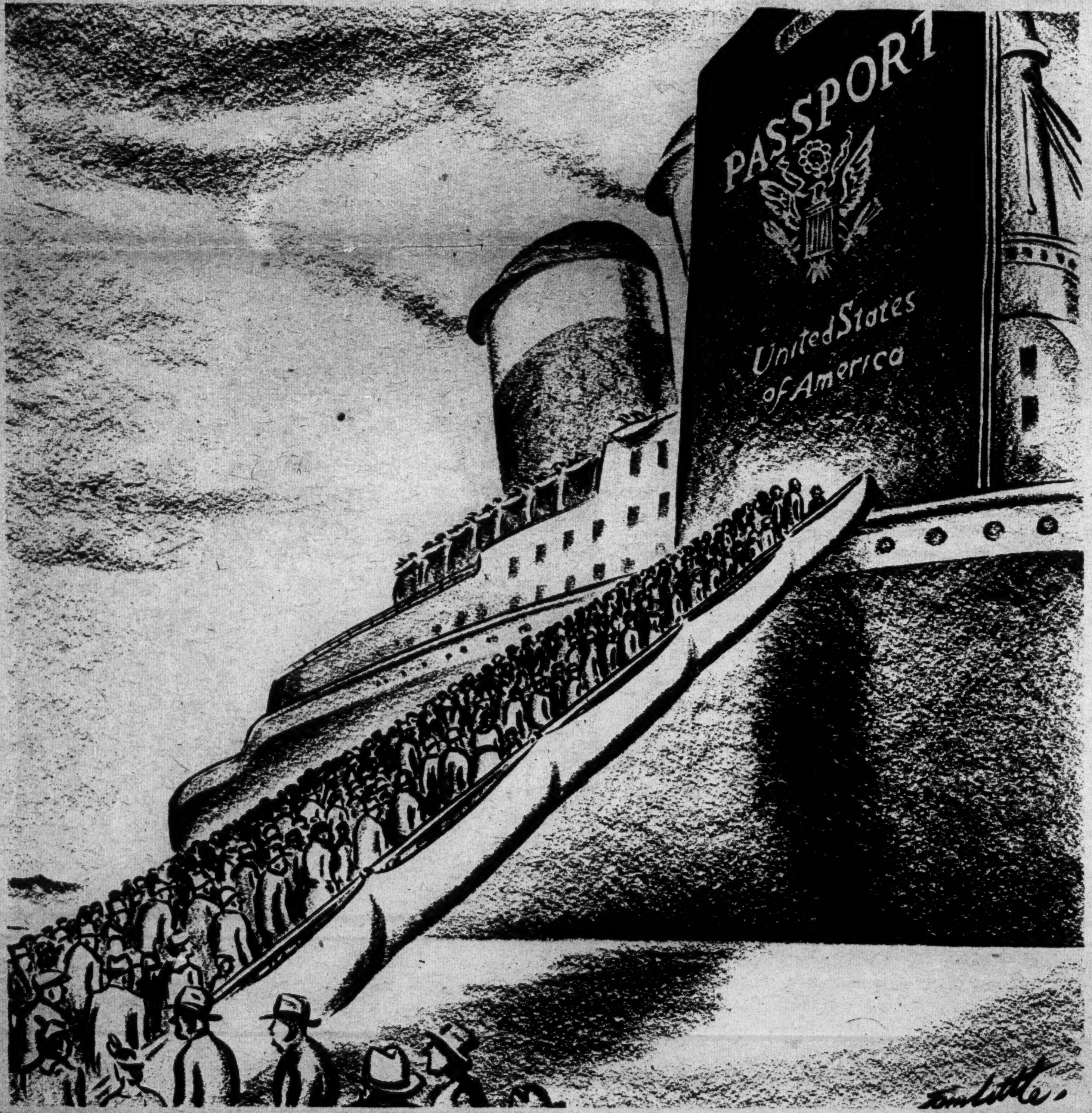
THIS freedom to travel has been taken for granted during most of our history. In fact, before World War I (except during the Civil War) American citizens traveled freely, by just getting on a boat and proceeding at will. They might ask the State Department for a passport, but many did not bother, and if the Department did not want to give them such official identification they went on their way anyhow. Until World War I a passport was simply a useful document of identification requesting that the bearer be recognized as an American citizen and allowed to pass safely and freely. It was a convenience, not a necessity.

During World War I, however, the Government decided to limit travel in the interest of national security, and Congress authorized regulations which made the passport necessary for the lawful departure of American citizens abroad. A passport thus became a requirement for travel to most areas, and thereby a means by which the Government controlled such travel. This has been substantially the situation since World War I. In 1952 Congress authorized regulations to continue control of travel by passports, during a state of national emergency as well as in wartime, and the President has proclaimed that such an emergency continues to exist.

AT present the issuance of passports, by act of Congress, is vested in the hands of the Secretary of State under rules prescribed by the President. These provide that "The Secretary of State is authorized in his discretion to refuse to issue a passport." In exercising this discretion the State Department has in recent years notably increased restrictions.

Once the Government asserted its power to control travel abroad the stage was set for some definition of the right to travel. If a passport was revoked or denied by the State Department,

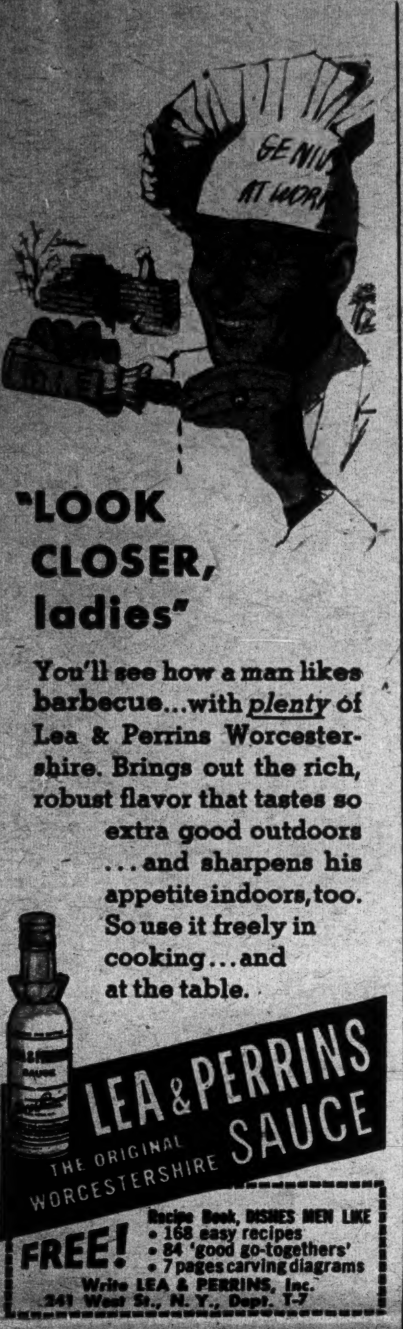
(Continued on Page 58)



"The right to travel has been unduly and arbitrarily restricted."

Drawing by Tom Little.

DOROTHY FOSDICK, a free-lance writer, served in the State Department from 1942 until 1953. For four years she was on the department's Policy Planning Staff. Her most recent book is "Common Sense and World Affairs."



"LOOK CLOSER, ladies"

You'll see how a man likes barbecue...with *plenty* of Lea & Perrins Worcestershire. Brings out the rich, robust flavor that tastes so extra good outdoors ...and sharpens his appetite indoors, too. So use it freely in cooking...and at the table.

LEA & PERRINS SAUCE
THE ORIGINAL WORCESTERSHIRE

FREE! Recipe Book, DISHES MEN LIKE
- 168 easy recipes
- 84 'good go-togethers'
- 7 pages carving diagrams

Write LEA & PERRINS, Inc.
241 West St., N. Y., Dept. T-7

HOTEL St. Regis
Fifth Avenue at 55th Street

in NEW YORK is Air Conditioned

FOR YOUR COMFORT
FOR YOUR PLEASURE

On Upper Fifth Avenue in the heart of the world's most glamorous shopping and entertainment center

Air Conditioned Bedrooms

Owned and operated by Vincent Astor

Pierre Bultinck
General Manager

The Right to Travel

(Continued from Page 8)

thereby precluding further travel, what was the citizen's right in the matter?

While the Supreme Court had said (Williams v. Fears, 1900) that "the right of locomotion, the right to remove from one place to another according to inclination, is an attribute of personal liberty * * *," that case concerned only the right to travel from state to state, within the United States.

In 1952, however, Miss Anne Bauer went to the courts to get redress for the revocation of her passport while she was abroad. In that case a special Federal court, referring to the freedom to move from state to state within the United States, held that "it is difficult to see where, in principle, freedom to travel outside the United States is any less an attribute of personal liberty."

Moreover, Judge Charles Fahy, speaking for a unanimous panel of the Court of Appeals, has only recently said: "The denial of a passport * * * causes a deprivation of liberty that a citizen otherwise would have. The right to travel, to go from place to place as the means of transportation permit, is a natural right subject to the rights of others and to reasonable regulation under law. A restraint imposed by the Government of the United States upon this liberty, therefore, must conform with the provision of the Fifth Amendment that, 'No person shall be * * * deprived of * * * liberty * * * without due process of law'" (Schachtman v. Dulles, 1955).

THE Supreme Court has not yet passed specifically on the right of foreign travel. Nevertheless, as in the cases just cited, our courts are giving no comfort to those who still argue that travel is a privilege to be allowed at the caprice of authority.

In wartime passports have been denied to citizens presumed going abroad as enemy agents, and to citizens wishing to travel to war zones and other areas, when such travel was considered contrary to national security. Also, there are a few categories of persons who, by general consensus, should be denied passports — e. g., fugitives from justice and the proved mentally ill. But, following Mrs. Shipley's advent in 1928, she withheld passports for all sorts of reasons of her own.

In 1950, with its eyes on the Communist conspiracy, Congress for the first time decided to establish political criteria for citizens desiring to travel abroad. The Internal Security Act of 1950 denies passports to members of organizations registered or required by a final order to register under the act. To date, no organization is the subject of such a final order, although proceedings seeking one against the Communist party are still in court. The Internal Security Act referred to organizations found after a *hearing* to be illicit, and covered only *present* membership.

BY 1952 Secretary Acheson had decided that the Passport Office needed to be brought under control. Without waiting for a "final order" under the Internal Security Act, he instituted regulations intended to establish strict tests for the denial of passports on political grounds. Helpful as the intention may have been, the 1952 regulations, as drawn, however, were imprecise and they did not effectively limit the discretion of the Passport Office.

For example, the department's 1952 regulations, which are still in force, ban passports not only for present members of the Communist party but also for those who recently terminated Communist party membership "under such circumstances as to warrant the conclusion—not otherwise rebutted by the evidence—that they continue to act in furtherance of the interests and under the discipline of the Communist party."

They ban non-Communists "who engage in activities which support the Communist movement," under circumstances which persuade the department that they result from "direction, domination or control exercised over them by the Communist movement." The regulations also ban passports to persons whose purpose is interpreted to be "to engage in activities which will advance the Communist movement."

These standards not only differ from those anticipated by Congress but in their vague way go far beyond them. Furthermore, the department reserves its prerogative to ban a passport to anyone whose conduct abroad, in the view of the department, is likely not simply to be contrary to national security but merely "to the best interests of the United States." Present standards thus give the department leeway to declare that travel abroad by almost any of us could be defined as contrary to the best interests of the United States and, therefore, to deny the passport.

Moreover, the way passport matters are handled in the State Department has encouraged a restrictive interpretation of these standards. Secretaries of State have delegated their authority in the matter of passports to the Director of the Passport Office. Burdened as every Secretary has been by countless fateful problems, it is understandable that they said, "Let Mrs. Shipley take care of it."

This habit, however, placed not merely routine passport decisions, but difficult ones also, largely in the hands of subordinate officials who had very little if any relationship to the over-all conduct of foreign policy.

THE preoccupation of passport officials with routine administrative matters does not generally equip them to sense the subtle implications for our foreign policy of granting or withholding passports to particular individuals. They took shelter under the Attorney General's list of presumed subversive organizations, despite the fact that the list was prepared for screening employes for employment and not for screening passport applicants, and that organizations are listed on it without a hearing.

In addition, the charged atmosphere of the last few years, in which no Government official felt secure from arbitrary harassment himself, contributed to overcaution. Granting a passport to someone who might "prove bad" in some way involves more risks to one's career in government than delaying a decision or even finding reasons to deny a passport. Something of a premium thus exists on delay and denial, and when worried bureaucrats well down the line are left to make decisions largely on their own responsibility, the premium is apt to be compounded.

Mrs. Shipley sometimes met the danger by the curious practice of taking testimony in hearings before Passport Office officials, then granting a passport, and covering herself by sending the testimony to the Justice Department for possible perjury action!

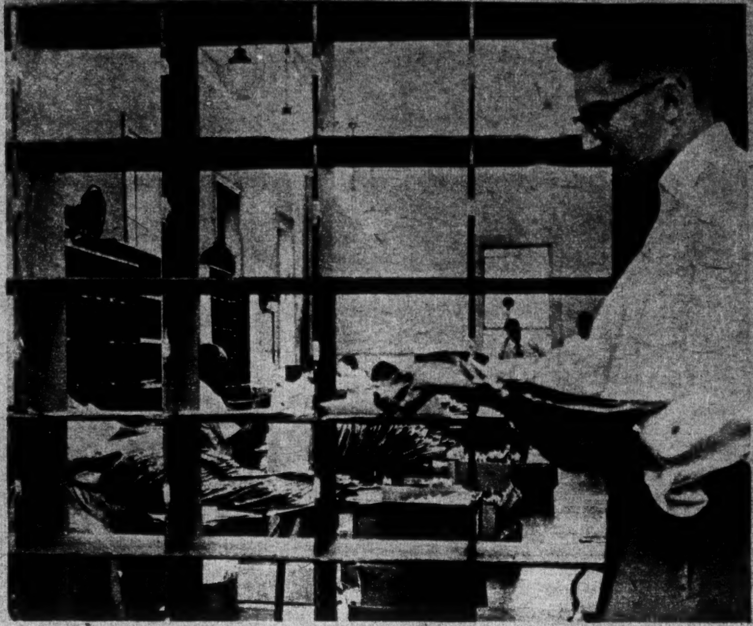
THE whole atmosphere of the Passport Office contributes to confusion and overcaution. That office is in the Winder Building, formerly a Civil War communications center erected in 1848, with a dank dungeon in its depths. In this rat and termite infested basement, files are stored, tied in red tape. There they gather dust and get more and more out of date.

Yet when an application comes in, likely as not, down, someone goes to cull the old letterheads, lists, reports of informants and anonymous chits. After one has worked in that archaic atmosphere for even a few years it is small wonder that one loses perspective on policy and people.

The onesidedness of the procedure has been a serious factor in the situation. Any derogatory evidence or testimony of adverse witnesses is more than likely to block a passport, because passport applicants have had a poor chance to present their side of the case. When hearings are granted, they are usually before officials of the Passport Office. This "hearing of a sort," as Judge Fahy terms it, is not quasi-judicial in character, as the passport applicant and his counsel need not be told what derogatory evidence exists, and are not allowed to hear, much less cross-examine, adverse witnesses.

In the 1952 regulations Secretary Acheson finally did provide for a Board of Appeals to hear cases of passports denied or revoked be-

(Continued on Page 41)



A file room in the Passport Office of the Department of State.

PICTURE CREDITS

1—THE NEW YORK TIMES (BY GEORGE TAMES), ASSOCIATED PRESS, INTERNATIONAL AND DEPARTMENT OF STATE (BY MEYLE AND SAKAMOTO)
2—PIERRE BELZEAUX FROM RAPHO-GUILLUMETTE
6-7—INTERNATIONAL AND GAMMA
9—ASSOCIATED PRESS
16-17—LENI SONNENFELD
18-19—PHOTO PIC
21—ASSOCIATED PRESS
23—DRAWING BY JACK W. BECK
26—LENI SONNENFELD
32-33—THE NEW YORK TIMES STUDIO
35—DRAWING BY MAURICE RAWSON
38—THE NEW YORK TIMES (BY GEORGE TAMES)
47—DRAWINGS BY WILLIAM SHARP AND MARVIN OBERMAN

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

M'Cloud - Anderson.

(Continued from Page 38)

cause of charges involving communism—but the appeal was still only within the State Department. Also, as Mr. Schachtman learns, no appeal mechanism was provided for cases not involving the Communist question.

The Board of Passport Appeals does not assure an applicant a quasi-judicial hearing. Also, since it does not have the power to act without a final decision by the Passport Office, and since no time limit is specified within which the Passport Office must render a decision, Mrs. Shipley could refuse to decide on a passport application and then no appeal could be lodged. In the Nathan case, for example, she delayed for more than two years, until the court intervened.

THE State Department is now on the spot. In the Nathan case the Court of Appeals ruled that the department, before denying a passport, must accord *procedural* due process, that is, that it must give the applicant a fair hearing, quasi-judicial in character. In the Schachtman case the Court of Appeals held that the State Department must grant *substantive* due process, that is, that it must give a relevant and intelligible reason for the denial of a passport.

Even if the department continues to fight in the courts, some reform seems inescapable. Miss Frances Knight, successor to Mrs. Shipley and trained in administration, has projected a program for modernizing the passport operation, but this is only a small part of the problem.

Previous State Department rulings on controversial cases are being reversed. Secretary Dulles declared after the Schachtman case that the establishment of more formal procedures of quasi-judicial review is probably called for. Furthermore, it seems likely that standards for screening passport applicants will be brought more into line with present Congressional intent. Senator Thomas C. Hennings Jr., Chairman of the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights, will soon hold public hearings to see what "constructive action" by Congress may now be desirable.

TRAVEL abroad may be for pleasure, but it may also be necessary to perform a job and to earn a livelihood. At a time in our history when welding free nations together is an objective of national policy, and when free intercourse between American citizens and other peoples is advocated by our highest officials, liberty to travel has taken on special importance.

To insure that this liberty is respected, certain constructive measures along the lines of the following six suggestions might be considered:

(1) The entire Government should affirm that freedom to travel is not a favor to be granted but a right to be respected. American citizens should be presumed entitled to a passport unless proved otherwise on the basis of standards established by law and by regulations in the Executive Branch that are in accord with the law.

(2) Passports should be denied in particular cases only if granting them will jeopardize the security of our country.

(3) The "clear and present danger" test should be the guide. In other words, (a) there must be a real likelihood that substantive evil to national security will result, (b) that evil must be serious, and (c) it must be imminent. Persons going abroad to engage in conspiratorial activities, as members or as agents of the Communist party, would constitute such a "clear and present danger." In this atomic age this category might also include (a) persons who have acquired highly classified scientific information and of whom there is a reason to believe that they might contact enemy agents or desert the free world; and (b) persons, thoroughly loyal, who are in effect "living top-secret documents" and whose travel in certain areas might expose them to enemy capture.

(4) Standards intended for screening Federal employes should not be applied as standards for issuing passports. Federal employment has some elements of being a privilege, while freedom to travel is a constitutionally protected right. The Attorney General's list, discredited by the Supreme Court in the case of Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee v. McGrath, and now under attack by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee as even an adequate standard for screening Government employes, should certainly be ruled out as an adequate guide in passport matters.

(5) Before finally being denied a passport, every applicant should be accorded the opportunity for both a quasi-judicial hearing within the State Department and an appeal to a final review board in the Executive Branch, outside the State Department. Reasonable time limits should be established, by regulation, within which hearings must be held, decisions by the Passport Office reached, and final appeals heard.

(6) The Secretary of State should put the Passport Office in the hands of an official outstandingly qualified for the job by experience not simply in administrative matters, but also in the broader aspects of the conduct of foreign policy.

WHEN YOU'VE EARNED RETIREMENT,

CAN YOU AFFORD TO ENJOY EVERY HOUR?

How to add $200 a month to your future pension

YOU'LL WANT TO TRAVEL. Extra cash can mean more frequent trips, first class, too.

ENJOY YOUR HOME. No need to worry about upkeep costs when you've planned ahead.

FLORIDA IN WINTER. Worth millions in health— all it takes is a modest extra fund.

GO IN YOUR CAR. For fishing trips, for fun. A monthly check can mean no scrimping.

A HOBBY ADDS YEARS. They'll be happy years—with an income guaranteed for life.

Chances are today, most *everyone* will retire. People are living longer these days. Retirement programs are reaching more of us every year. If you are forty or younger, *now* is the time to plan ahead. To enjoy retirement fully, you may need more money than Social Security or your company pension check. You may want cash to move to Florida or California, to take advantage of opportunities that come with free time, to be part-owner in a small business.

And, there's a new plan specially geared to anyone who believes the best part of his life will come after retirement. It guarantees an additional $200 a month for life.

How can you get it? By starting now—in your thirties, or early forties—to make part of your salary assure your future independence. It's a new Phoenix Mutual Retirement Income Plan, brought to you by the best-known company in the retirement-income field. Simple, systematic and sure, it means you can start now to plan your future.

What of the years between? This Phoenix Mutual Plan brings peace of mind immediately. For your family is covered with life insurance protection for $25,000 from the day you begin. And should disability stop your earning power for six months or more, you would receive an income as long as such disability lasts.

The secret is to start early. Waiting even a few years may put the plan out of your reach.

Send For Free Booklet

Your retirement years can be the fullest of your life, just because you looked into this Plan. So don't wait, don't put it off. Clip the coupon and mail it today. Without charge, and at no obligation, you'll receive a free booklet telling all about Phoenix Mutual Plans. Send it now. You'll be glad you did—always.

ESTABLISHED 1851
PHOENIX MUTUAL
Retirement Income Plan
GUARANTEES YOUR FUTURE
OVER 100 YEARS OF LIFE INSURANCE PROTECTION
FOR BUSINESS AND FAMILIES

PHOENIX MUTUAL
LIFE INSURANCE CO.
153 Elm Street, Hartford 15, Conn.

Please mail me, without cost or obligation, your illustrated booklet "Retirement Income Plans for Women."

Name ____________
Date of Birth ____________
Business Address ____________
____
Home Address ____________

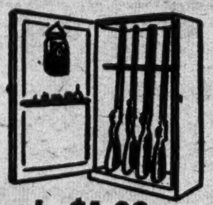
PHOENIX MUTUAL
LIFE INSURANCE CO.
153 Elm Street, Hartford 15, Conn.

Please mail me, without cost or obligation, your illustrated booklet showing how to get a guaranteed income for life.

Name ____________
Date of Birth ____________
Business Address ____________
____
Home Address ____________

COPYRIGHT 1955, BY PHOENIX MUTUAL LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY

KEEP RUST AWAY FROM YOUR GUNS . . . *for only $1.29*



The surest way to guard your expensive guns from rust—just hang De-Moist nearby. Quickest acting of any dehumidifier. At hardware and department stores.

De-Moist.

Like books?

Read how the experts rate them every day on the Book Page of The New York Times.

A SUMMER TREAT FOR THE MEN IN YOUR LIFE!

SERVE VITA AS A FIRST COURSE AND MAKE ANY MEAL SPECIAL!

CREAMED HERRING FILLETS
VITA
KEEP IN A COLD PLACE
PACKED BY VITA FOOD PRODUCTS INC.
NEW YORK, N.Y.

FREE RECIPE BOOK! Write Dept. 142
VITA, 644 Greenwich St., N.Y 14, N.Y.

So Quick —
So Easy —
So Inexpensive
To Serve —
And It's All
Food—No Waste!

Try Danish Open Sandwiches: VITA Fillets On Black Bread Squares!

Look and Taste So Delicious!

FEDERATED PRESS Washington Bureau 856 Natl. Press Bldg. Wash. 4 D. C. June 2, 1955 (1

STATE DEPT. TO FIGHT NATHAN PASSPORT ORDER IN APPEALS COURT

by Federated Press

WASHINGTON-(FP)-Asst. District Atty. Joseph Rafferty, acting for the State Dept., said here June 1 the department would go to the Court of Appeals in an attempt to keep a passport from Prof. Otto Nathan, executor of the estate of the late Prof. Albert Einstein.

Rafferty announced the appeal action following conferences with State Dept. officials. Earlier in the day Judge Henry Schweinhaut signed an order to the department that the Nathan passport should be issued. He acted after more than two months of delay by the department in giving Nathan a hearing on the passport denial. State Dept. officials have alleged that Nathan has been guilty of "communist associations," but have not brought any specific charges against him.

Speaking in obvious anger, Schweinhaut declared: "The Court of Appeals has the right to reverse this court, but the State Dept. does not. I think the process of administration since this court entered the March 15 order (for a hearing) amounts to an attempt by the department to overrule this court, and it cannot do it."

Sec. of State John Foster Dulles was away from Washington while the Nathan passport case broke prominently into the news, being unavailable at his Lake Ontario hideaway. It was expected he would be forced to make a statement on the Nathan matter and on passport denial policy in general at his next press conference here.

The State Dept. has over the years built up the fiction that passport policy was entirely in the hands of one person, the director of the passport division, and helped spread the idea that the holder of this post was an impartial dictator. Mrs. Ruth Shipley has recently retired from this job after decades of service. Her desk has been taken over by Mrs. Frances Knight, widely claimed to be a feeder of derogatory material on other employes to Sen. Joseph McCarthy (R,Wis.).

at-6/2/55

DR. NATHAN WINS PASSPORT BATTLE

Times 6/7/55

But State Department Avoids Court Showdown on Policy on Travel Applications

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, June 6—The State Department granted Dr. Otto Nathan today the passport he had applied for two and a half years ago.

The department thus avoided a possible court test of its passport-application procedures. The Federal Court of Appeals had ordered the department to hold "quasijudicial" hearings on the application beginning tomorrow.

The court prescribed rules for the hearings. It said it would consider "further action" afterward.

Leo A. Rover, United States attorney, asked the court today, however, to dismiss the case on the ground that it now was "moot." He announced that the acting Secretary of State, Herbert Hoover Jr., had approved the application on the recommendation of the department's Board of Passport Appeals.

Mr. Rover emphasized that the department adhered, nevertheless, to its stand that the issuance of passports was a "discretionary executive function confided exclusively to the judgment of the Secretary of State."

He said Dr. Nathan should have gone to the Board of Passport Appeals when the passport office had rejected his application.

The State Department had been ordered by District Judge Henry A. Schweinhaut to grant the Nathan passport forthwith. The Court of Appeals last Thursday ordered a stay of execution of the order. It directed the State Department to hold the hearings.

Dr. Nathan is a German-born scientist who became a United States citizen in 1939. He had pressed for action on his passport application after the will of Dr. Albert Einstein, who died on April 18, named him as executor of the scientist's estate.

Dr. Nathan, a professor at New York University, said he wished to attend a July 11 meeting at Berne, Switzerland, to consult with scientists on releasing Dr. Einstein's unpublished manuscripts.

The State Department had said only last week that granting Dr. Nathan a passport would not be in the best interests of the United States. It charged he had been a member of the Communist party in Germany before 1933 and had associated with alleged Communists.

Statement by Nathan

In New York yesterday Dr. Nathan issued the following statement:

The State Department's action of today in issuing a passport to me vindicates the fundamental right of every American citizen to travel. It is bound to establish a precedent in the case of hundreds of others denied the right to travel under the previous State Department regulations.

I only regret that it required the orders of two Federal courts which threatened to hold the State Department in contempt before I was issued the passport, which should have been issued two-and-one-half-years ago.

It has been the position of my lawyers and myself ever since the beginning of this case that the issuance of a passport cannot be made dependent upon political standards. The irrational character of political standards is shown by the fact that three days ago the State Department filed an affidavit in the Court of Appeals stating its conclusion that "it would be contrary to the best interests of the United States" to issue a passport to me. Today, I was issued one.

The action also shows the importance of compelling the State Department to support its "allegations" by evidence in an open hearing. Since there was no such evidence the department was unable to face a hearing ordered by the Court of Appeals and preferred to issue the passport. What better proof could there be of the arbitrary passport policy from which we have suffered for ten years?

Donegan Off for Far East

The Right Rev. Horace W. B. Donegan, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of New York, left yesterday by plane for an extended tour of the Far East. Before his scheduled return Sept. 19, he will attend the general convention of the Episcopal Church in Hawaii.

Revelations THE N

NATHAN HEARING SET

Times 6/4/55

State Department Complies With Appeals Court Order

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, June 3—The State Department said today that it would comply with a court order to grant Dr. Otto Nathan a hearing on his application for a passport.

Under the order issued yesterday by the Federal Court of Appeals, the hearing must begin not later than next Tuesday and be completed in three days.

Lawyers said that this would be the first passport hearing held at the direction of a court. Some believed that the hearing would establish a pattern of procedure for future cases involving denial of travel credentials to United States citizens.

Dr. Nathan, a German-born economist, brought suit to compel the department to issue a passport, after an application filed two and a half years ago had been rejected.

He pressed the suit after Dr. Albert Einstein named him executor of his will. It was in the national interest, Dr. Nathan declared, that he go abroad to preserve important scientific documents that were part of the Einstein estate.

Robeson Sues For Passport to Prague Concert

DW 1/24/55

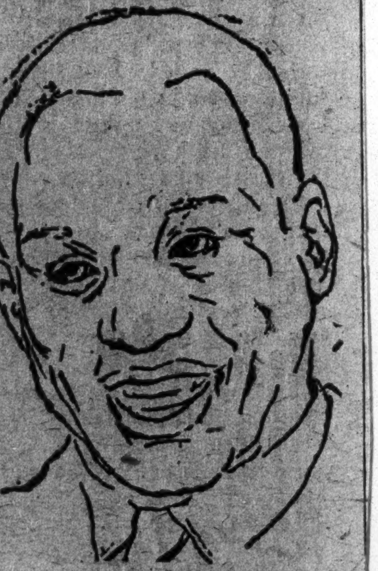
Contact VR

Paul Robeson, through his attorney, Leonard B. Boudin of New York and James Wright of Washington, has asked the Federal District Court in Washington to direct the State Department to grant him a passport.

Robeson states he has received an invitation to appear in concert at the National Opera House in Prague, Czechoslovakia.

Robeson names Secretary of State John Foster Dulles as defendant in the suit, and claims that Dulles' actions in denying him the privilege of travel abroad "are arbitrary, capricious and without warrant or authority in the laws of the United States including the Passport Act of 1936 and are contrary to the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights."

Robeson's brief also asks for a court order allowing him to visit Canada, Mexico and other Western Hemisphere countries for which a passport is not required. It points out that in January, 1952, the artist was arbitrarily prevented from leaving the U.S. to visit Canada, on the basis of a special order of the State Department "relating specifically and exclusively" to him.



ROBESON

Among invitations to Robeson are those from Linder Productions, Ltd., to play "Othello" in London; from the National Union of Mine Workers in Edinburgh, Scotland; from the All- India Peace Council in New Delhi; from the Opera Comique in Paris which recently signed the young tenor, Charles Holland, as the first Negro interpreter of a major role; from the leading cultural agency in Tel Aviv, Israel, and from the recent Soviet Writers Congress in Moscow.

roundtable discussion that is to be broadcast in April.

Times 1/14/55

Robeson Seeks Passport Again

WASHINGTON, Jan. 13 (AP)—Paul Robeson, saying he is a "loyal, native-born American citizen," asked the Federal District Court today to direct that the State Department grant him a passport. The singer, naming Secretary Dulles as defendant, also asked a court order allowing him to visit Canada, Mexico and other Western Hemisphere countries on travel not requiring a passport. His passport was withdrawn in 1950. In 1952 he was stopped when he tried to visit Canada. He has been identified with leftist causes for a long time.

Date ? ? -

Black Deeds of White Racists
Jan 12 ?

To Western Europe Truman promises first of all a g burden of militarism. The message acknowledges that the conversion of the Marshallized countries' economies to war production has "created severe economic problems" in those countries and has increased inflation, "endangering the recovery of their strength." This is the diagnosis. And what is the method of "treatment?" The treatment is to supply Western Europe with weapons on a scale far exceeding previous rates. Of course Truman's "generosity" suits the American arms manufacturers perfectly, not only because it promises them new, record-breaking profits, but also because it leads to an increased disorganization of West European economy, to a greater dependence on the U.S.A.

In the field of domestic policy the message outlines a further increase in the armed forces, which at present already number 3,500,000 persons, and the conversion of the entire U.S. economy to a war footing. Moreover it is acknowledged that the arms race will be carried out "for a longer period of time" than previously planned.

The message foreshadows a new attack on the standard of living of the masses of people, a policy of high taxes and a stricter policy of freezing wages. Truman openly states the inevitability of a considerable curtailment of civilian production.

Thus, in spite of the increased difficulties resulting from the arms race, the American ruling circles are intensifying the one-sided, war-inflationary character of the U.S. economy. "We can control inflation if we make up our minds to do so," Truman boasts. But in recent years there has not been one Presidential message which has not promised to end inflation. And the results? From month to month inflation is growing, prices and taxes are increasing, the standard of living of the masses of people is falling.

The arms race and an intensification of the policy of aggression comprise the policy presented in Truman's message for the future. But if this course has already led American policy to a profound crisis in recent years, it is perfectly obvious that a further intensification of the aggressive policy will lead the U.S.A. to new and still more serious failures and defeats.

BLACK DEEDS OF WHITE RACISTS. (By Georgy Gulia. Literaturnaya gazeta, Jan. 12, p. 4. 2600 words. Condensed text:) ... The sufferings which the Negro people endure every day and hour in America are widely known. Even the American press is obliged to write about this, although it tries to present the victim as the criminal in cases of discrimination. Nevertheless, it is impossible to conceal everything and the facts become known to the public.

However, matters are completely different when it is a question of information intended for export. In this case even well-known facts are wiped from the page and give way to unctuous proclamations about the well-being of the Negro people. This is what happens, for example in the magazine Amerika, which prints various fairy tales and fables as the true picture of American life.

No. 50 of this magazine contains a long article on Negroes. The magazine Amerika indulges in a very simple trick: it declares that the Negro problem in America is "largely a purely psychological one." The magazine has to do this in order to justify the racist theory. It is written in black and white there: "This theory, very profitable economically, also served a means of weakening the profound moral conflict which slavery ised in the minds of its supporters."

So, if the magazine is to be believed, the American racists of day commit murders in order to "weaken the profound moral nflict" in their dark minds! The proverb says that the crocdile sheds tears before devouring its victim. However, the eeping crocodile is no less voracious for its tears. The magane Amerika is leaning over backwards in its efforts to exlpate these murderers. Therefore the racist theory is prounced "very profitable economically." Therefore the magazine trying to find "conflicts" in the vile minds of murderers in der to ennoble them.

For several pages the author of this article in Amerika tries prove that all the same the U.S.A. is a paradise for Negroes. course, not a single instance of the murder of innocent egroes is described here, although there are many such cases and there is no need to search for them. Instead of this, he babbles about the purely "psychological side" of the Negro question in America.

And is the death of hundreds and thousands of Negroes at the hands of the racists also a purely psychological problem?!

And the humiliating racial discrimination which is the general practice in the United States—is this also a purely psychological problem?!

The position of the Negroes in America is so lamentable that it is impossible to justify the orgy of racism there in the eyes of the honest American. But the magazine Amerika is intended for export, not domestic consumption. Hence its clumsy attempts to prove the unprovable. Amerika is moved by the increase in the number of Negroes employed. In the magazine's opinion this is "an important step toward achieving economic equality." But surely even a child can see through this! The disenfranchised, persecuted Negroes in America are cheap labor power ("profitable economically") who can be cruelly exploited. The fact is that all the dirty, poorly paid work is given to Negroes. The fact is that Negro workers are still in the position of slaves. And even the magazine Amerika is forced to mumble that "the average earnings of a Negro are considerably lower than the average earnings of a white person." ...

The Amerika magazine, intended for export, observes that the "role of Othello created by Paul Robeson" was a contribution to the art of the stage. But did this magazine say a single word about the infamous persecution to which this outstanding artist and prominent fighter for peace in America is subjected? No, it did not say anything, for that would have been disadvantageous to those responsible for the unbearable conditions under which Paul Robeson is placed.

The magazine unblushingly calls the outstanding Negro professor William Du Bois, "a patriarch of the movement for equality." But the magazine does not say a single word about the fact that Du Bois is persecuted for his views in "free America;" that the judicial authorities in the U.S.A. have organized an infamous trial of Dr. Du Bois, who is the Chairman of the Peace Information Center; and that this trial was a scandalous failure, despite reaction's efforts to imprison the Negro professor; nor that under the influence of unanimous protest from the world public, who came to the aid of the aged scientist, even the American Medinas thought it advisable not to pass sentence on him. The magazine is prudently silent about all this.

Surely the editors of Amerika do not think that Soviet readers will be unable to see through the casuistry which is served up to them?

Desirous of exculpating the American bourgeois press at any cost, the magazine states: "The attempts of certain foreign writers to depict the American press as spouting forth racist doctrines are absurd."

I do not know whether the editors of Amerika read a small fascist magazine entitled White Circle News, published in Chicago. The first issue of this concoction stated clearly: "We shall struggle to preserve our locality and social institutions, and we shall keep them white; if necessary we shall die in order for them to remain white." This is written by young men from Cicero who have been handing out a leaflet stating: "Our program is to unite the whole population of Cicero into a powerful, independent union of white people to defend our community from the predominance of the Negroes."

Let us see how one of the Hearst press columnists, Westbrook

PAGES MISSING IN THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT

atmosphere for the further intensification of the policy of aggression in Asia, Europe and the Near East.

Truman again confirms the fact that a rapid and successful completion of the negotiations for a peaceful settlement of the Korean question does not enter into the intentions of the U.S. government. He promises to continue the war against the Korean people until truce terms suitable to the U.S.A. are imposed on the Korean people. But who does not know that during the six months of negotiations in Korea the U.S. representatives have continually made demands which make it impossible to bring the negotiations to a successful end. And if Truman declares today that "the situation in Korea remains very hazardous," that the "outcome of the negotiations still remains uncertain," it means only one thing: the U.S. government does not wish to make the outcome of the negotiations certain, rapid and positive.

To Western Europe Truman promises first of all a greater burden of militarism. The message acknowledges that the conversion of the Marshallized countries' economies to war production has "created severe economic problems" in those countries and has increased inflation, "endangering the recovery of their strength." This is the diagnosis. And what is the method of "treatment?" The treatment is to supply Western Europe with weapons on a scale far exceeding previous rates. Of course Truman's "generosity" suits the American arms manufacturers perfectly, not only because it promises them new, record-breaking profits, but also because it leads to an increased disorganization of West European economy, to a greater dependence on the U.S.A.

In the field of domestic policy the message outlines a further increase in the armed forces, which at present already number 3,500,000 persons, and the conversion of the entire U.S. economy to a war footing. Moreover it is acknowledged that the arms race will be carried out "for a longer period of time" than previously planned.

The message foreshadows a new attack on the standard of living of the masses of people, a policy of high taxes and a stricter policy of freezing wages. Truman openly states the inevitability of a considerable curtailment of civilian production.

Thus, in spite of the increased difficulties resulting from the arms race, the American ruling circles are intensifying the one-sided, war-inflationary character of the U.S. economy. "We can control inflation if we make up our minds to do so," Truman boasts. But in recent years there has not been one Presidential message which has not promised to end inflation. And the results? From month to month inflation is growing, prices and taxes are increasing, the standard of living of the masses of people is falling.

The arms race and an intensification of the policy of aggression comprise the policy presented in Truman's message for the future. But if this course has already led American policy to a profound crisis in recent years, it is perfectly obvious that a further intensification of the aggressive policy will lead the U.S.A. to new and still more serious failures and defeats.

BLACK DEEDS OF WHITE RACISTS. (By Georgy Gulia. Literaturnaya gazeta, Jan. 12, p. 4. 2600 words. Condensed text:) ... The sufferings which the Negro people endure every day and hour in America are widely known. Even the American press is obliged to write about this, although it tries to present the victim as the criminal in cases of discrimination. Nevertheless, it is impossible to conceal everything and the facts become known to the public.

However, matters are completely different when it is a question of information intended for export. In this case even well-known facts are wiped from the page and give way to unctuous proclamations about the well-being of the Negro people. This is what happens, for example in the magazine Amerika, which prints various fairy tales and fables as the true picture of American life.

No. 50 of this magazine contains a long article on Negroes. The magazine Amerika indulges in a very simple trick: it declares that the Negro problem in America is "largely a purely psychological one." The magazine has to do this in order to justify the racist theory. It is written in black and white there: "This theory, very profitable economically, also served as a means of weakening the profound moral conflict which slavery raised in the minds of its supporters."

So, if the magazine is to be believed, the American racists of today commit murders in order to "weaken the profound moral conflict" in their dark minds! The proverb says that the crocodile sheds tears before devouring its victim. However, the weeping crocodile is no less voracious for its tears. The magazine Amerika is leaning over backwards in its efforts to exculpate these murderers. Therefore the racist theory is pronounced "very profitable economically." Therefore the magazine is trying to find "conflicts" in the vile minds of murderers in order to ennoble them.

For several pages the author of this article in Amerika tries to prove that all the same the U.S.A. is a paradise for Negroes. Of course, not a single instance of the murder of innocent Negroes is described here, although there are many such cases and there is no need to search for them. Instead of this, he babbles about the purely "psychological side" of the Negro question in America.

And is the death of hundreds and thousands of Negroes at the hands of the racists also a purely psychological problem?!

And the humiliating racial discrimination which is the general practice in the United States—is this also a purely psychological problem?!

The position of the Negroes in America is so lamentable that it is impossible to justify the orgy of racism there in the eyes of the honest American. But the magazine Amerika is intended for export, not domestic consumption. Hence its clumsy attempts to prove the unprovable. Amerika is moved by the increase in the number of Negroes employed. In the magazine's opinion this is "an important step toward achieving economic equality." But surely even a child can see through this! The disenfranchised, persecuted Negroes in America are cheap labor power ("profitable economically") who can be cruelly exploited. The fact is that all the dirty, poorly paid work is given to Negroes. The fact is that Negro workers are still in the position of slaves. And even the magazine Amerika is forced to mumble that "the average earnings of a Negro are considerably lower than the average earnings of a white person." ...

The Amerika magazine, intended for export, observes that the "role of Othello created by Paul Robeson" was a contribution to the art of the stage. But did this magazine say a single word about the infamous persecution to which this outstanding artist and prominent fighter for peace in America is subjected? No, it did not say anything, for that would have been disadvantageous to those responsible for the unbearable conditions under which Paul Robeson is placed.

The magazine unblushingly calls the outstanding Negro professor William Du Bois, "a patriarch of the movement for equality." But the magazine does not say a single word about the fact that Du Bois is persecuted for his views in "free America;" that the judicial authorities in the U.S.A. have organized an infamous trial of Dr. Du Bois, who is the Chairman of the Peace Information Center; and that this trial was a scandalous failure, despite reaction's efforts to imprison the Negro professor; nor that under the influence of unanimous protest from the world public, who came to the aid of the aged scientist, even the American Medinas thought it advisable not to pass sentence on him. The magazine is prudently silent about all this.

Surely the editors of Amerika do not think that Soviet readers will be unable to see through the casuistry which is served up to them?

Desirous of exculpating the American bourgeois press at any cost, the magazine states: "The attempts of certain foreign writers to depict the American press as spouting forth racist doctrines are absurd."

I do not know whether the editors of Amerika read a small fascist magazine entitled White Circle News, published in Chicago. The first issue of this concoction stated clearly: "We shall struggle to preserve our locality and social institutions, and we shall keep them white; if necessary we shall die in order for them to remain white." This is written by young men from Cicero who have been handing out a leaflet stating: "Our program is to unite the whole population of Cicero into a powerful, independent union of white people to defend our community from the predominance of the Negroes."

Let us see how one of the Hearst press columnists, Westbrook

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

Pegler, glorifies racial hatred, and what he vomits forth. As if lecturing to Amerika magazine, he writes: "The preaching and spreading of racial hatred are not un-American actions."

Finally, can Amerika magazine believe such a 100% American as James Byrnes? Byrnes, as is known, has been Secretary of State under the Truman administration and is now Governor of South Carolina. This is what he says: "Whatever happens we must stick to segregation" (i. e., racial discrimination—G.G.).

Amerika states: "Present arrangements do not compel the recognition of equality." This is the baby talk or rather the sham baby talk of adult defenders of racism! Would it not be simpler to say that all the actions of the official and unofficial racists in America are aimed at suppressing any and all desire for equality, are aimed at Negro discrimination, at whipping up hatred against the Negroes and physical annihilation of them.

But Amerika magazine would never say that,because its purpose is to export lies, to deceive public opinion outside America. It tries to conceal the truth about the plight of the Negroes, forgetting that the American press itself, designed for the home market, undermines these efforts. In spite of the tall tales spread by Amerika magazine, everyone in the world knows the truth about the Negroes in America. ...

In present-day America millions of Negroes and their white brothers are fighting for freedom and justice on earth. They know that the day will come when history will bury the black deeds of the white racists forever.

World Economy

ARTIFICIAL BARRIERS.—Before the International Economic Conference. (Literaturnaya gazeta, Jan. 12, p. 4. 1000 words. Condensed text:) A congress of editors of all French newspapers met last autumn in Biarritz. The subject of discussion at the congress was the difficult situation in which the French press and French publishers found themselves. The cost of paper received from the U.S.A. is continually rising; consequently, the prices of French newspapers have increased sharply and, what is more, a number of newspapers are faced with a real threat of extinction. These are the factors which forced the editors at the congress to demand that the government resume trade relations with the Soviet Union and "permit the import of paper into France from all countries of the world, including states which are not members of the dollar bloc."

Thus, the meaning of the editors' demand comes down to this: give us paper for our publications at a price it is actually worth and not at an inflated price dictated by the American monopolies; expand trade ties between France and other countries for this purpose. Newspapers of the most diverse tendencies are devoting more and more attention to the problem of resuming normal world trade.

As in the case of the press of many other countries, the French newspapers are commenting with interest on the forthcoming International Economic Conference to be held in Moscow in April.

The French newspaper Action published an article in No. 367 entitled "The Barriers Are Falling" which gives the cessation of trade between East and West as one of the causes for the present decline in the economy of European countries. The article states that, while such a situation may suit the American monopolists perfectly, it is provoking a growing feeling of alarm and anxiety among the European peoples.

Exactly for this reason, the newspaper continues, "Great Britain's Ministers have stated that the continuation and, what is more, the expansion of trade with the East are vitally necessary to Britain. Indications of a similar evolution in a number of other countries can be noted: for example, in Italy and Belgium, and also in France, where one of the members of the government recently expressed the hope for an improvement in mutual relations with the East." The paper goes on to state: "Many European industrialists, including French industrialists, have already declared their intention of resuming trade relations with the East and with China. Representatives of French industrial and trade circles, whose existence is threatened by the results of the Atlantic policy, are appealing for trade with the East as a means of helping them escape strangulation." ...

The West German press is devoting a great deal of space to the problem of resuming trade relations with the East. The newspaper Rheinischer Merkur, an organ of the Christian Democratic Union, protests against the extreme measures to which the U.S.A. is resorting in restricting trade between Western Germany and the German Democratic Republic and expresses itself in favor of a more active exchange with the East European countries. Hamburg employers who have united in the Society for Trade with the East have resolutely demanded that the Bonn government remove the obstacles which prevent their trading with the East.

MUSIC (Continued From Page 17)

FEATURE

Unprincipled criticism and the praising of weak, immature works still occur. Faulty books preaching bourgeois nationalism also appear, such as those by the Kazakh "musicologist" Zhubanov. ...

Much creative experience has already been accumulated in the work of composers from all the Soviet republics, which will permit the organization of serious and exhaustive discussion of the mutual interaction of socialist content and national form and of problems of folk content in music. There is not a single musical genre in which problems of folk content are not acute. Opera, symphony, song and chamber music writing in many ways fall short of their proper scope because our composers pay little serious attention to problems of folk content. Our scholarly and creative thought, our musical esthetics, is retarded in many ways because cardinal problems of the folk content in music are not elaborated.

The great cause of building an advanced Soviet culture requires great creative efforts by composers and musicologists and the extensive development of criticism and self-criticism. The wise principles of the Bolshevist party and Comrade Stalin inspire Soviet composers to overcome all difficulties, to create music worthy of the Soviet people.

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

Saturday, May 7, 1955 Sun Reporter

◆ THEATRES

The Mambo Roundup

By Newell Johnson

Miss Cha-Cha-Cha, Josephine Baker, considered by many to be Negro America's Joan of Arc, closed her one-woman show at the Geary to head to Southern California's more attractive financial opportunities. But the youthful 48-year-old entertainer and philosophical leader did not lack for enthusiastic response in the community. Traffic was stopped on Mason St. as a wildly cheering group of her admirers stopped her car after the show to express their loyalty and support for her. Leading community organizations enthusiastically received her and were spiritually uplifted by her message and gracious humility. Men of Tomorrow gave her a rising ovation, The California Council of Cosmetologists meeting in the plush atmosphere of LEOLA KING'S BLUE MIRROR were wildly enthusiastic about her discussion of beauty methods and materials used by Negro women throughout the entire world. The Third Baptist Church, filled to capacity, heard her in a major address concerning her loyalty to the United States and her people, in contrast to the distortions of her dettractors. A.M.E. Zion heard her in a discussion of religion and culture, and the National Council of Negro Women feted her at a dinner party at Mr. and Mrs. Fred Stone's. Of the many dinner parties given in her honor, the one given by Dr. and Mrs. Carlton B. Goodlett, publisher of the Sun-Reporter, was outstanding for the lush food prepared by circulation manager and gourmet Joe Johnson (no relation to the writer), and the gracious hosting of Willette Goodlett. It was one affair at which Miss Baker completely relaxed and did as she pleased.

The response to her by the Negro community has exceeded that offered any entertainer to date. And the reason: Miss Baker is not merely a Negro entertainer, but a Negro Leader of the highest calibre. Be sure to return to us after you have retired fro mthe stage as we know you can never retire from the problems of our day to day life, Josephine.

Two hundred and fifty people

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

REPRESSION IN KENYA

By PETTIS PERRY

THE BOURGEOIS press is full nowadays of the Mau Mau movement in Kenya. It sheds crocodile tears over the so-called terrorist actions of the people in this Crown colony of the British Empire. Though Kenya represents geographically as much territory as the combined area of France and Belgium, yet it has only a population of 5,500,000 Africans, with a few thousand Europeans and Indians.

Because of the general ignorance of the American population—both Negro and white—about Africa, it is necessary to indicate what the real problems are. Consider how backward are we in the U.S. with respect to Africa. If some one said he was going to Europe, immediately we would ask what country? But if one says he is going to Africa, no such question would arise, because it is not realized generally that Africa, like Europe, is a continent, consisting of many nations, and hundreds of tribes. Kenya, for example, is made up of several tribes, the dominant one being Kikuyu.

In the foreword to a pamphlet put out by the W.F.T.U. Publications, Ltd., called "Terror in Kenya," we read the following:

"Against the defenseless people, with a population of less than 5½ million, the Government is using Lancashire Fusiliers from the Suez Canal Zone, additional troops from Tanganyika and Uganda, naval and air forces, police dogs, armed European settlers and armoured cars.

"Already 5,000 innoncent people have been rounded up and placed behind barbed wire, without charge or trial. In addition, 108 political leaders have been banished to the remote northern frontier.

"The independent schools, catering for 62,000 pupils, which the people of Kikuyu tribe had patiently built up at the cost of great self-sacrifice to make up for the Government's neglect of education, are to be closed as a source of 'evil influence' because they taught their pupils that they had a right to national independence. The people's livelihood their cattle, sheep and goats—are being rounded up by the troops and armed settlers, and the people hunted down like dogs, in a vain attempt to crush their movement for freedom, independence, land, trade union rights and decent wages. Fascist laws have been introduced, nine newspapers suppressed, and meetings of more than three people banned. A reign of terror has thus been introduced."

•

THIS SUMMARIZES what underlies the whole struggle now going on in Kenya.

Kenya was one of those colonial areas that British imperialism began to fasten its hooks onto during the 20th Century. In 1901 there were only 13 white Europeans in this British Crown Colony. Today there are 29,660 whites; 3,000, including their families, are actually engaged in agriculture. There are 90,528 Indians engaged in agriculture. There are 90,528 Indians engaged primarily in trade, and 24,174 Arabs, plus 5,500,000 Africans. **The 3,000 Europeans have monopolized more than 50 percent of the arable land, while the 5,500,000 Africans retain uncertain possession of the remainder of the land.** Such is the "free world" we are called upon to maintain with our lives and fortunes.

The East African synidcate was given 320,000 acres of land. The Uplands of East African Syndicate, 350,000 acres, and the Grogan Forrest concessions 200,000 acres.

The leader of the early white settlers in this area was Lord Delaware, who took for himself a 100,000 acres of this great steal.

The living conditions in Kenya, like the living conditions in South Africa, defy description. For the last 50 years Kenya Africans have been confronted with systematic ejections from their land without being given anything in return.

Sam Wood, in a chapter of the pamphlet quoted above, describes the situation as follows:

"Housing and health conditions are appalling. The Kenya Medical Officer himself has stated that there are 55,000 cases of active pulmonary tuberculosis in Kenya and possibly more than 8,000 deaths a year from this disease. Semi-starvation is everywhere.

"Housing is so bad that heavy rains bring down the huts. In the new Nairobi 'housing estate,' rents for a single room are more than half the average wages received." (Also reprint from W.F.T.U., No. 12, 1951.)

These are the conditions from which the people in this oppressed colony are suffering. Such is the blessing of western civilization, western democracy, and "our way of life."

BRITISH IMPERIALISTS conduct a "trial" of Kikuyu members in a Naivasha courtroom in Kenya, as part of the British terror aimed to smash the struggle of the Africans for land.

ONE OF THE outstanding African leaders, Desmond Buckle, in the same pamphlet points out that many Africans are unable to find accommodation in the overcrowded reserves they have been forced to live in as squatters on European plantations. He further points out that while these squatters vary in number from time to time, there are never fewer than 250,000 at any one time. Further on he says:

"The white planters do not object to 'squatters' by these landless Africans, for it provides them with a means of exacting unpaid labor. In many cases these Africans are obliged to give 180 days free labor in the year to the white landlords for the right to live precariously on land which once belonged to them." (Emphasis—P.P.)

Think of it! Africans in their own country, must give to their unwelcome guest, 180 days free labor. That means a half-year's work, given for the simple purpose of having some place indoors to sleep.

Perhaps the readers will remember the year 1949 when a mass forced eviction, at the point of British bayonets, took place in Olengurone, Kenya. More 11,800 men, women and children were driven out of their huts, with clubs and guns. Crops and food stocks were destroyed, and livestock numbering 1,600 head of cattle and nearly 9,000 goats forcibly confiscated. There was no outcry on the part of the bourgeois press in this country, or any other country, of "terror reigns in Kenya," which we hear all around us today.

•

IN THE LITTLE colony of Kenya, roughly since 1939, there has been a mass upsurge on the part of workers and peasants.

This has been particularly evident in the united labor struggles, led by the railway union, in 1947-48-49, and in the flare-ups of 1950-51, reaching greater intensity in 1952.

The Churchill government, together with the reactionary British Labor leaders, are doing everything possible to wreck the trade union movement in Kenya. Here we have one of the highest degrees or organization to be found in many capitalist areas. There are 385,000 in employment out of a total of five and one-half million Africans, yet 100,000 of these are organized. This presents the ruling class of Britain and the U. S. with a frightening question. Are these colonial subjects fighting for the independence of their country.

This African freedom movement is in accord with what is happening on a world scale, where colonial peoples have decided they will no longer live in the old way. They are therefore entering the struggle for complete independence and freedom from the fetter of imperialist oppression.

The so-called "terror" the N.Y. Times pretends is present in the development of the colonial freedom fight is simply an ever-increasing development of guerilla warfare. It is stated that Africans descended on one village, captured over 3,000 rounds of ammunition, many firearms, and opened the doors of one of the jails and released 150 prisoners, allegedly leaders of the Mau Mau movement.

It may be that the movement takes care of all Africans who decide to work as flunkeys for British imperialism, instead of joining the movement for liberation. This cannot be considered terrorist in the sense that that word is generally used. This is a form of liberation struggle peculiarly suited to Kenya.

•

THE WORKING CLASS and Negro people of the United States should come to the aid of the struggling people of Kenya and all Africa, demanding that British and U. S. imperialism halt its terror and suppression of the Kenyan people. We should demand that both British and U. S. imperialists get out of Kenya, get out of Africa. This is extremely important for the Peace and Democratic forces all over the country. Only by the strongest possible international solidarity can Kenya be freed.

Because the North Koreans are fighting to maintain their independence, they are called co-aggressors. And it is not terror and terroristic action when U. S. armed forces kill millions of Korean civilians with napalm bombs and other weapons, and destroy the homes of millions of others. Oh, no! This is a police action!

When the people of Viet Nam attempt to expel from their territory an alien oppressor—the French imperialists — they are termed "bandits." When the Malayan and African people tell the British imperialists to go home, they are terrorists.

But we, Marxists in the United States and elsewhere, say to all peoples fighting for their independence against imperialism that they are fighting a worthy cause in the interest of humanity. We support their fight for liberation as our own, as an integral part of the fight for peace, democracy and socialism.

U.S. BLOCKS ROBESON JOURNEY TO VANCOUVER

Vancouver Sun 1/31/52

Turned Back At Blaine

United States immigration officials at Blaine, Washington, today refused permission for Negro concert singer Paul Robeson to cross the border into Canada on his way to Vancouver.

Robeson was called into the office of U.S. immigration officials at the Blaine station when he applied to cross the border at 1 p.m., and an hour later emerged from the questioning to say he had been refused permission to leave the country.

Robeson, on his way to sing at a labor rally here, was driving in a private auto from Seattle when U.S. immigration officials stopped him at the border.

Shortly before, San Francisco attorney Vince Hallinan, defense counsel for longshoremen's leader Harry Bridges, was taken off a Great Northern passenger train at Blaine and refused permission to leave the United States.

U.S. district immigration director John P. Boyd said the action against Hallinan was taken "in the best interests of the United States."

Robeson was coming to Canada in a car driven by Lou Cochran of Tacoma, Wash., district 7 international representative of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers.

Both Robeson and Hallinan were scheduled to appear at a special session of the fourth annual Canadian convention of the Communist-led Mine, Mill union.

PAUL ROBESON
. . . can't leave U.S.

"DOMESTIC ARREST"

Paul Robeson told The Vancouver Sun today he must hereafter consider himself under "domestic arrest" in the United States.

He said he protested vigorously to U.S. immigration inspector Everett J. Strapp.

Mr. Robeson said his passport was lifted in 1950 because his speeches outside the United States "are not in the interests of the republic."

The ban today on his departure was for the same reason and was based on an "arbitrary direction" of the State Department which he is appealing to the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeal in the U.S. capitol, Mr. Robeson said.

"Passports are not required for Americans going to Canada and I am the first American barred from leaving his country to visit Canada," said Mr. Robeson. "I presumed that the Canadian government, which has barred others, would not bar me."

MASS VISIT

Immediately the action against Hallinan was made known today, more than 70 delegates at the convention scheduled a mass visit to the offices of the U.S. Consulate here to demand reversal of the immigration order.

Mine, Mill officials said they could see no reason behind the refusal to allow Hallinan to leave the U.S. since he was recently allowed to go to England and returned only a few months ago.

The U.S. passport of the pro-Russian bass, who has travelled to and praised Communist Russia, was cancelled in August of 1950 because the U.S. State Department thought Robeson's activities abroad had not always been in the American interest.

Robeson was scheduled to sing Friday at 8 p.m. in the Auditorium, Denman and Georgia, at a special public session of the Mine, Mill union.

With him on the program was to be Hallinan, defense counsel for San Francisco longshoreman's leader Harry Bridges. Bridges is presently appealing a U.S. court's perjury conviction handed down after he denied he had ever been a member of the Communist Party.

Before he came, Robeson said he wanted to sing only to the working classes in Vancouver and invitation went only to members of the Mine, Mill Union and friends of the organization.

"There is no indication now that the meeting will be cancelled" an official of the union said, just before the meeting.

TAKEN FROM TRAIN

Hallinan was removed from a Great Northern passenger car at 11:35 a.m. by two United States border guards acting under Boyd's orders.

Boyd said that under federal immigration laws either a citizen or an alien can be prevented from leaving the United States. Both Robeson and Hallinan are citizens of the United States.

Hallinan was not detained here but he was given written notice that if he attempted to cross the border he would be subject to criminal provisions of the law which provides for a maximum fine and jail sentence of $5000 and five years in the federal penitentiary.

ROBESON SUES ACHESON

Calif Eagle 12/28/50

Famed Singer, Speaker Asks Return of Passport

Paul Robeson, internationally known singer and spokesman for the Negro people of the United States and the world, has brought civil action in the United States District Court for the District of Columbia, against Dean G. Acheson as an individual and as Secretary of State for his "arbitrary, unreasonable, illegal and unconstitutional" action in cancelling Robeson's passport and refusing to allow him to leave the country.

Robeson asks the court to render a declaratory judgement that Acheson has no right or authority to cancel his passport, to demand its surrender or to prevent the singer from traveling abroad.

The court is also asked to order Acheson to revoke the cancellation of Robeson's passport and to cease and desist from any acts having the object of preventing him from leaving the U.S.

The complaint filed by Robeson's attorneys points out that he has been granted passports since 1922, and that his present passport, which he has refused to surrender, is valid until Jan. 25, 1951.

"Plaintiff, in addition to his profession as an artist, for many years has been active as a speaker, organizer and participant in political and other activities looking toward the advancement of the welfare of the American people, particularly of the 15,000,000 Negro Americans, and other minorities of working men and women; the welfare and in-

(Continued on Page 2)

Robeson Sues

(Continued from Page 1)

ependence of colonial people, o matter what their race, creed r color; and the advancement nd preservation of peace in the orld," the complaint reads.

"Plaintiff has a national and international reputation as a spokesman for large sections of the Negro people, for other minorities, and for the working men and women of the United States; and is particularly recognized as an opponent of all forms of discrimination based on race, creed or color."

Acheson's action in cancelling Robeson's passport prevented the artist from fulfilling singing engagements in Scandinavia, Italy and the British Isles; as well as several speaking engagements in other European countries.

Robeson's right to travel freely and his rights of freedom of speech, thought, assembly, petition and association are guaranteed to him, as to any other American citizen, under the First and Fifth Amendments to the U.S. Constitution.

Action of cancellation of the passport and of steps taken to prevent Robeson from going abroad without a passport are violations of Articles I and III of the Constitution and of the Ninth and Tenth Amendments.

The complaint charges that Acheson's action was motivated because he "does not approve or agree with the plaintiff's political thoughts, views and opinions" and that Acheson was influenced because Robeson "is a Negro and is a generally acknowledged spokesman for large sections of the Negro people, both in the United States and elsewhere . . ."

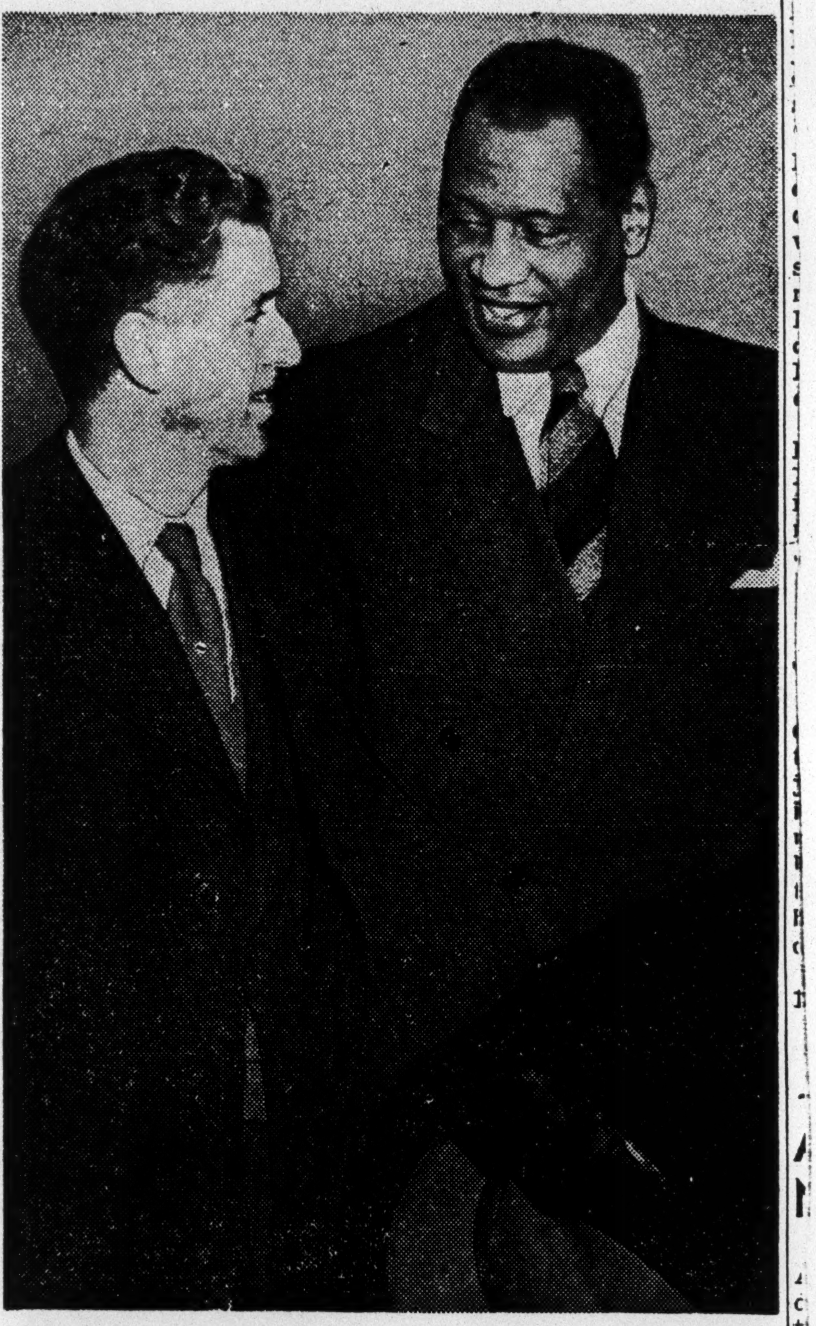
The reason given by the State Department at the time of cancellation was that "The action was taken because the Department considers that Paul Robeson's travels abroad at this time would be contrary to the best interests of the United States."

Acheson also violated Article 13, paragraph 2 of the Charter of the United Nations, which provides:

"Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country."

The complaint was filed Dec. 19. Acheson has 20 days in which to reply after which the case will be set for trial.

BEST AVAILABLE COPY



REFUSED PERMISSION to cross border into Canada by U.S. authorities Thursday, Paul Robeson, Negro singer, chats with William Stewart, Marine Workers' Union official who was one of party of Vancouverites who went to Blaine to welcome the singer.

Vancouver Sun

2/1/52

Vancouver Sun 2/7/52

Robeson—Born 30 Years Too Soon

Let there be no mawkish sympathy wasted on Paul Robeson the American Negro bass-baritone who this week was prevented by his government from leaving the United States.

If sympathy there must be let it be the right kind. Robeson was born 30 years too soon.

He was tolerated at Rutgers University in his student days because he was a brilliant scholar and athlete. They appreciated him because he remembered he was "a nigger" and didn't try to attend college dances and the like.

In contrast, two years ago another brilliant Negro athlete and scholar was overwhelmingly elected president of the senior class at Rutgers and attends college dances as a matter of course.

That's the measure of the change that has come over the status of the Negro in most of the U.S. But Robeson, living in the embittered past, ignores this.

Robeson has not allowed his brilliant success as actor and singer, the applause of continents of white people, to dim the memory of slights which occurred 30 years ago. Nor has he lost the sting of a discrimination fancied or real which he alleges stopped him practising law in the States.

Perhaps applause of another kind which he received in Soviet Russia turned his head a little and made him say to the Communist Daily Worker in 1936, "I've lived in Europe and America and I've almost circled the globe, but for myself, my wife and my son, the Soviet Union is our future home."

He has often called Russia his "second motherland." He sent his son to school there.

But it wasn't these words and deeds that caused the U.S. State Department 18 months ago to cancel his passport and refuse to allow him to leave the U.S.

Robeson became a propagandist for the Soviet Union and the Communist Revolution.

Worse, he cried down his own country and government abroad.

People who heard him speak six years ago in Vancouver will recall how he attacked the state departments of all the free countries. In 1940 he refused to sing in aid of the Finnish Defense Fund on the ground that Russia, in attacking that tiny state, had probably acted in self-defense.

He created another sensation by declaring in Paris before the Red-inspired World Peace Congress of 1949, that American Negroes would never fight against the Soviet Union. Negroes wiser and more balanced, such as William White, head of the Society for the Advancement of Colored People, and Jackie Robinson, the great baseball star, promptly disavowed Robeson. He has been accused by Rabbi Benjamin Schultz of New York of taking part in "a deliberate Communist conspiracy to inflame racial and religious minorities against the United States."

He was a leader in the "Hands off Korea" agitation in the U.S.

The U.S. official action in depriving him of his right to leave his country may not be the wisest thing. But Canadians know it is none of their business. And if they're reasonable they can't, after studying Robeson's career, blame the Americans too much.

Four years ago the Washington Times-Herald said that Robeson was "acting like a Russian agent sent here to start trouble." The same newspaper asked why, if he loved Russia as much as he says, he doesn't go there to live.

Perhaps Robeson himself gave the best answer to this in his interview to the Daily Worker, quoted above.

"For a while . . . I wouldn't feel right to go there to live. By singing its praises wherever I go I think I can be of most value to it."

He might have added . . . "and by vilifying my own country I can be of even greater value to Russia."

The Robeson Passport

Action of the U. S. State Department in cancelling the passport of Paul Robeson, strikes us, at first glance, as an unnecessary and unreasonable blunder.

While we hold no brief for Mr. Robeson's beliefs or utterances, we cannot see how the State Department, in justice, can deprive one citizen of his rights while, at the same time, permitting others to move about freely without penalty.

Some of the things that Mr. Robeson has said about the U.S. may not have been palatable, but no one has yet come forward with an official denial of them.

On the other hand, countless white Americans have been permitted to travel the world over with State Department sanction, spewing their venomous views on racial relations wherever they saw fit. Haven't such persons actually done the cause of democracy more harm than can ever be done by a score of Robesons?

Keeping Robeson at home won't stop him from thinking, talking and writing. We dislike the idea of seeing anyone gagged, especially when the basis for such gagging is not clearly based upon proven charges.

There are many others far more dangerous than Paul. What about them?

> *We are Americans, and as Americans we would speak to America.*
>
> FREDERICK DOUGLASS

Afro-Amer., 8/5/50

CALIFORNIA EAGLE
[28 DEC. 1950]

Group Protests Ban on Paul's Passport, Promised Study

"Careful consideration" of the Paul Robeson passport matter has been promised to a group of nine women and men who protested its revocation by the U.S. State Department. The promise was made by Ben Crosby of the Department's public liaison division on Wednesday.

The group told Mr. Crosby that the cancelation of the passport was authoritarian, arbitrary, unprecedented, unjustified, unfair; was discrimination against colored people, and an assault on all civil liberties of American people.

One spokesman for the group, Mrs. Chistina Staneslow, who represented the People's Party of Connecticut, said that the State Department act takes away the famed singer's means of livelihood since he must travel aboard to earn money to live. A written reply was promised to the group.

2d Section
Seattle Post-Intelligencer
Finance, Shipping News,
Classified Ads
Sat., Feb. 2, 1952 S★★ 9

ROBESON SAYS HE WILL WIN PASSPORT FIGHT

Singer Attacks Truman And Acheson In Plight

By Fergus Hoffman

Paul Robeson, warned by the United States government not to enter Canada, chafed impatiently in Seattle Friday and predicted he will defeat the U. S. State Department's efforts to restrict his international travels.

The Negro singer turned back from the border at Blaine Thursday when he was told he would make himself liable to fine and imprisonment if he crossed the border.

Robeson said he believes the U. S. order was issued because the Canadian government refused to yield to U. S. pressure and exclude him from Canada.

'CANADA UPSET'—

"The people in Canada are upset about this," he said. "I am amazed at the hysteria which seems to be rife only in this country. Other nations don't feel this way about me."

Describing himself as a loyal American, "loyal to the basic principles of this nation," he added:

"But am I supposed to be loyal to Byrnes of North Carolina who wants segregated schools or to a Warren of Florida where we Negroes are bombed in our beds?"

Robeson blamed his trouble with the State Department on his efforts to help other Negroes in their fight for equal rights.

"I'm here in Seattle and not in Vancouver because I'm an American, a black American, who dares to stand up and say I'm as good as you are!" he said.

Robeson has appealed to the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals to force the State Department to return his passport to him. It was withdrawn and cancelled on the grounds that speeches he made abroad did not always reflect the best interests of the American people.

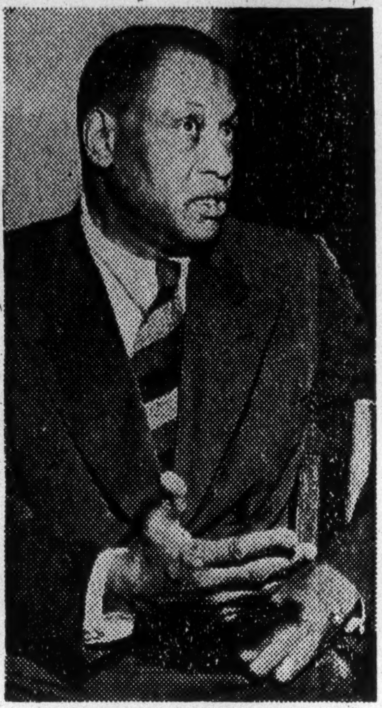
'FREE SPEECH'—

"I'm confident the court will rule in my favor," he said. "What else can it do? The basic question is that of free speech and in my case there's also a property right—I'm being deprived of my interest in concerts which are my livelihood."

Recalling his frequent visits to Seattle when he was booked for concerts at downtown theaters and on the University of Washington campus, Robeson said he has grown closer to the Negro population since he made up his mind to "fight for freedom."

"I'm going to take up a concert tour next month, but the same people won't be handling my appearances," he said. "I wouldn't let them, but they wouldn't anyway, because I'll be singing for the people, for the Negroes, for the labor unions. They'll get the first chance at the tickets."

Robeson blasted President Truman and Secretary of State Dean Acheson for the Korean war and insisted that peace should be established in Korea and relations assumed with Red China.

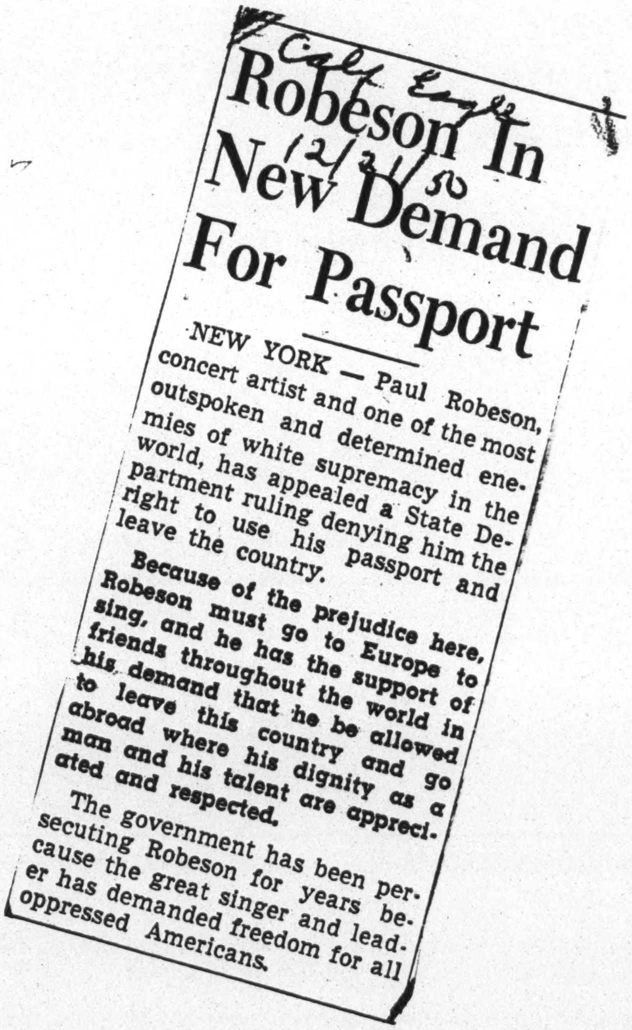


PAUL ROBESON
Bitter Over U. S. Action
—(Post-Intelligencer Photo.)

'FOR PEACE'—

"This border business is a result of disagreeing with the administration, the Truman administration," he insisted. "I am for peace, for peace in Korea and throughout the world, and I dare to stand up and say so.

"Acheson and Truman—I disagree with them and I have a right to do so, and the courts will uphold that right. I am American and nobody is going to tell me where I can go or what I can say."



Cal. Eagle
12/21/50

Robeson In New Demand For Passport

NEW YORK — Paul Robeson, concert artist and one of the most outspoken and determined enemies of white supremacy in the world, has appealed a State Department ruling denying him the right to use his passport and leave the country.

Because of the prejudice here, Robeson must go to Europe to sing, and he has the support of friends throughout the world in his demand that he be allowed to leave this country and go abroad where his dignity as a man and his talent are appreciated and respected.

The government has been persecuting Robeson for years because the great singer and leader has demanded freedom for all oppressed Americans.

THE JEWISH CHRONICLE APRIL 8, 1938

PAUL ROBESON SINGS ENGEL'S KADDISH

An Interpreter of All Peoples

A new and even deeper, more varied, quality is entering into Paul Robeson's recitals these days, and last Sunday afternoon at the Albert Hall that quality was very evident. He does not confine himself to the medium in which he is superlative, that of spirituals, but is finding songs of other peoples which also have meaning and point for him. Thus his first group of songs included "Go Down Moses," and also a modern Soviet song, "Song of Kazakstan," expressive of the new spirit of Soviet Russia. His second group included another Cossack song, "Flame up Vengeance"—even more expressive of that spirit, and among the encores after this group he included one of the most popular songs of the U.S.S.R., "My Vast Native Country," and also one of the songs of the Spanish Republic.

Here was Robeson's deep humanity and sympathy with other races coming strongly to the forefront, and this was emphasised still further when, as the first item of his third group, he sang in Hebrew Engel's "Kaddish." Magnificent was his interpretation of this eloquent plea, and his voice throbbed, even turned harsh and rough, as he cried, "Let there be an end to all these sufferings and woes." Perhaps, if he had sung the song in English, it would have made an even more direct appeal to the audience who, even so, was moved to some of the most vigorous applause of the afternoon. He closed the recital with such a fervent and moving rendering of "Ole Man Ribber," such a powerfully sincere declaration of faith: "I must keep struggling, until I'm dying," that it marked the climax of a recital great not merely in vocal achievement, but in simple, heartfelt emotion.

In between Robeson's groups, in which Lawrence Brown assisted not only at the piano, but with effective vocal accompaniment more than once, Edna Iles and Anton Maaskoff contributed with first-rate violin and piano solos.

"DIE SCHONE MULLERIN"

Schubert's song cycle, "Die Schöne Müllerin," is rarely sung in its entirety, though it contains some of the composer's most lovely songs. Thus, the opportunity of hearing Mark Raphael give it all at the Grotrian Hall last week was not to be missed by anyone who loves Schubert. The cycle plumbs the depths of human lyrical emotion, and it calls for not only a profound understanding of the changes of mood from song to song, and a sense of the completeness and inevitability of the work as a whole, but a vocal range and coloration which few baritones possess, and certainly, though one regrets to have to say it, not Mark Raphael. He had sufficient understanding, and his singing was marked throughout by true artistic enjoyment, but his voice is too light and at the same time insufficiently flexible and controlled to do all it is called upon to do. The culminating song of the first section,

MUSIC—Continued on page 7

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

1/19/55

NEW YORK TIMES, WE

NEGRO JOB WATCH IS SET ON RADIO-TV

National Association Seeking More Employment Opportunities for Artists and Others

A "watchdog" committee was set up last night by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to determine what steps were being taken to assure more jobs for Negroes in radio an dtelevision.

The special group was named at a regular meeting of the New York branch of the association in 165 West 131st Street. This followed an earlier request to broadcasting companies to provide greater employment opportunities for Negro artists and other workers.

The committee will make its survey and will submit its findings late in February. Then a mass meeting will be called by the association to discuss any further steps.

Odell M. Clarke, vice president of the New York branch of the association, previously had been named to appoint and head the "watchdog" group. He listed these members:

Edward Lewis, executive secretary of the New York branch of the Urban League; Edward Dudley, former Ambassador to Liberia; Russell P. Crawford, president of the New York branch of the association; Miss Aloncita Flood, treasurer of the branch; Richard Campbell, representing actors; Willie Bryant, who conducts a disk-jockey program, and Alvin Webb of The Amsterdam News.

Public Discussion

Last night's meeting was the outgrowth of a public discussion on the same subject last Saturday night at the Harlem branch of the Young Men's Christian Association, 108 West 135th Street.

All local stations and the networks had been asked to send representatives to that meeting, Mr. Clarke said. Four radio stations sent men. The American Broadcasting Company, the Columbia Broadcasting System and the National Broadcasting Company told Mr. Clarke before that meeting that they would not be represented but would cooperate in all possible ways on decisions reached at the meeting.

Before the end of the meeting Pau Robeson, singer, entered the hall. Mr. Robeson, who has been associated with many Left-Wing activities, was not expected to attend, Mr. Clarke said.

"When you have an open meeting of that sort you can't bar people from it," he added. "Before he arrived I had announced that anyone who was not anti-Communist was not welcome.

"Paul is no more interested in getting justice than I am in jumping off the Empire State Building. We have no intention of being identified with him.

"I told him three times to sit down. He was recognized for a question only and he was going to make a speech."

Spokesmen for the three networks reiterated last night that they would discuss any situations regarding employment policies that were brought to their attention by the association.

PAUL ROBESON

A POEM

By DAVID GORDON

Like stirring bells, the golden voice resounded:
"I'm glad, yes, I'm glad to be here."
Where was he glad to be?
With whom, forever?

With working men and working women;
With Negro and with white;
With those who suffer,
With those who fight.

Note well the possessive contentment of the
smiles;
The confident warmth of love in eyes, wrinkled
at the corners;
The happy faces that so surely seem to say,
"There we are, in him;
"And there is he,
"Walking in strong stride;
"There he is
"And yet
"A bit of him is here,
"In each of us."

What have we here?
And, to begin, what have we not in him?
We say "what have we not in him?"
For here, indeed, is something rare.

His music's in his life;
His life is in his music.
His music is a proclamation:

Of the woes of his people,
And of their liberating story;
Of the white workers' plight and careless
battle for life;
He sings against the money-men
(Whose rule is only for the moment,
For their rule by ever violent death and
slavery
Cannot forever flaunt the need for life and
freedom for the mass);

And every note he sings rolls out in deep defiance
All the hopes of all for peace and bread;
And every song brings heart and spirit to the
never-ending labor
For a People's Land.

His proclamations are as music:
For in his vibrant prose as in his music,
We clearly hear him say—
"Oppressed so hard, they could not stand,
"Let my people go!"

He is a melodious symphony
His song-word and word-song is heard
Above King Capital's cacophony.
The people bend their natural ear to hear his
harmonies.
The venal and banal soul-jarrings of jimcrow,
The raucous cries of hangmen of the Negroes;
The white-Elite constricted airs of crass discrimination
Cannot shut out his turbulent and beautiful
tunes
Of unity of black and white
To end oppression by the common enemy.

Thanks, thanks to you, sisters and brothers of
the Soviet land,
Thanks to you for the naming of a high mountain
with the name of Paul Robeson.
For the man is a mountain,
And when one day we have climbed the mountain to its highest peak
We'll truly know what makes a man like him.
When we will have scaled our own great social
heights,
As you've scaled yours,
Dear men and women of Socialist freedom,
Paul Robeson's name will thunder from each
mountain top,
And his name will be heard in lush valleys and
life-giving forests,
And his name will course the rivers,
And will be sounded in the factories and farms,
And will be emblazoned in our books.

PAUL ROBESON

Paul Robeson's name now spells th
of the Negro,
And his name is the music of w
emancipation,
The orchestration of that epic score
Composed by Marx and Lincoln,
And by worker white and by the
No people can be free so long as
enslaved.

Then, when all will have climbed
height,
Our lives, our work, our songs will
For the selfless giving of Paul Rob
share today.

Oh everyone must say with Paul t
"I'm glad, yes, I'm glad to be here."

Ted Tinsley Says

Worker's World

Persecuted

WHEN they stop me speaking in American Universities because I am "un-American," when they persecute the best progressives in America because they are supposed to be more concerned with other nations than their own, I ask them whether they have not yet realised that to-day no nation can live by itself. Every nation is part of the world.

We are constantly told in America that we are part of the Western world (I would note in passing that this geographical designation includes Turkey and Japan).

They tell me that my son, aged 21, as an American, is part of a revived Fascist Western Germany, that as an American I am part of a nation that is beginning to filter funds to Franco, that is aiding Fascist Greece and reactionary Turkey, that is about to begin another rape of Africa

I belong to another America. I will not belong to Franco's world; I belong to the world of Republican Spain, of resistance Greece and the new democracies. I belong to the America which seeks friendship with the Soviet Union. I am a friend of Israel, not of the oil interests; I am a friend of the new China, not of a revived Fascist Japan.

I, too, am America.

(World Copyright)

DAILY NEWS
[25 NOV 1955]

WCC Fosters Anti-Negro Laws

(Fourth article in a series)

By JAMES DESMOND

JACKSON, Miss., Nov. 24.—The White Citizens Councils of Mississippi—the new Klan that enforces thought control by economic pressures—claims sole credit for the passage of two amendments to the state constitution in the first six months of the WCC's life.

The amendments provide for: (1) Raising the minimum qualifications for voters so it will be easier for local election boards to disfranchise Negroes, and (2) empowering the State Legislature to abolish the public schools "as a last resort in order to prevent racial integration in these schools."

The claim to sole credit, or discredit as the case may be, is officially put forward by Robert B. (Tut) Patterson, executive secretary and one of the founders, in the first annual report of the White Citizens Council.

The claim may be exaggerated (although it is a fact that the voting amendment was defeated in 1952 before the WCC came into being), but the fact that it could be seriously advanced is a

(Continued on page 36, col. 1)

INDEX TO FEATURES

	Page		Page
C. D. Batchelor	37	Movies	64
Beauty	56	Obituaries	50
Bridge, Goren	54	Parents, Children	61
Correct Thing	57	Patterns	56
Crossword	50	People's Voice	37
Editorial	37	Powerhouse	72
Fashions	50	Recipe	57
Fishing	75	Serial Story	40
Food	57	Short Story	48
Friend in Need	62	Sports	70
Hedda Hopper	58	Ed Sullivan	58
Horoscope	64	Bob Sylvester	58
Inquiring Fotog.	37	Theatres	62
Jumble	60	TV, Radio	66
Love Advice	40	Dr. Van Dellen	68

Comics

Gasoline Alley	60	Smilin' Jack	65
Davy Crockett	69	Smitty	64
Dondi	40	Brenda Starr	67
Moon Mullins	75	Terry	48
The Neighbors	56	Dick Tracy	50
Orphan Annie	56	Winnie Winkle	57

New Klan Fosters Anti-Negro Laws

(Continued from page 2)

measure of how far the White Citizens Councils have come in less than a year and a half.

And this giant stride—the WCC has grown from a handful of men to 300 councils with over 60,000 members paying more than $300,000 a year in dues in Mississippi alone—has put the WCC into politics on an important scale, no matter the ready protestations of its leaders that the movement is "non-political."

On the local level, the WCC already has succeeded in electing several of its leaders to the State House of Representatives (how many, precisely, it is impossible to check until the Legislature convenes). And on the local level, also, it works closely with sheriffs, who are the county political bosses, in enforcing segregation.

And, although the WCC has no copyright on the Mississippi determination to preserve segregation, it is a fact that in last summer's bitterly-fought Democratic primaries (tantamount to election, here) all five candidates, including Attorney General J. P. Coleman, who won the run-off and is now Governor-elect, took strong pro-segregation positions.

Influence Question Is a Moot Point

So the question whether the WCC influenced the election is, as the lawyers say, moot.

But there's nothing moot about the fact that Judge Tom P. Brady (rhymes with caddy), the ideologist and chief orator of the White Citizens Councils, has been preaching third party, not only in Mississippi but in surrounding states, ever since the WCC was founded.

Brady tells his audiences, as he wrote in his book, "Black Monday," that white Southerners can't support either the Republican or Democratic Parties as they are presently constituted. He wants an all-South bloc either

ented drive for intermarriage of the races because both Administrations relaxed segregation in the armed forces.

In these circumstances, Brady says, the 17 Southern states must federate in a regional organization, to be joined by like-minded people in other states throughout the Union, to exert pressure on Congress.

"Needless to say in these state organizations prohibitions relating to membership can be strictly drawn and these prohibitions need not relate only to race or color," Brady proclaims.

But the core of his proposed political organization is the Southern states, which would undertake to throw solid supsport to everything tended to strengthen and sustain segregation.

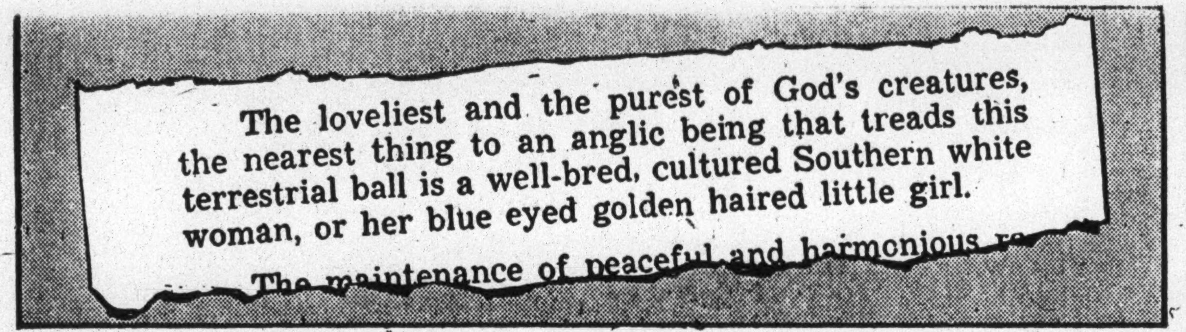
And the White Citizens Councils, by virtue of their numbers, were an important factor when just such a Southern bloc, calling

John U. Barr **Sen. J. Strom Thurmond** **Ex-Gov. Fielding Wright**

Dixiecrats who lead the segregation-minded Federation for Constitutional Government.

Rep. F. Edward Hebert **Sen. James O. Eastland** **Ex-Gov. Sam H. Jones** **Ex-Gov. Coke Stevenson**

Other leaders of the federation, which has strong connections with the White Citizens Councils.



The loveliest and the purest of God's creatures, the nearest thing to an anglic being that treads this terrestrial ball is a well-bred, cultured Southern white woman, or her blue eyed golden haired little girl.

The maintenance of peaceful and harmonious

A typical excerpt from the anti-Negro book, "Black Monday."

to go it alone or pressure the major parties.

Brady's big pitch is that miscenegation is the goal of all desegregationists and he customarily warms up his audiences by telling them:

"The loveliest and the purest of God's creatures, the nearest thing to an angelic being that treads this terrestial ball is a well-bred cultured, Southern white woman or her blue-eyed, gold-haired little girl."

Warns on Overtures For the Negro Vote

But he goes on to warn that the Republican and Democratic parties are angling for the "three-million bloc-voting Negroes of the North and East and of California" and will make concessions to woo their support.

"Let's get one thing unmistakably clear," Brady says. "These Northern Negroes are determined to mongrelize America. They want the race to 'pass.' The Soviet Union could not be adverse to such. In fact it would be to Russia quite a victory for Communism. . . . The Negro proposes to breed up his inferior intelligence and whiten his skin and 'blow out the light' in the white man's brain and muddy his skin."

Brady blames the Truman and Eisenhower Administrations equally for contributing to what he says is the Communist-ori- itself the Federation for Constitutional Government, was organized in New Orleans late in October.

The federation has a strong Dixiecrat tinge. It is headed up by John U. Barr, the New Orleans industrialist who commands tremendous wealth, and its advisory committee sounds like a rollcall of a Dixiecrat convention.

On the list, for example, are Sen. J. Strom Thurmond, of South Carolina, and ex-Gov. Fielding Wright of Mississippi, who were the Dixiecrat candidates for President and Vice President, respectively, in 1948.

Among the other advisers are Sen. James O. Eastland of Mississippi, who has a rather avuncular relationship with the White Councils; former Govs. Sam H. Jones of Louisiana and Coke Stevenson of Texas, and Rep. F. Edward Herbert (D-La.).

This group is admittedly a "State's rights" organization and while the chairman, Barr, denies that it is actually a third party movement, that isn't important at the moment so far as the White Citizens Councils is concerned.

What is important is that by formally allying with the state's rights movement, the White Councils have served notice on Mississippi politicians and aspiring, officeholders that they are big enough now to be reckoned with at the polls.

This assertion of political power is peculiarly important in semi-feudal Mississippi where authority stems from the big planters, leading bankers and industrialists, and topflight politicians, in that order.

The mere fact that nothing is being done on the top level to curb the WCC indicates to the poor whites that the organization has the benevolent blessing of the true leaders of Mississippi.

It is this belief that has been blamed for the rise in violence throughout the state. Bullies and thugs, seeing their local community leaders sponsoring a militant organization to keep down the Negro, are finding license in the propaganda of the WCC to avenge themselves on Negroes for real and fancied slights, according to progressive Mississippians who have studied the problem.

Rising Tension Is Unmistakable

For while there is little evidence of a "reign of terror" as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People charged after the murder of Emmett Till last August, there are unmistakable signs of rising tension.

Item: In Greenville, Miss., a clean-cut, well-educated Negro bellhop reported that his family was keeping a gun at home for the first time in his life. "We've got to be ready to protect ourselves," he said.

Item: This reporter, who kept a white cab driver waiting outside the home of a Negro doctor for an hour, was called a "nigger lover"—the ultimate lower-class Mississippi insult—as the hackie drove off after collecting his fare and the tip.

Item: In Jackson, Negro cab drivers almost ostentatiously ignore the hails of white men trying to flag them down in Negro sections. White drivers have to be summoned by phone.

Talk to Reporter Made in Secrecy

Item: Two white men, making a date to meet this reporter, refused to call at his hotel. They insisted on a street corner meeting and drove around for an hour while talking over the situation. The explanation was that they would only be stirring up trouble for themselves by being seen talking to him.

These incidents simply point up the climate of tension and fear that has followed the White Citizens Councils, county by county and town by town, as they have expanded through Mississippi.

It Was Get Out Or Go Bankrupt

Let Dr. Emmett J. Stringer, of Columbus, president of the State NAACP, who is himself a victim of a credit freeze in his home community, tell a story.

"We had a branch president," he says, "a merchant who had to give up. A group of white men drove up to his store and told him to get in the car. He did and they took him to his bank and there were the banker, his wholesaler and other people who gave him credit. They told him they would give him no more credit.

"He had to give up, go bankrupt or get out."

Or take the case of Dr. Clinton Battle, in Indianola, where the WCC was born. In 1954, Battle registered to vote — the first Negro to try it in Sunflower County—and tried to get his fellow Negroes to do likewise.

The consequences: Battle's patients were told by their white bosses that he was a dangerous man and his practice has been shrinking so swiftly that it is questionable whether he can stay in Mississippi. One result: Dr. Battle stopped trying to get out a Negro vote and didn't even try to vote himself this year.

Then there was T. V. Johnson, an undertaker in Belzoni, who joined the Regional Council of Negro Leadership, which is fighting for desegregation. He was warned not to accept the chairmanship of the Negro Boy Scouts under threats that he would be stripped of credit and possibly run out of town.

Pressure on Whites Is More Subtle

The pressure against whites is more subtle. The outstanding case, of course, was the mass meeting in Holmes County ordering Dr. David R. Minter and A. E. Cox, his partner in a cooperative farm, to get out of town.

But white clerks have been fired for questioning the wisdom of the WCC and the early rash of letters to the editor that appeared in Mississipi newspapers denouncing the klannishness of the White Citizens Councils has all but disappeared.

All of which seems to indicate that the White Citizens Councils have now achieved a position of power so great that they can be stopped only by a major upheaval in Mississippi thinking.

(Through the climate of fear in which the WCC thrives, opposition voices are rising. Subject of tomorrow's fifth and last article of this series).

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

DAILY NEWS
[26 NOV. 1955]

Editor Fights Klan

Carter Wars on WCC's Economic Noose on South

(Fifth and last article of a series)

By JAMES DESMOND

GREENVILLE, Miss., Nov. 25.—Secrecy is the secret weapon of the White Citizens Councils of Mississippi, the new klan that enforces thought control by economic terrorism.

Because all important decisions are made at private committee meetings behind closed doors—and passed along to the membership by word of mouth rather than public announcements—the WCC has been able to create a climate of fear in which its opponents have been unable to organize.

As a consequence, the voices that speak out against the economic Kluxism of the WCC are scattered and, up to now, largely ineffectual.

But the opposition is widespread and as the hate preachments of Judge Tom P. Brady, the principal ideologist of the WCC, continue to offend thoughtful Mississippians it is rising in strength.

So far the opposition hasn't found a rallying point. But it has

(Continued on page 12, col. 1)

G

Editor Leads War Against Kluxers

(Continued from page 2)

found its most articulate spokesman in Hodding Carter, editor-owner of the Delta Democrat Times, published here in Greenville.

SEES THE DANGER, DAMNED FOR IT

Carter, who has been called the social conscience of the New South, was one of the first to detect the thought control tendency of the WCC and to see that Southern life was being stifled by the narrow bigotry of a movement guided by the ideology concocted by Judge Brady.

For his perspicacity, Carter has been damned as a liar by an 89-to-6 vote of the State House of Representatives. (He retorted, "I herewith resolve by a vote of 1-0 that there are 89 liars in the State Legislature, beginning with Speaker (Walter) Sillers."). And determined efforts have been made to cut into the circulation and advertising of his newspaper.

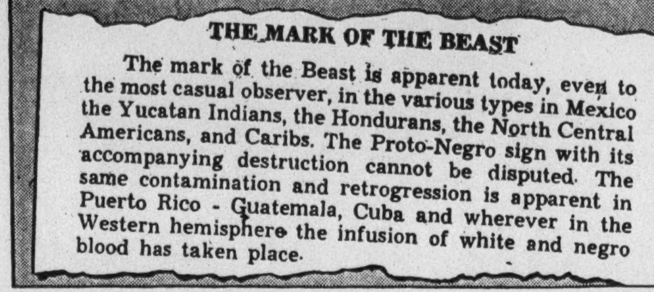
He shows no signs of giving up. So far, he says, he has been more than able to counterbalance losses and his circulation, fluctuating 50 to 100 copies one way or the other from week to week, has remained stable at about 12,500.

EDITOR STEPS UP HIS CAMPAIGN

His attack on the White Citizens Councils which he first published in an article in Look magazine last Spring has, meanwhile, sharpened. In his newspaper, the Delta Democrat Times, he is using front page editorials to slam at the economic sanctions of the WCC.

"We are not talking about one or two incidents," said one editorial. "This is a planned campaign entered upon by men whose behavior in this regard makes them blood-brothers of the Capone mob.

The late Emmett Till
Victim of Mississippi "justice"



THE MARK OF THE BEAST

The mark of the Beast is apparent today, even to the most casual observer, in the various types in Mexico the Yucatan Indians, the Hondurans, the North Central Americans, and Caribs. The Proto-Negro sign with its accompanying destruction cannot be disputed. The same contamination and retrogression is apparent in Puerto Rico - Guatemala, Cuba and wherever in the Western hemisphere the infusion of white and negro blood has taken place.

Another excerpt from the anti-Negro "Black Monday."

Sheriff Richard Byrd, right, fared well with a Mississippi jury in a libel suit arising from his shooting of a Negro boy. Left, Mrs. Hazel Brannon, Smith, Mississippi editor, whom the sheriff sued for libel. High court upset $10,000 Award

"Merchants, professional men and distributors have been approached. Some have already felt the lash.

"These 'protection sellers' make no bones about it. In some cases they tell their targets that unless they organize or join the Councils, they'll get no more business from Council members."

For a while, Carter's offensive was effective. It took the White Citizens Councils 11 months to organize Greenville—and even when it was organized the first three leading citizens approached spurned the chairmanship—but the WCC is now in the saddle here.

It has enlisted most of the merchants, lawyers, bankers and doctors, including Catholics and Jews who might be expected to oppose the movement, and it has been successful in putting the squeeze on a number of Negroes, including a Negro doctor whose patients are being warned against him.

Yet Carter is no desegregationist. Like most Mississippians who deplore the White Citizens Councils, he is dedicated to finding a "middleground" between the outright desegregation ordered by the U. S. Supreme Court on May 17, 1954, and the present system of rigid segregation so the state can have time to adjust to the new situation being brought about by its changing economy.

CHANGING TIMES, NEW REQUIREMENTS

For Mississippi is changing. The shrinkage of the world cotton market and the acreage limitations of the U. S. Department of Agriculture already have doomed the old plantation economy in which, tradition says, the gracious, cultured Southerner gave a kind of cradle-to-grave security to his Negroes.

In its place is rising a new industrialization. But industry requires skilled labor, or a reserve of labor that can be trained for its purpose. At present, Mississippi has no such reserve, partly because nearly all its schools and, of course, particularly its Negro schools, give little more than the bare rudiments of an education. Some industries have overcome this handicap in finding workers.

But it is the fear of forward-looking Mississippians that other industry may be frightened away from the state because of the rising race tensions stirred up by the mere existence of the White Citizens Councils.

The question is what can be done about the new Kluxism. One thing is certain: with its more than 65,000 members pouring dues at a rate in excess of $300,000 a year, the economic Klan isn't going to be easily overcome.

One suggestion that has gained wide support in an appeal to U.S. Attorney General Herbert Brownell to put the White Citizens Councils on the subversive list as a conspiracy to deprive American citizens of the right to earn their livings.

Such action, it is argued, would put the WCC on a par with the Communists whom it opposes so bitterly and might cause the members to reconsider whether they want to be connected with a subversive organization.

Furthermore, a subversive listing of the WCC would have practical effect in restricting the membership of would-be officeholders and applicants for defense plant jobs, when and if Mississippi gets more defense plants.

But against this, as the realists point out, is the fact that Brownell is already anathema to the Brady-type White Citizens Councils members because Brownell argued the case for segregation in the U. S. Supreme Court.

A second objection raised is that branding the WCC subversive might simply drive it underground, ending the "open" activity of its public meetings, and give the "worst" elements a chance to resort to violence behind the screen of total secrecy.

Regardless of the merits of these arguments, it is apparent that the White Citizens Councils, if allowed to continue to grow unchecked, are bound to raise the spectre of devastating racial conflict in the South.

JUSTICE ALREADY SHOWS TAINT

Already, the Justice of Mississippi has been tainted by the climate of fear and hate that has developed out of WCC propaganda.

In the Lexington, Miss., libel suit over the shooting of a Negro boy by Sheriff Richard Byrd, of Holmes County, the state's highest court, by reversing the jury verdict, acknowledged tacitly that no critic of white brutality toward Negroes could get a fair trial in a community dominated by the White Citizens Councils.

And in the "wolf whistle" kidnaping and murder of Emmett Louis Till, the 14-year-old Chicago Negro, from his granduncle's home in Money, Miss., there never was a chance, considering the climate of the times, that the men accused of the crime would be convicted.

The acquittal of J. W. Milam, 36, and his half-brother, Roy Bryant, 24, of the Till murder was accurately forecast by the press even before they went on trial in the Tallahatchie County Courthouse in Sumner last September.

DEFAULT OF JUSTICE CAUSES NO SURPRISE

Nor was there any surprise among Mississippians when the grand jury in Leflore County, where Money is located, refused a couple of weeks ago to indict Milam and Bryant on a kidnaping charge that had been referred to it by Judge Curtis B. Swango after the murder trial.

For the feeling in Greenwood, county seat of Leflore County, was running high against "outside" interference, and that temper was fanned by the pronouncements of the White Citizens Councils through its mouthpiece, Judge Brady.

Yet the general feeling throughout Mississippi appears to be that justice was sidetracked both in the Sumner murder trial and by the grand jury in Greenwood because of the climate of hate that has developed along with the White Citizens Councils.

But the very people who most deeply deplore these stains that the WCC-type thinking has stamped on Mississippi justice are bound by their own moderation in trying to organize an effective counteraction.

FEAR AND HATRED HIS STOCK IN TRADE

They talk about seeking federal action while at the same time they acknowledge that this would only again affront those Mississippians who have flocked so eagerly to the WCC. And they have no weapon to counter the hyperbole of the White Citizens Councils' Judge Brady.

For Brady has activated a deep-seated Southern fear by his constant harping on the charge that desegration of the public schools is but the first step toward racial intermarriage in the South.

And intermarriage can lead only to the destruction of our civilization as Brady preaches the doctrine.

"The mark of the beast," he says, "is apparent today in the various types in Mexico, the Yucatan Indians, the Hondurans, the North Central Americans and Caribs. The Proto-Negro sign with its accompanying destruction cannot be disputed. The same contamination and retrogression is apparent in Puerto Rico, Guatemala, Cuba and wherever in the Western hemisphere the infusion of white and Negro blood has taken place.

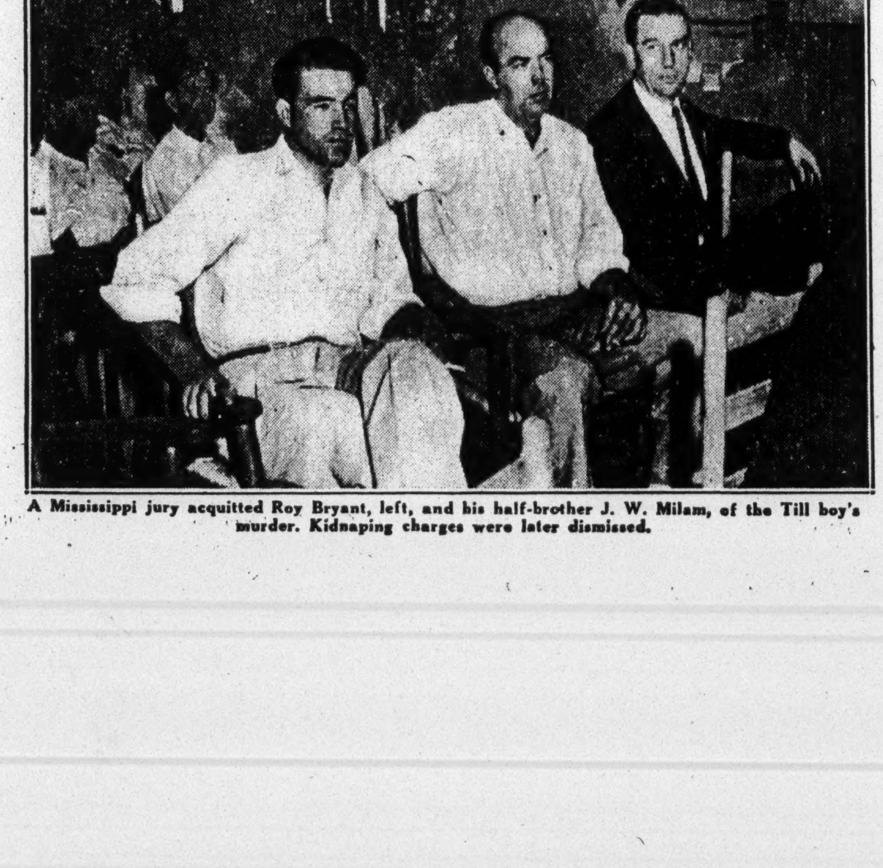
DOOM OF WHITES HIS STEADY THEME

"Whenever and wherever the white man has drunk the cup of black hemlock, whenever and wherever his blood has been infused with the blood of the Negro, the white man, his intellect and his culture have died."

By dint of repetition, Brady has made this statement the theme of the White Citizens Councils and somehow managed to build up a belief that all who oppose the WCC are bent on intermingling of the races.

As a consequence many sincere believers in improving the condition of the Negro in Mississippi within the accepted mores of segregation find themselves thought-controlled to silence when they try to speak out against the methods of the White Citizens Councils.

And the new economic klan strides forward, imposing ever stricter conformity on the free people of Mississippi.



A Mississippi jury acquitted Roy Bryant, left, and his half-brother J. W. Milam, of the Till boy's murder. Kidnaping charges were later dismissed.

GIVE ROBESON HIS PASSPORT

Scots launch nation-wide petition

Daily Worker Reporter

GLASGOW, Monday.

A NATION-WIDE petition to President Eisenhower asking that Paul Robeson be issued with a passport is to be launched in Scotland, it was decided here yesterday at a conference on Democratic Rights in America.

Nearly 200 delegates, mostly from trade unions, were present. The petition will be presented to the U.S. Ambassador in London by leaders of Scottish life and letters on February 12—the 146th birthday anniversary of Abraham Lincoln.

It will be the forerunner of a similar campaign to be conducted in England and Wales. The petition declares:

"We urge that in the spirit of your Geneva declaration 'that all curtains, whether of guns or regulations, should begin to come down' you should intervene to secure the issuing of a passport to Robeson so that once again we can hear this great son of America."

Introducing the petition, Mr. Abe Moffat, Scottish miners' leader, said such an act on the part of the U.S. President would assist the development of better relations and understanding between the peoples of America and Britain.

Tip scales

Scots-born John Williamson, recently deported from the United States after serving a five-year jail sentence for his political activities, told the conference:

"Robeson's outstanding popularity as a singer, his self-sacrificing qualities as a fighter for civil liberties and Negro rights—and the fact that he learned his militancy and politics here in Britain—all demand that we should help in the restoration of his freedom."

He told the delegates the mounting protest movement in Britain might well tip the scales in getting the Negro singer's passport restored to him.

Earlier he said: "The U.S. claims to be the leader of the 'free world,' but it destroys the right to freedom at home.

Who's Who

He added: "The roll-call of those in America who have been persecuted and imprisoned, sacked or blacklisted, investigated or placed on suspect lists, denied passports or deported, would constitute a virtual Who's Who of America.

"Among them would be trade union leaders, Nobel Prize winners, outstanding professors, Holywood and Broadway stars, Government officials and teachers and, last but not least, tens of thousands of factory workers."

A local Labour Party secretary and several women from Co-op guilds were among the other speakers. Unanimously the delegates pledged themselves to support those under attack in the U.S., and they backed the setting up of a committee of Scottish-American Friendship for Democratic Rights to carry through the aims of the conference.

Messages of greetings were read from Paul Robeson, Steve Nelson, and the well-known American Negro lawyer William Patterson, secretary of the Civil Liberties Congress.

Greetings were sent from the conference to Billy Allan, the Glasgow-born Detroit newspaper man, and to Trinidad-born Claudia Jones, American Communist women's leader who are both threatened with deportation.

NEW YORK TIMES
Nov. 24 1955

DUE PROCESS ON PASSPORTS

The State Department's long-established habit of denying passports on the basis of evidence known only to itself has been struck another well-deserved blow by the Federal courts.

Earlier this year the Court of Appeals in the Nathan case required the department to grant a passport applicant a quasi-judicial hearing. In the Shachtman case the court maintained that a passport was a right rather than a privilege, and that it could be withheld from a citizen only through due process and not by the "arbitrary exercise" of departmental power. These were healthy if long overdue steps toward bringing the Passport Office down to the level of ordinary mortals.

Now in Federal District Court in the District of Columbia Judge Youngdahl spells out in some degree just what "due process" means in passport cases. He says that it isn't enough merely to tell an applicant that there is evidence in the files that he is a Communist sympathizer and that therefore his passport will be restricted or denied. It is up to the department, says Judge Youngdahl, to state what the evidence is, "so that the applicant may have the opportunity to meet it and the court to review it." The opinion recognizes that the Secretary may withhold passports for good reason; but "fair play requires that one have the opportunity to challenge the basis of, and reasons for, a denial * * * directly and specifically." Confidential information "is of unquestionable importance" but the factual data acquired as a result of it should be placed upon the record, says the court, so that the applicant

THE NEW YORK

may have a chance to analyze and refute it.

The bearing which this opinion may have on security cases in general remains to be seen. Surely these words of Judge Youngdahl apply to a much broader range of problems than those concerned merely with passports:

> When the basis of action by any branch of the Government remains hidden from scrutiny and beyond practical review the seeds of arbitrary and irresponsible government are sown. More and more the courts have become aware of the irreparable damage * * * wrought by the secret informer and the faceless talebearer * * *.

Whether or not Judge Youngdahl's decision is sustained by higher courts, these words should be taken to heart throughout the Federal establishment.

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

NEW YORK TIMES
[NOV. 24 1955]

In The Nation

Judge Youngdahl Makes the Challenge Complete

By ARTHUR KROCK

WASHINGTON, Nov. 23—The District of Columbia courts have finally cut so deeply into the discretionary powers of the Secretary of State over the issuance of passports to American citizens that he will be obliged to appeal to the Supreme Court or passively forfeit most of those long exercised. The next logical step in this line of judicial reasoning, which reverses the position taken by judges in the past, would be to direct the Secretary to issue a passport he has denied or withheld.

District Judge Schweinhaut actually did that, but the Circuit Court has not gone so far in asserting judicial authority over passport issuance. To do so would put the controversy in what lawyers call a "posture" that would be most favorable to Government attack in the Supreme Court. But Judge Youngdahl's decision yesterday is drastic enough to force the showdown before the high tribunal that the Department of Justice, counsel for the Department of State, has been deferring.

He ruled that not only must the State Department grant a "quasi-judicial" hearing on a passport application before denying it but the department also must substantiate its decision by acquainting the applicant in detail with the evidence against him; and, furthermore, must make available to a court the entire record. This would include the identities and testimony of confidential informers, details hitherto reserved by the Secretary as secret within the constitutional province of the President, for whom he acts as deputy.

Development of the Issue

The history to date of the recent judicial attack on the Secretary's discretionary powers is this:

First, Judge Schweinhaut ordered the Secretary to issue forthwith a passport he had refused to the executor of the late Albert Einstein. Second, the Federal Court of Appeals stayed this order only on condition that the State Department would hold a "quasi-judicial" hearing on the application of Dr. Otto Nathan, the Einstein executor. This asserted the power of the judiciary to instruct the Secretary on the type of hearing he must hold and to review whether he had conformed to the instruction, but reserved judgment on the direct order made by Judge Schweinhaut. The Court of Appeals was careful, however, to draw a distinction between the Secretary's exercise of discretionary powers on the basis that denial of a passport was in the interest of United States foreign policy and an "arbitrary" act on his part. Third, Judge Youngdahl not only prescribed in advance what a "quasi-judicial" hearing should be but he also swept away the vital distinction made by the higher court.

The fundamental point of all these decisions is that foreign travel is as much the right of an American citizen as travel among the states and may not be "arbitrarily" denied by the Secretary. This ruling has been tacitly conceded by the Administration and presumably will not go to the Supreme Court on appeal. But the findings have provided material for a sufficient number of other basic issues, among them the constitutional one of the degree to which Executive files are confidential and the Executive prerogative is open to judicial determination.

The Law Up to Now

Prior to this new chapter in passport law the Supreme Court dealt with the issue in four instances: Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee v. McGrath, McGrath v. Kristensen, Lee Arenas v. United States and Perkins v. Elg. The net of these decisions was that, while the judiciary can interfere in a passport ruling by the Secretary when the reason ascribed for denial was attacked as factually erroneous, it cannot do so where such discretionary judgment by the Secretary was involved as in the case of Nathan and now (before Judge Youngdahl) that of Leonard B. Boudin, a New York attorney. These decisions left undisturbed what Chief Justice Hughes wrote in Perkins v. Elg (1938).

Miss Elg had been denied a passport solely on the ground that she "had lost her native-born American citizenship." Among the defendants named in her factual rebuttal was the Secretary of State. The court below declared her "a native-born citizen," but dismissed the Secretary as a defendant. The Supreme Court, through the Chief Justice, voided that dismissal, saying the Secretary should be properly included. But its key conclusion, with immediate bearing on the recent assertions of judicial power over the Secretary's discretionary acts, was this:

> The decree in that respect [including the Secretary as defendant] would in no way interfere with the exercise of the Secretary's discretion with respect to the issuance of a passport, but would simply preclude the denial of a passport on the sole ground that Miss Elg had lost her American citizenship.

Or, in other words, when the Secretary gives a reason for denial it must be factual; but he need not give one at all, though if he chooses he may explain that the denial was in the interest of our foreign policy. This interpretation, under gradual demolition by the lower courts, has now been wholly pulverized by Youngdahl.

DAILY WORKER

They were bereaved by lynch law in the United States: Thousands now join them to demand—

JUSTICE MUST BE DONE

Mrs. Mamie Bradley (centre), mother of the murdered boy, is comforted by her parents. She won't rest now until justice is done.

by John Williamson

PROTEST is sweeping the United States against the acquittal in Mississippi of the two murderers of the 14-year-old Negro boy Emmett Louis Till.

Nothing approaching it has been seen since the days of the Scottsboro case in the late '20s.

After deliberating a mere 67 minutes, the jury returned the expected verdict of "Not Guilty." Not in 75 years has a white man in Mississippi been convicted of murder when the victim was black.

The old courtroom during the five-day trial resembled a circus. The two murderers sat with their wives next to them and their children on their knees. Coco-Cola was sold and drunk in the courtroom.

The sheriff searched everyone as they entered, and enforced Jim Crow segregation.

'Black Friday'

The veteran white reporter, Jas. E. Boyack, of the well-known Negro weekly the Pittsburgh Courier, wrote upon the trial's conclusion, "I'm sick in heart, in soul, in body. This is Black Friday in America and throughout the entire civilised world."

Of dramatic significance was Special Prosecutor Smith's speech to the jury, in which he referred to the testimony of the heroic Negro witnesses against the murderers.

He praised Willie Reed, the 18-year-old cotton picker, as having "more nerve than I have" for his courage in testifying against one of the white defendants.

The high point of the trial came when the murdered boy's uncle, Moses Wright, told of the two white murderers taking the boy from his bed and then asking Wright, "How old are you?"

When he answered "65," Milam, one of the accused, turned and said: "You'll never live to 66 if you tell what you saw tonight." Not only did he tell it on the witness stand, but identified the murderers.

In burning indignation and fury tens of thousands have poured out to overflow meetings — primarily Negro, but supported by whites.

Typical responses are: New York 20,000; Chicago 12,000; Detroit 10,000; Baltimore 2,500, and on through the cities of the U.S.

Typical of the editorials in the Negro Press is this extract from the Pittsburgh Courier:

> **"Those who know Mississippi, the sin hole of American civilisation, never doubted the outcome of the Till murder 'trial,' notwithstanding the 'correctness' of judicial procedure.**
>
> **"Unpunished murder of Negroes of all sexes and ages is so common . . . that any other verdict than acquittal would have astonished an incredulous world."**

The big city commercial Press all sent reporters to the trial, which received the spotlight in newspaper publicity. Out in the mid-West the Chicago Sun Times wrote in its editorial that the acquittal "is a blot not only on Mississippi but on America as a whole."

Congressman Anfuso of New York asked Attorney-General Brownell to start an "immediate investigation" or he would ask Congress to "undertake a probe of this miscarriage of justice."

While at the New York meeting the demand to "March on Dixie" received enthusiastic cheers, the meetings in the industrial areas of Chicago and Detroit placed the emphasis on a "March to Washington" to force the Federal Government to act.

In a wire of support to the Right-Wing Negro trade union leader, A. Philip Randolph, who chaired the mass turnout in New York, Paul Robeson emphasised the need of unity and stated:

> "In this hour of crisis I stand, as always, with my people, and offer all that I have—my art, my strength, my devotion—to our common cause."

The murdered boy's brave mother, Mrs. Bradley (the boy's father was killed in the war and she remarried), just spirited out of Mississippi after the trial, told a moving story that had the audience alternately in tears and in burning anger.

She started by saying that if she had "cried a lifetime" she could not shed enough tears to soothe the pain inside.

Flanked by her father and brother (a steel union branch president in Chicago), she then told for the first time of the effort of Mississippi to keep the body of her boy from reaching her.

Men were already digging a grave for Till's body, when she got an order to have the body removed to Chicago. However, she said, she had to promise not to open the coffin.

Once in Chicago "she couldn't bury him without a last look." What she then saw determined her to show the whole world how her son had been mutilated and murdered even if people who saw the body had to be carried out one by one.

In Detroit, Congressman Diggs first Negro Congressman ever elected from Michigan, said he was going to challenge the right of every Mississippi Congressman to be seated, because the number of Congressmen elected was based on the total eligible voting population, white and Negro, but "coloured citizens are not permitted to vote."

He also significantly showed that Tallahatchie County, where the trial was held, has not a single coloured registered voter, although coloured persons make up 63.5 per cent of the county's population.

David McDonald, president of the Steel Workers' Union, sent a letter to the murdered boy's mother, offering the big union's help "in seeing that justice is carried out."

Russell Lasley, vice-president of the Packinghouse Workers' Union, declared if something is not done "the people of this country will rise in their wrath and want to know why."

Walter Reuther, president of the one-and-a-half-million-strong Auto Union and also head of the C.I.O., declared that the acquittal makes a mockery of civil liberties and the judicial process and stated the handling of the trial was "a threat to the democratic rights of all Americans."

Solidarity

The State of Mississippi reeks with an atmosphere of intimidations and threats. At the same time as the Till case, a Grand Jury in Brookhaven, Miss, reported that, while it was "generally known" who killed Lamar Smith, they had been "unable to get so much as one witness who would testify to the fact."

Smith was reported killed because he urged Negroes to vote in the primaries.

The enthusiasm for a March on Washington emphasises the responsibility of the Federal Government. Instead of prosecuting workers for their political ideas, trying to impose the Hitler-like McCarran Act on the nation, or persecuting trade, unions, the Justice Department should assure the full penalty for the murderers.

This latest outrage only emphasises the importance of solidarity actions by the workers of other countries with America's defenders of democratic rights. In the very forefront is the growing demand to grant Paul Robeson a passport.

. . . AND IN SOUTH AFRICA, TOO, THEY ARE HITTING BACK

Good Luck, Lilian, in the Fray!

BLACK, white, coloured . . . African and Indian, Jew and Arab . . . how hard the top dogs in this world try to set us against each other and keep us apart.

And nowhere in the world, since Hitler's day, do they try harder than in South Africa.

So it was with a rush of pride that I heard this week how South African women in the Transvaal have planned a great inter-racial "lobbying" this Thursday, to protest against the unjust, racial laws.

The South African Government has followed up the Bantu Education Act, which segregates African children in special, very limited schools, and the Group Areas Act, which pushes Africans and Indians into special ghettoes to live.

Now it proposes that all African women as well as men must carry a pass wherever they go, and that Coloured women are to submit to a "classification test." This is to be as searching as our means test—only it deals with blood, not money.

So the Africans, the Indians, the Coloured women, and many white women have got together, in a Women's Federation of South Africa, and thousands are going to Pretoria, to call on the Ministers concerned, and make their protest.

They will have to meet armed police, prepared for every brutality, their leaders face the risk of fines and imprisonment, but they will go all the same.

One of their leaders was in London recently, Mrs. Lilian Ngoyi, of Johannesburg, president of the Women's League of the African National Congress—a wonderful, dynamic woman.

A youthful-looking 45, she carries her small head like a queen, and when she speaks you are swept away by her passionate and courageous spirit.

★

"I used to think that, just as sugar is divided into two kinds, the brown inferior to the white, so God had divided people into two kinds, black inferior to white," she said.

But she has been fighting these ideas for years now, besides working to win decent wages and conditions among her fellow clothing workers, where she is a respected trade union leader.

When the new Apartheid laws were introduced, which forbade Africans even to use the same station entrance as a white person, or to buy a stamp at the same counter in a post office, Lilian told me, "I knew that I had to do my part to defy these laws."

In 1953 the punishment for defiance was three years imprisonment, and at that time Lilian's 15-year-old daughter was lying desperately ill in hospital, with a ruptured appendix.

"I asked my mother what she thought about my going to defy these laws when my child was so ill," said Lilian, "and she asked me, 'What if the child died while you were in prison?'

"Then I asked her: 'Mother, which is better? To stay with my child or to help my people so that they do not live like dogs?' and mother answered: 'You are right. You should go.'"

So, accompanied by five other women who were prepared to defy the racial laws with her, Lilian went up to the hospital to see her daughter, and she told me proudly:

"I said: 'My child, I feel I must go and defy the unjust laws. What shall I do?' She was too weak to sit up, but she raised her thumb—that is our sign—and gave our watchword, 'Mayibuye Afrika!' which means 'Africa, come back in our lifetime.'"

So Lilian and the other women went to the post office and were duly arrested for trying to buy stamps at a white man's counter.

★

How they were imprisoned, and appealed, and went back to prison, and appealed again, and finally the case was quietly dropped, proves once again that it is better to stand up and defy than lie down and be trampled on.

When I met her she was returning from attending the World Congress of Mothers in Geneva, after which she had been invited to visit China, the Soviet Union and East Germany.

The impression made upon her by being treated as an equal for the first time in her life showed me a little what life must be like for Africans in their own country.

"My heart was so moved that I cried," she confessed, "to think that here I am welcomed like a human being and in my own country I am worse than a dog."

Lilian Ngoyi with friends she made in Europe.

For years past Lilian has worked for peace in Johannesburg, but she admitted, "now I feel that I did not know what peace meant.

"Now I know. I have seen Buchenwald—it was unbearable—and I know that peace means no more Buchenwalds.

"I have seen China, and I know what peace means—a new world on earth."

Her eyes lit up as she exclaimed: "How wonderful it will be when South Africa too is free and we can build a beautiful life there for all races.

"Then we will send things to China and they will send things to us: we will visit them, and they will visit us. That time will come, it must come."

Now she is back in the fray, for that new world that must come. Good luck, dear Lilian, in Pretoria this Thursday!

Sheila Lynd

News in Welsh. 7.0 Sports Forum; 7.30 Programme on Cardiff.

TELEVISION

12.15 State Visit of President of Portugal. 3.0 Your Own Time; 3.45 Watch with Mother. 4.0 Armchair Traveller; 4.15 The Visitor; 4.45 Macqueen Pope, 5.0 Children. 7.0 Newsreel; 7.20 Highlight; 7.30 Songs for the Asking. 8.15 Trans-Antarctic Expedition; 8.45 Starlight. 9.0 Eight Belles; 9.30 Boxing, A.B.A. v America. 10.30 News.

COMMERCIAL TELEVISION

11.0 Sixpenny Corner; 11.15 No Child is Average, Talk; 11.25 Are Husbands Really Necessary?; 11.30 Music; 11.45 People Worth Meeting. 12.0 News; 12.10 As Young as You Look. 5.0 Elizabethan Fanfare. 7.0 News; 7.15 Women Want to Know; 7.30 Penny for a Song; 7.45 Assignment Unknown. 8.0 Music; 8.30 The Pay Off, Play. 10.0 News; 10.15 Visitor of the Day; 10.20 Sports Formbook.

Daily Worker
WILLIAM RUST HOUSE,
75 FARRINGDON ROAD,
LONDON, E.C.1,
HOLborn 9242 (15 lines),
Telegraphic Address: 'Workadai,
Cent., London.

Robeson Seeks Passport Again

WASHINGTON, Jan. 13 (AP)—Paul Robeson, saying he is a "loyal, native-born American citizen," asked the Federal District Court today to direct that the State Department grant him a passport. The singer, naming Secretary Dulles as defendant, also asked a court order allowing him to visit Canada, Mexico and other Western Hemisphere countries on travel not requiring a passport. His passport was withdrawn in 1950. In 1952 he was stopped when he tried to visit Canada. He has been identified with leftist causes for a long time.

NY Times Jan 14, '55

Black Dispatch 11/2/[illegible]

Paul Robeson Sings To Overflow Crowd At CCNY Auditorium

NEW YORK. — (ANP)—Paul Robeson sang to a packed auditorium at the City College of New York last week.

The internationally famous artist and actor was presented in concert by the college chapter of Young Progressives of America.

Hundreds of students were turned away as many others were forced to stand.

Robeson sang Negro spirituals, lullabies, peace songs, folk songs of many nations and excerpts from Boris Gudunov. For "good measure" he recited passages from "Othello."

For many of the students, it was the first time they had heard Robeson. Young Pianist Alan Booth rendered a group of piano selections as well as accompanied Robeson.

The faculty advisor of the sponsoring group, Prof. E. Cross, in introducing the guests artists, said that the fact that the concert could be held on the campus today is a sign of the changing atmosphere a the college.

Following the concert, Robeson was a guest at luncheon in the college cafeteria, were scores of students gathered around his table for autographs and to discuss topics of current interests.

Los Angeles Herald Dispatch

December 2, 1954

p. 1, Col. 3

Paul Robeson Again Denied Passport

WASHINGTON, D. C. — Paul Robeson has again been refused a passport by the State Department. This instance, Robeson announced he wanted to attend the congress of Soviet writers meeting in Moscow next month.

A spokesman for the State Department stated that the application was turned down "because it was not in the national interest." Robeson has tried several times before to obtain a passport.

Tokyo Tokyo

ASAHI EVENING NEWS, FRIDAY, MAY 7, 1954

Josephine Baker Offers Thanks

Miss Josephine Baker expressed appreciation for the public friendship and interest shown in her visit to Japan.

The noted singer issued the following statement on her departure from Japan Wednesday night:

"I am overwhelmed by the wonderful reception that the fine people of Japan have given me as well as the interest that has been shown in my charity tour arranged by my old friend Miki Sawada and the Elizabeth Saunders Orphanage at Oiso. It fills my heart with joy to feel that this magnificent reception demonstrates how all colored peoples can agree and live in harmony.

"Indeed my original purpose in coming to Japan was not only to assist the poor orphans in Mrs. Sawada's home, but to explain my world family program which proves how we colored races can cooperate.

"I am looking forward to the day when my little sons Akio and Lumier will grow up surrounded by children of other races in a stimulating environment where they can receive the best of everything, parental attention, a good education, and emerge into manhood as a champion of world peace. Perhaps they may even one day follow in the footsteps of Paul Robeson, who has fought the battles for racial justice and world peace in the stronghold of the reactionaries, who are even today persecuting him and depriving him of the honors and general recognition he has gained in democratic and socially advanced countries. My heart bleeds for the suffering that great man has endured. Indeed he has even been unable to visit the Soviet Union where many races live in harmony and receive his prize for achievements in behalf of world peace.

"It is my intention too to visit that land and observe closely how the social problems of the Western world have been eliminated. I had at one time thought of returning to my beloved France through the heartland of that great country. Unfortunately problems with my papers and theatrical engagements force me to return directly to Europe.

"Let me repeat that I am overcome with the sympathy and interest that my world family program has received in Japan and state that little Akio and Lumier and myself hope to revisit Japan many times in the future when we can further assist the noble efforts of people like Miki Sawada in behalf of racial tolerance.

"I only hope that the harmony that is becoming more and more clearly demonstrated in the relations between colored races and has so impressed me here in Japan will spread throughout the world. If my small efforts can help achieve such a grand objective, I will feel that my life has been more than worthwhile."

(signed) Josephine Baker

Phone No. 129

THE PEOPLE

တနင်္ဂနွေနေ့မှတပါး နေ့စဉ်ထုတ်ဝေသည်   ၁၃၁၆ ခု   ကဆုန်လဆုတ် (၇)ရက်   တနင်္လာနေ့   24-5-54

ဖဲထီး၊ဖဲ
မှုလက်
ဟောင်း
အကောင်း
ဆုံး၊ဖဲထီး
ဆိုလျှင်
ဇါမဏီဝမ်းဒဲ
ဝယ်ယူသုံးစွဲ
အတုအငေ

အဆိုကျော်ပေါလ်ရိုဘင်ဆင်အားချုပ်ချယ်ထားမှု

အမေရိကန်အစိုးရအားဝိုင်းဝန်းကန့်ကွက်ကြရန် ပေါလ်ရိုဘင်ဆင်လွတ်လပ်မှုရရှိရေးအတွက်ဖွဲ့စည်းထားသောကော်မီတီက ကမ္ဘာ့သို့ပန်ကြားလိုက်ခြင်း

ကမ္ဘာကျော် အဆိုတော်
ပေါလ်ရိုဘင်ဆင်

အမေရိကန်ပြည်နယူးယော့မြို့မှ ပြည်နယ်ဆိုင်ရာပေါလ်ရိုဘင်ဆင်အား နိုင်ငံကူးလက်မှတ် ထုတ်ပေးရေးလှုံ့ဆော် တောင်းဆိုမှု ကော်မီတီက ကမ္ဘာ့ အရပ်ရပ်ရှိ ပြည်သူတကာတို့အားပန်ကြားလွှာတစောင် ထုတ်ပြန်လိုက်ကြောင်း။

၄ နှစ်ကြာပြီ

ထိုပန်ကြားလွှာတွင် ကမ္ဘာ့အဆိုကျော်ကြီးပေါလ်ရိုဘင်ဆင်အား အမေရိကန်ပြည်ထောင်စုအစိုးရက နိုင်ငံကူး လက်မှတ်များ ထုတ်ပေးရန် ငြင်းဆို ထားသည်မှာ ၄ နှစ်မျှ ကြာခဲ့ပြီဆိုကြောင်း။

ထမင်းငတ်၍သေစေရန်

နိုင်ငံကူးလက်မှတ် ထုတ်ပေးရန်ငြင်းဆိုရုံသာမကသေး၊ဓါတ်ပြားသွင်းခြင်း၊ ရုပ်မြင်သံကြားအသံလွှင့်ခြင်း၊ ရေဒီယိုမှ သီဆိုခြင်း၊ ရုပ်ရှင်ရိုက်ခြင်း၊ ကဇာတ် ပြဇာတ်တို့၌ပါဝင် ကပြခြင်းများအားလုံးကိုလည်းပိတ်ပင်ထားမြစ်ထားခဲ့သေးကြောင်း။

နိုင်ငံတကာမှဖိတ်ကြားချက်

သို့အတွက်ကမ္ဘာ့အဆိုကျော်နီဂရိုးအမျိုးသားကြီး ပေါလ်ရိုဘင်ဆင်သည်၊ အသက်မွေးဝမ်းကြောင်းအတွက် နိုင်ငံခြား ကုမ္ပဏီများမှခေါ်ယူချက်၊ပေါလ်ရိုဘင်ဆင်၏ ထူးခြားသောအသံနှင့် အမေရိကန် ယဉ်ကျေးမှုကို ထိန်းသိမ်းသော တေးဂီတသီချင်းများ သီဆိုလှည့်ပါ၊ငြိမ်းချမ်းရေးနှင့်လွတ်လပ်ရေး သီချင်းများသီဆိုလှည့်ပါဟုအနိုင်နိုင်ငံမှဖိတ်ကြားချက်များကို သွားရောက် လိုသည်ဆိုကြောင်း။

ပြည်သူ့အဆိုကျော်ကြီး၏အသံ

သို့ရာတွင် အမေရိကန်အစိုးရက နိုင်ငံကူးလက်မှတ်များ ထုတ်မပေးသဖြင့် ထိုကော်မတီက ပြည်သူတကာအား အနုပညာသည်ကြီး၏တေးဂီတများကိုကမ္ဘာက ကြားခွင့်ရရန်ဝိုင်းဝန်းလုပ်ဆောင်ကြပါဟု တိုက်တွန်းထားကြောင်း။

စာဖြင့်ကြေးနန်းဖြင့်

ထိုကော်မီတီက အမေရိကန် အစိုးရထံသို့တိုက်ရိုက်ဖြစ်စေ၊မိမိတို့နိုင်ငံရှိ အမေရိကန် သံရုံးများသို့ ဖြစ်စေ စာနှင့်၄င်း၊ ကြေးနန်းဖြင့်၄င်း၊ ပေါလ်ရိုဘင်ဆင်အသံကို ကြားလိုပါသည်၊မချုပ်ချယ်ပါနှင့်၊ နိုင်ငံကူးလက်မှတ် ထုတ်ပေးပါဟု တောင်းဆိုချက်များ ပြုကြပါရန်မေတ္တာရပ်ခံထားကြောင်း။

မိတ္တူများပို့ပါ

ထိုကဲ့သို့ပုဂ္ဂိုလ်အနေ၊ အသင်းအဖွဲ့အနေဖြင့်တောင်းဆိုရေးသားပေးပို့ကြလျှင်၄င်းတို့ထံသို့လည်း၊ မိတ္တူတစောင် ပို့ပေးပါရန် မေတ္တာရပ်ခံထားကြောင်း။ ၄င်းတို့၏ လိပ်စာမှာ—

PROVISIONAL COMMITTEE
TO
RESTORE. PAUL ROBENSON'S
PASS PORT.
Suite 6. 139 west 125th
Street.
NEW YORK 27, NEW YORK

ဟုဖြစ်ကြောင်း။

တော်တော်ဆိုးသော ယောက္ခမ

မန္တလေးမြို့အတောင်တရာ့ငါးဆယ်ဝင်းနေ ပွဲခွန်တော်ဌာနမှအင်စပိတ်တော်ကိုလေးမောင်၏နေအိမ်ဝင်းတံခါးကို မေလ ၂၃ ရက်နေ့နံနက် ၁၂ နာရီခွဲအချိန် ကိုလေးမောင်၏ ယောက္ခမ တော်သူ မောင်ဘွင်ဆိုသူက အရက်များမူးယစ်၍ ကျော်နင်း ဝင်ရောက်ကာ အိမ်ရှိမှန်တံခါးကိုတုတ်နှင့်ရိုက်ခွဲလျက် ဆူပူသောင်းကျန်းနေသဖြင့် အောင်တော်မူရဲဌာနသို့အကြောင်းကြားရာ ဌာနခံမှ ပုဒ်မ၄၅၁ အရ လက်ခံအရေးယူကာ မောင်ဘွင်အား ဖမ်းဆီးလိုက်ကြောင်း။

—o—

Friday, Aug. 8, 1952, Denver, Colo. —ROCKY MOUNTAIN NEWS—

Robeson's Passport Suit Thrown Out of U. S. Court

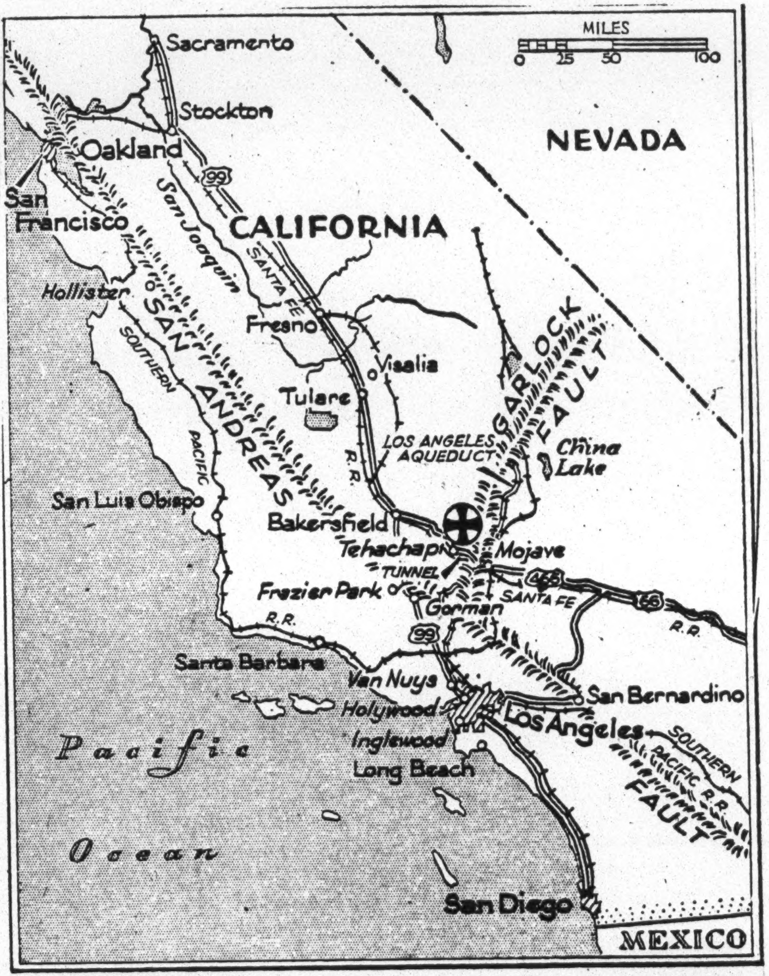
WASHINGTON, Aug. 7.—(AP)—Paul Robeson's suit asking that the State Department be forced to re-validate his passport was ordered thrown out of court today.

The United States Court of Appeals sent the issue back to District Court with instructions that it be dismissed since, it held, nothing concrete remained of the singer's case.

Court ducks decision on Robeson passport

WASHINGTON, Aug. 11 (FP)—Despite a recent special federal court ruling that the U.S. State Department must conduct hearings before revoking or denying passports, the U.S. Court of Appeals threw out the appeal of Negro singer Paul Robeson to force issuance of a new passport to him.

The court ruled on a technicality. It held that the passport revoked by the State Department would have expired Jan. 25, 1951 anyhow, and that Robeson had not applied for a new one. Therefore, the court held, it had no jurisdiction in the case.


Sacramento
MILES
0
25
50
100
Stockton
NEVADA
Oakland
99
San Francisco
CALIFORNIA
San Joaquin
SANTA FE
Hollister
SAN ANDREAS
SOUTHERN
Fresno
Visalia
GARLOCK FAULT
Tulare
PACIFIC
R.R.
LOS ANGELES AQUEDUCT
China Lake
San Luis Obispo
Bakersfield
Tehachapi
Mojave
TUNNEL
466
Frazier Park
SANTA FE
66
R.R.
Gorman
R.R.
99
Santa Barbara
Van Nuys
Holywood
San Bernardino
Los Angeles
SOUTHERN PACIFIC R.R.
Inglewood
Long Beach
FAULT
Pacific
Ocean
San Diego
MEXICO

The New York Times July 22, 1952

The heavy earthquake, attributed to a slippage in the Garlock Fault, an offshoot of the San Andreas Fault, damaged a large region of California. Tehachapi (cross) was hardest hit. Four railroad tunnels near-by were damaged and several major highways were blocked by landslides in the vicinity of Gorman

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

Counter Attack

Bulletin of S.A. Congress of Democrats

Somerset House, Fox Str.
P.O. Box 4088, Johannesburg.
[illegible] 1954

"NATIVE" REPRESENTATIVES

REGIONS TO HAVE AUTONOMY.

The question of whether S.A.C.O.D. should participate in the forthcoming elections of "Native Representatives" was discussed by the N.E.C. at its last meeting in Durban.

It was decided finally that, while the NEC could not itself take the initiative in sponsoring candidates, individual regions wou- be given autonomy to do so.

Following this resolution the Cape Western region has decided to contest this constituency and the N.E.C. has endorsed the candidature of our National vice-President, Mr. Lee-Warden.

The Following is a report of the discussions on this topic:

The committee was unanimous in its appraisal of the whole system of "Native" representation as being unjust and undemocratic, and reiterated our stand that complete and equal franchise without any qualification whatsoever is the only alternative.

It was felt that, unlike the majority of European political groups, we do not seek parliamentary honours in order to advance the sectional interests of minority groups. At every stage our decisions must depend upon what is in the best interests of basic democracy.

On this basis, many delegates considered our participation in the elections on a programme of full and equal rights, coupled with the unqualified rejection of sham representation would advance and not retard the cause of the peoples' movement. They held that failure to exploit this opportunity would have the effect of weakening the struggle against indirect representation, and doubted the effectiveness of struggling against indirect representation by at all times refusing to utilize the platforms provided by these institutions.

continued on Page 2.

"Sincerely, Paul Robeson"

We wrote to Paul Robeson, the famous American Negro singer and fighter for human rights, offering our support when he could not get a passport. This is his reply:

139 W. 125 St,
New York City,

The South African
Congress of Democrats.

Thank you for your kind message of support. Hope soon to be successful. Know that we shall ever continue the struggle for Peace and a Decent World.

Sincerely,

PAUL ROBESON.

The note was written in his own scrawly, but strong, handwriting

MORE BANNINGS!!!

The Justice Minister's lastest bannings were served last week on Mrs. Rica Hodgson, National Secretary of S.A.C.O.D., and a member, Mr. Harold Wolpe, who is also Secretary of the S.A. Peace Council.

Mrs. Hodgson's ban set a new precedent because it came into force "immediately". Mrs. Hodgson telegraphed the Minister asking for the usual 30 days respite, and after a long wait for an answer sent another telegram. But the Minister was adamant.

"ADVANCE'S" DILEMMA

A BRANCH MANAGER EXPLAINS.-

Dear Friend,

Advance supporters are constantly asking why the paper is always appealing for money, ans still more money. Here then are the facts and figures:

Advance requires the total sum of approximately £2,100 per month to function. Of this amount more than half is paid out for printing costs alone. The balance is paid out in wages, salaries, office rents, photographs, blocks, telegrams, overseas cables, railway and postage rates.

In connection with these expenses note should be taken of the following. Newsprint during the past few years has almost doubled in cost, and because we have been refused admission to the Newspaper Press Union pool in S.A. we are forced to import our own supplies, the difficulties encountered here can well be imagined.

The management committee of the paper has come to the reluctant conclusion that any further reductions in costs would seriously affect the administrative efficiency of the paper.

It must be remembered that the amount of money required apart from printing costs, covers expenditure in Cape Town, Johannesburg, Pretoria, Durban and Port Elizabeth.

Sales revenue is approximately £900 a month. Advertising revenue is approximately £150 per month. (In spite of strenuous efforts to increase this figure we have failed for obvious reasons.) The balance, a sum of approximately £1,050 has to be raised in donations every month. It would be a gross understaement to say this is very difficult to do.

There is no need to stress the fact that Advance is being attacked because it is recognized that our paper is the spearhead of the Progressive movement in S.A. It consequently becomes the task and duty of every democrat and progressive to see that the government does not succeed in its plan to ban the paper, nor for the paper to go out of existence on its own for lack of funds.

What can be done? 1. If you are not making a regular contribution to Advance then do so immediately. If you are, then try to do more. 2. Collect from your friends. 3. Hold functions to raise money. 4. Start selling the paper if you are not doing so already.

The end of this month is a crisis month for our paper. We have a debt of £800 from August, we have to find the regular £1,000 in donations, and, to top it all, a consignment of newsprint costing £900 arrives at the end of this month. SO WE HAVE TO FIND £2,700. CAN WE DO IT? The answer is in your hands, it is your paper.

NATIVES' REPRESENTATIVES ISSUE: Continued from Page 1.

They contended that, with the forces of reaction making it more and more difficult for the democratic movement to organize and place its views before the people, it would strengthen our cause if candidates pledged to it were to be elected.

But members of the A.N.C. in the Eastern Cape feel very strongly that our N.E.C. should not enter the contest. This feeling has its roots in the 1949 decision of the A.N.C. conference to reject all institutions connected with indirect representation. At the end of the 1953 A.N.C. conference the subject came up for review but was referred back to provincial bodies for re-discussion, andit was also decided that although a congress unit could not officially sponsor or support a candidate, individual congressmen had the right to participate in elections.

Our Cape Western region, however, expressed very strong views that their constituency must be looked at in a different light. In the past five years they have returned candidates who have played an important role in advancing our cause both inside and outside parliament. In addition, partly because of this backround, the majority of A.N.C. members in this area do not appose participation.

The N.E.C. decided that while they could not take the initiative in sponsoring candidates, our regions would be given autonomy in this regard. They also endorsed the candidature of Mr. Lee-Warden.

ALL OF US WISH MR LEE-WARDEN THE BEST OF SUCCESS AND ARE CONFIDENT HE WILL ABLY CARRY THE BANNER OF LIBERATION BOTH DURING THE CAMPAIGN AND AFTER HIS ELECTION.

BRIEFS FROM BRANCHES

HILLBROW Apart from their reg-fortnightly meetings, they have undertaken literature drives, organized house meetings round the Congres of the People and held a most successful dance - the COD-FISH BALL, which was attended by about eighty people. The house in which it was held was decorated with fish nets and ominous-looking octupi. The central piece was a drawing of two fish, the one in ANC colours and the other a COD fish, about to swallow a terrified swimmer closely resembling Dr. Malan. The dance raised over £50, £30 of which was raised before the function was held.

BELLEVUE They hold regular weekly meetings and have done some extensive area work, during which they have sold about 1,400 "Where the Devil Drives." Their main concern at the moment is the "Resign Klipin" Campaign. They have distributed 5,000 competition leaflets advertising the meeting which is on September 21, at St, Aidan's Hall, Yeoville.

YOUTH are assisting Bellevue in the Klipin Campaign. They hold weekly meetings and have sold over 1,000 "Where the Devil Drives". They are working hard for the Congress of the People. They plan another booksale for October 4 on the City Hall steps and all contributions will be gratefully received at the office.

NORTHERN Despite the first promise that an active branch would emerge from the amalgamation of the Norwood and Houghton branches, the last few branch meetings have been poorly attended. They have managed, nevertheless, to do a fair amount of fund-raising. Steps are being taken to activate their members.

GREEN-SIDE + PARKTOWN These two branches have been practically dead for some time. Last week they held a meeting and it was decided to amalgamate. Thus fortified, it seems the combined membership will produce an active branch. They have organized the first of a series of house-meeting on the Congress of the People and a fund-raising evening. They have decided to meet once a fortnight.

THE FEDERATION OF S.A WOMEN

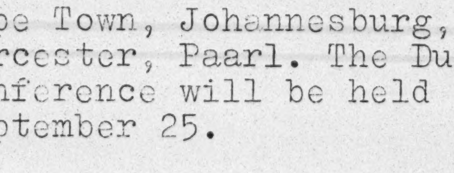
The S.A. Federation was invited to attend the Nigerian Federation's conference in July, 1954, As it was not possible to send delegates, greetings were sent on behalf of South African women:

"Let us women of Africa go forward with heads high and hopes undimmed to the future in which all the peoples of this great continent will stand free and united in glorious fraternity, free from alien rule, enjoying equality between man and man, man and woman, and building a society based upon freedom, health, peace and a plentiful life."

CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE: The N.E.C. of the Federation has decided that the Federation will give full support to, and participate in, the work of the Congress of the People, carrying the message to the women of South Africa.

THE BANTU EDUCATION ACT: J'burg regional committee issues 1,000 leaflets for distribution in the non-European townships at the time of the opening of the schools. Other regions will be issuing these leaflets in large numbers.

REGIONAL CONFERENCES: Regional conferences have been held in Cape Town, Johannesburg, Worcester, Paarl. The Durban conference will be held on September 25.



NEWS OF THE CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE.

Steady progress is being made with the organization of the Congress of the People. But money and help will always be needed. As one of the sponsoring organizations, we have an enormous task ahead.

The Transvaal Action Committee wrote to the Regional Committee and branches have been asked to discuss the following points and plan campaigns accordingly:

1. Branch meetings to be held to discuss the Congress of the People.
2. Freedom volunteers to be enrolled. Branches are asked to notify the Regional Committee how many of their members had enrolled as Freedom Volunteers.
3. Local Committees to be set up. Peoples' demands to be gathered together for the Freedom Charter.
4. Public meetings to be held. Money to be collected on cards and handed in at the office. Members are asked not to wait until their cards are full, but to hand in monies at frequent intervals.

What has your branch done about this?

The following is an extract from a report of the National Council meeting of the S.A.C.O.D. held in Durban recently. It stresses the importance our leaders attach to the CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE.

"The campaign of the greatest importance, both present and future, in which our organization is involved, is the campaign for the Congress of the People. As our members know, we were present at the historic meeting were the decision was made to hold this Congress to draw up a Freedom Charter, and as co-sponsors our responsibility for getting the widest possible response from Europeans is a great one. It is necessary for us all to do our utmost amongst both individuals and organizations to gain this response. We must hold meetings in our branch areas, we must enrol Freedom Volunteers, we must collect money, and we ourselves must volunteer for all the hundred and one jobs that need to be done, for example canvassing in rural areas or essential office work.

"The magnificent co-operation which has been achieved in the past few months with the other congresses has been a further step forward in the development of 'Peace, frienship and racial Harmony' in South Africa. It is up to all of us now to make the maximum effort to see that this is strengthened even further by the harmonious working together of all of us for the Congress of the People. Our work prior to the Congress will not only ensure the representative nature of the assembly which is to draw up our Bill of Rights, but it will mean that for the first time hundreds and thousands of people will become articulate in their demands, and will be drawn into our organizations.

"IT IS UP TO US! "

CUTTEN TO STAND IN WARD 7 FOR MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS

Progressives living in Sandringham, Sydenham, Orange Grove and other parts of Ward 7 are heartened by the fact that they will have a candidate worth working and voting for. Mr. Cutten will be remembered for the courageous stand he made on the Western Areas. It is hoped he will be returned to the City Council.

l'Humanité

MAGAZINE DU PARTI COMMUNISTE FRANÇAIS

HEBDOMADAIRE — 21 NOV. 1954
7e ANNEE — N° 321
CORSE, ALGERIE
25 FRANCS
Directeur : Marcel CACHIN
DEPUTE DE PARIS
37, rue du Louvre, Paris-2e
TURbigo 52-00 (15 lignes)

PAUL ROBESON :

Il y a une autre Amérique

PAGE 2

PAUL ROBESON à l'écrivain soviétique POLEVOÏ :

IL Y A UNE AUTRE AMERIQUE

L'écrivain soviétique Boris Polevoï, auteur de « Un homme véritable », prépare actuellement un livre sur les grandes figures du Mouvement de la paix dans les pays occidentaux. Il s'est adressé à Robeson, entre autres, pour obtenir une déclaration qu'il veut inclure dans son ouvrage.

En réponse, Paul Robeson *a écrit la lettre que voici :*

IL est tard dans la nuit, mais de ma fenêtre j'entends le brouhaha des gens qui se promènent encore dans la rue. Harlem, cette vaste ville noire, cette ville dans une ville, semble toujours en mouvement. Comme les logements surpeuplés, qui abritent difficilement toute la masse d'humanité enfermée dans ce quartier par les murs invisibles du racisme, les heures de la journée, elles aussi, semblent trop étroites pour la vie intense des gens. Des travailleurs, pour la plupart, et qui travaillent dur pour payer le propriétaire, car ici les loyers sont aussi élevés que les immeubles sont délabrés. Des gens qui luttent pour vivre, pour se dire : encore une semaine gagnée, encore un mois. Des gens qui luttent pour que leur dignité humaine qu'on leur a déniée si longtemps dans ce pays leur soit reconnue. Et qui rient aussi (« il faut rire pour ne pas pleurer », comme ils disent) et dérobent des moments de gaieté au dancing, au cinéma ou au bistro du coin.

Ici, dans cette communauté, mon peuple se rassemble dans toutes les organisations nombreuses qu'il a créées pour ses besoins collectifs : les mutuelles, les Eglises, les syndicats, les clubs sportifs, les associations politiques et sociales. Ici vivent les dirigeants honnêtes travaillant parmi le peuple ; et ici se trouvent également les trompeurs qui accomplissent les ordres des gouvernants pour quelque faveur dérisoire. Les dirigeants combatifs sont persécutés. Quelques-uns parmi les meilleurs et les plus courageux sont jetés en prison. Je pense à un homme qui m'est cher comme un frère. Ben Davis, que le peuple de Harlem a élu deux fois au Conseil municipal et que les fauteurs de guerre ont jeté en prison, il y a trois ans, avec d'autres dirigeants du Parti Communiste.

Je pense aussi à un autre champion héroïque de la cause des Noirs, mon vieil ami, mon cher ami, William Patterson, le dirigeant du Congrès des Droits civiques, qui languit ce soir dans la prison de New-York parce qu'il osa défendre tous ceux, noirs et blancs, qui sont persécutés par les réactionnaires.

Le Harlem de Davis et de Patterson

Oui, c'est bien le Harlem de Davis et de Patterson, et tout autour se trouve leur peuple, mon peuple. Moi, qui ai entendu à quelques kilomètres d'ici, à Peekskill, aboyer les lyncheurs qui demandaient ma mort, la bouche convulsée par la haine, je sens dans ce voisinage la caresse de l'amour. « Salut, Paul, content de te voir », disent les gens quand je me promène parmi eux, et quand ils me serrent la main.

C'EST ici que pendant neuf années mon frère, le Révérend Benjamin C. Robeson, a servi comme pasteur d'une des plus grandes Eglises des noirs. Cette Eglise, *Mother Zion* (Mère Sion), est l'Eglise mère de ces temples nombreux du culte épiscopal, méthodiste africain de Sion. Son histoire remonte à 1796 quand elle a été fondée par les Noirs libres qui refusèrent d'appartenir à l'Eglise des esclavagistes chrétiens. Sojourner Truth, l'héroïne de notre lutte pour la libération, a été une des premières adhérentes de *Mother Zion*, et Frederick Douglass, notre plus grand héros et éducateur, ainsi que Harriet Tubman, notre Moïse du chemin de fer souterrain (1), ont tous joué un rôle dans la tradition de liberté que représente cette église.

Je passe fréquemment une soirée avec le Révérend Robeson, mon frère aîné, un homme aimable et grisonnant, d'une calme dignité. Mais ce soir, je suis chez mon fils, et je le vois là, penché sur une table, de l'autre côté de la pièce. La lumière de la lampe donne du relief à son sourcil froncé de jeune homme quand il s'incline en avant, le menton posé dans le creux de sa main comme « le Penseur » de Rodin. En vérité, mon fils doit réfléchir à un problème sérieux, car devant lui se trouve l'échiquier où les pièces noires et blanches s'affrontent en un combat décisif ; et son adversaire, c'est un grand maître international !

Son adversaire (est-ce Smyslov ? à moins que ce ne soit Bronstein ?) n'est pas là, mais Paul est en train de rejouer l'une des parties du concours qui mit aux prises récemment, à New-York, les maîtres soviétiques et leurs hôtes américains. Ce coup des blancs (pion contre le fou du roi) a-t-il été une erreur mortelle ? Paul s'obstine à en avoir le cœur net. Naturellement, s'il trouve un coup plus convenable, cela ne saurait plus aider en rien les blancs battus dans un tournoi qui est terminé. Mais plus Paul apprend, plus il pourra m'enseigner quand nous jouerons ensemble la prochaine fois.

Le score le plus significatif

L'EQUIPE soviétique des échecs a gagné le tournoi par un score de 20 à 12, mais il me semble que le score le plus significatif a été enregistré avant même que n'ait été joué le premier coup du premier tour. Je pense à la victoire remportée par les joueurs d'échecs américains dont la fédération avait insisté pour que ce concours ait lieu dans notre pays. Et ceux qui ont perdu, c'est Dulles et son Département d'Etat qui ont essayé d'empêcher ce geste d'amitié. Quel plaisir ça été pour nous de nous joindre aux applaudissements chaleureux des autres assistants qui ont salué le porte-parole de chaque équipe quand il a exprimé son désir de voir la paix et les échanges culturels s'étendre entre nos deux pays !

Oui, mes amis, il y a, croyez-moi, une autre Amérique, l'Amérique des gens ordinaires qui craignent la menace d'une nouvelle guerre et qui désirent ardemment vivre dans un monde de paix. On ne peut jamais les entendre sur les ondes officielles de la « Voix de l'Amérique ». La presse et la radio bellicistes ne parlent, comme le fait M. Dulles, qu'au nom de quelques milliardaires qui dominent notre pays et qui cherchent à dominer le monde. Le peuple américain est, pour une grande part, muet, terrorisé par les fascistes tels le sénateur Mac Carthy et, souvent, plongé dans la confusion par le tir de barrage continuel de la propagande belliciste qui dit que l'aspiration du monde à la paix est un « complot communiste ». Mais, malgré tout cela, le peuple américain manifeste son attachement à la cause de la paix et du progrès chaque fois qu'on peut l'exposer devant lui.

Permettez-moi de vous donner quelques exemples de cette vérité, tirés de ma propre expérience en ces jours difficiles.

A l'Université de Chicago une chanson de Moussorgski

RECEMMENT j'ai chanté dans un concert à l'Université de Chicago. L'organisation des étudiants qui m'avait invité a fait l'objet de toutes sortes de pressions pour qu'elle annule son invitation ; des groupes réactionnaires de cette ville ont menacé de recourir à la force contre toute personne qui oserait y assister ; les journaux ont dénoncé le concert avec frénésie, disant qu'il était « non-américain ». Mais les étudiants n'ont pas bronché et la salle était archi-pleine. Quinze cents personnes s'y pressaient et des centaines de gens n'avaient pu y entrer faute de place.

Dans mon programme, j'ai inclus, comme je le fais toujours, des chansons de tous les pays, et des chansons du peuple russe, telles que « Après la bataille » de Moussorgski. Le message de paix et de démocratie que j'ai apporté a été reçu chaleureusement. D'ailleurs, j'ai rencontré à ce concert le rédacteur en chef du journal des étudiants. Il a fait partie d'un groupe de rédacteurs de journaux universitaires d'Amérique qui, l'an passé, ont visité l'Union Soviétique et il a appris cette vérité d'importance fondamentale qu'on cache au peuple américain aujourd'hui : loin d'être un agresseur, le peuple soviétique se dévoue passionnément à la cause de la paix.

Bientôt je retournerai à Chicago pour un concert au South-Side, la grande communauté noire de la ville. On avait organisé un tel concert l'été dernier et comme on ne pouvait pas louer une salle à cause de la terreur, le rassemblement s'est tenu à Washington Park.

En vérité, aucune salle dans le quartier n'aurait pu contenir la foule qui est venue dans ce parc en cet après-midi de dimanche ensoleillé. Ils étaient dix mille, pour la plupart des Noirs des aciéries et des abattoirs, et nombre d'entre eux étaient des ouvriers arrivés tout récemment du Sud, des plantations de coton du Mississippi. Il y avait aussi beaucoup de Noirs des classes moyennes, des médecins, des avocats, des instituteurs et un pasteur bien connu s'est trouvé là pour bénir l'assistance.

Je suis sûr que dans cette grande foule, il y avait beaucoup de gens qui n'avaient jamais entendu la vérité sur l'Union Soviétique.

Ils ont écouté attentivement pendant que je parlais de mes visites en U.R.S.S. Je leur ai dit que j'y avais trouvé une société dans laquelle, pour la première fois dans ma vie, moi, un Noir, fils d'un ancien esclave, j'avais su ce que c'était de me sentir libre et d'être l'égal des autres. Je leur ai raconté comment j'avais été profondément ému quand, au cours d'une autre visite, j'avais vu que les livres d'école dans lesquels mon fils étudiait, enseignaient aux enfants soviétiques la fraternité humaine. Je leur ai parlé des nations et des races nombreuses qui constituent l'Union Soviétique. eJ leur ai dit comment des peuples, qui ont connu dans le passé l'oppression colonialiste et raciste, ont achevé leur libération nationale et comment ils progressent à pas de géant dans l'unité et l'égalité avec leurs frères russes qui ont montré le chemin.

C'étaient là de bonnes nouvelles pour le South-Side de Chicago, des nouvelles propres à être applaudies par ce quartier qui a vu hier et qui voit encore les champions du lynch s'attaquer aux familles noires qui transportent leur demeure hors du ghetto noir.

Et après, quand j'ai vu ces gens venir se grouper autour de la tribune pour me serrer la main, mon cœur s'émut de cette démonstration de solidarité militante qui créait des liens entre moi et ces ouvriers du Nord qui sont eux-mêmes étroitement rattachés à la grande masse des noirs du Sud, de ces travailleurs de la terre qui aspirent à se libérer de trois longs siècles de cruelle oppression.

Sur une frontière rencontre de deux peuples

PEU après ce jour merveilleux j'ai participé à un autre concert mémorable qui était donné, lui aussi, en plein air. Bien que je ne sois pas autorisé à voyager hors des Etats-Unis, ce concert constitua en réalité un échange culturel entre deux nations. Il se déroula dans le Peace Arch Park (Parc de l'Arche de la Paix), à la frontière des Etats-Unis et du Canada, entre notre Etat de Washington et la Colombie britannique. Ce concert, qui était une démonstration de masse pour la paix, avait été organisé par la section de Vancouver (Canada) du Syndicat des mineurs, lamineurs et fondeurs. Je dois mentionner ici que ce syndicat des mines de minerais a une riche tradition de lutte de classe, car il a succédé à la vieille Fédération des mineurs de l'Ouest, qui est demeurée célèbre par les grèves héroïques sous la direction du « Grand Bill », William Haywood, qui, obligé d'échapper à une persécution féroce après la première guerre mondiale, acheva ses jours en Union Soviétique où ses cendres sont scellées dans le mur du Kremlin.

C'est dans les premiers combats de ce syndicat que se fit connaître le dirigeant martyr Joe Hill qui a été tué par le trust du cuivre de l'Utah. Il s'agit de ce Joe Hill sur lequel je chante une complainte et qui a été lui-même le principal auteur des chansons pour les travailleurs américains.

Eh bien, là-bas, dans ces vastes territoires du Nord-Ouest, où le concert a eu lieu, l'esprit de la classe ouvrière — un esprit de démocratie et d'internationalisme — est profondément enraciné. Des gens étaient venus des coins les plus éloignés de la région. Leurs autos avaient submergé les routes. Et quand ils furent tous rassemblés dans le parc, ils formaient une assistance de 40.000 hommes, femmes et enfants. La police a reconnu que jamais dans la région il n'y avait eu un tel rassemblement.

LA paix ! Oui ! C'était la la marée des espoirs populaires ! Ici, à cette frontière que je n'avais pas le droit de franchir, se manifestait cette force qu'aucune borne entre les nations ne saurait contenir. Une force qui *imposera la paix* comme nous en avons tous fait le vœu au Congrès mondial de la Paix à Paris. Oui, c'était une expression formidable de la volonté des peuples du monde de jouir de la coexistence pacifique, d'entretenir des relations amicales, de procéder à des échanges culturels. C'était un rassemblement de la solidarité ouvrière contre les fauteurs de guerre.

Ici, en Amérique, le Grand Mensonge (the Big Lie) est toujours la doctrine officielle. La répression se poursuit et devient plus âpre contre ceux qui se prononcent pour les droits du citoyen et pour la paix. Chaque jour, ce sont de nouvelles poursuites. De nouvelles lois néofascistes sont adoptées par le Congrès. De nouvelles victimes sont l'objet de machinations et condamnées à la prison. Mais le sénateur Maç Carthy peut bien embrasser Franco et évoquer le fantôme de Goebbels, le peuple américain, lui, n'est pas fasciste. La tradition démocratique de Jefferson, de Lincoln, de Douglas et de Whitman est demeurée profondément vivante chez les simples gens. Chacun a pu constater l'inquiétude et la révolte populaires qui ont gagné comme une flamme tout le pays quand le vice-président Nixon a suggéré que des soldats américains soient envoyés en Indochine pour combattre les Vietnamiens.

ET récemment, nous avons vu l'idée de la coexistence pacifique, qui avait été presque totalement étouffée ces dernières années, redevenir un sujet de discussion et des porte-parole de larges sections de l'opinion publique se prononcer ouvertement pour un changement de la politique officielle à cet égard. Cette discussion représente par elle-même une percée victorieuse de l'idée de paix. Et je suis persuadé que le bon sens du peuple américain qui, il y a une décade à peine, accordait son appui au président Roosevelt et estimait avec lui que l'amitié américano-soviétique était indispensable pour la paix mondiale, je suis sûr, dis-je, que ce bon sens lui fera découvrir de nouveau la vérité.

Alors, au lieu de cette lamentable guerre froide, nous verrons le soleil d'une paix durable ; les artistes, les écrivains, les savants, les ouvriers, les étudiants et les paysans des Etats-Unis et de l'U.R.S.S. apprendront à se connaître ; et la Grande Vérité de la fraternité humaine l'emportera sur le Grand Mensonge.

Comme un ami sincère et dévoué, j'adresse mon salut aux grands peuples de l'Union Soviétique qui ont ouvert un nouveau chapitre de l'histoire humaine et qui écrivent avec leurs actions héroïques, l'histoire de l'homme véritable, de la femme véritable et de leurs enfants qui hériteront d'un avenir sans bornes...

---

(1) On désigne ainsi le réseau qui permettait, avant la guerre de Sécession, aux esclaves noirs de fuir des Etats du Sud vers le Nord où l'esclavage n'existait plus.

(Not printed at Government expense)

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 83d CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

The Congressional Record of Representative Adam Clayton Powell, Jr.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ADAM C. POWELL, JR.

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 27, 1954

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter:

JULY 27, 1954.

MY DEAR CONSTITUENT: As the 83d Congress comes to a close, and I leave as the American delegate to attend the fourth annual session of the World Conference of Parliamentarians in London, I am dropping you a note highlighting the things that I have done during this session.

I have missed only one vote of importance this year and that was due to my being with the Emperor of Ethiopia.

I have maintained three full-time offices in New York and Washington and handled thousands of matters, as a result of which many thousands of dollars were obtained for constituents.

I have introduced every single civil-rights bill.

This is part of my record as a full-time fighter for the rights of all people during the 83d Congress, drawn only from the Nation's press:

"Successfully fought, over great opposition, to abolish segregation in veterans' hospitals." (Associated Press, Feb. 8, 1953.)

"Revealed shocking agreement between former United States Assistant Attorney General and the New York City Police Department to prevent the FBI from investigating police brutality in New York City." (World-Telegram, Feb. 19, 1953.) As a result, a special committee of Congressmen were appointed. They handed in a unanimous report assessing the blame. Today we have new leadership in the police department of New York City.)

"Segregation in the Veterans' Administration hospitals was ended last week after protest from Congressman POWELL. (New York Amsterdam News, Feb. 28, 1953.)

"Only Member of the United States Congress to say that Paul Robeson lied when he stated that Negroes would never fight Soviet Russia." (New York Daily News, Mar. 7, 1953.)

"Testified that there was a housing shortage and tried to get Federal rent controls continued." (Mutual Broadcasting System, Mar. 12, 1953.)

"Requested President Eisenhower to abolish segregated schools on Army posts." (Kansas City Plaindealer, Apr. 10, 1953.)

"Representative POWELL played the major part in obtaining more money for Howard University and Freedmen's Hospital." (New York Times, May 23, 1953.)

"Congressman POWELL saved the undergraduate school of Howard University by his action on the floor of Congress." (Dr. Mordecai Johnson, president of Howard University.)

"Congressman POWELL is considered one of the most courageous leaders and fighters for Christianity and human rights in the world." (Pittsburgh Courier, June 27, 1953.)

"Helped city post-office workers in move for better conditions and higher pay." (New York Times, Oct. 26, 1953.)

In January 1954, was American representative at the sesquicentennial of Haiti.

"Representative POWELL urged the State Foreign Commerce Committee to report favorably his bill forbidding racial segregation of interstate passengers on any form of transportation." (Chicago Defender, Feb. 7, 1954.)

"The House Labor Committee overwhelmingly approved an amendment to the Taft-Hartley Act which would prevent unions from barring anyone because of race, religion, or national origin. The author of the amendment was Representative POWELL." (Baltimore Sun, Mar. 11, 1954.)

Received civil-rights award for 1943 from the American Jewish Congress.

"As a result of POWELL's investigation, United States Army has agreed to abolish segregation in the cadet mess detachment at the Military Academy at West Point." (Washington Post, Mar. 21, 1954.)

Due to POWELL's protest, Secretary of Navy Anderson abolished all segregation in the United States Naval shipyards in the South and abolished segregated messmen divisions in the United States Navy.

Cooperated with the late Dr. Mary Church Terrell in successfully abolishing segregation in public facilities in the District of Columbia.

Worked with Gerald Wagner in Washington, D. C., theaters in successfully abolishing segregation in moving picture houses of the Capital.

"In reference to the Supreme Court's decision abolishing segregation in the public-school system in America, Representative POWELL said, 'this is democracy's shining hour; this is communism's worst defeat. Communism cannot succeed when democracy works.'" (CBS-TV, NBC-TV, ABC-TV, Dumont TV and New York World-Telegram.)

Was the host to His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie, Emperor of Ethiopia; His Honor the Prime Minister of Jamaica, Mr. Bustamante; the Prime Minister of Nigeria, Dr. Azikwe.

My staff in Washington and New York, as indicated on this letterhead, is available at all times to help you with any problem that you might have. Feel free to call upon us.

Ever sincerely, your full-time fighter for the rights of men,

ADAM CLAYTON POWELL, Jr.

308401—51227

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1954

BONDS OF BROTHERHOOD

The great American and Negro leader gives an inspiring statement of the common aims of the Negro and Jewish peoples and democracy

By Paul Robeson

MY HEARTFELT greetings to the Jewish people, who are now celebrating three centuries of life and work in this land. It is good for all Americans to be reminded once again that the "Anglo-Saxon" image of America is a false-face. Certainly no Negro can hear the declaration of the Committee for the 300th Anniversary of Jewish Settlement in the U.S.A.—*"We have always been part of America"*—without reflecting that such has been our own insistent claim: *"We too are America!"*

Self-evident since the days of Haym Salomon and Crispus Attucks, these claims have been denied by the racists and reactionaries of every generation; and never before have these foes been more powerful and arrogant than they are today. Not only is race, color and creed a continuing bar to a so-called "100 per cent American" status, but nowadays any person or organization can be officially branded "un-American" by a one-man ruling. The McCarran-Walter immigration act compares in foulness with the worst of nazi racism.

The significant relationship of the Jewish people's interests with those of the Negro people has been pointed out by the Anniversary Committee:

"Let us make our anniversary a source of inspiration in the defense of our rights and liberties. . . . Let us act in unison with all groups in America and especially the Negro people—who suffer most from reaction and fascism—in order to defend our democratic rights." (JEWISH LIFE, September 1954.)

Yes, the cause of democracy, the rights of all other minorities, are inseparably linked with the liberation struggles of the Negro people. From the "Know-Nothing" party of a century ago to the Ku Klux Klan and the McCarthys and McCarrans of today, history's handwriting on the wall has spelled out that lesson. He who would live must learn it well.

It is not likely that the first group of Jewish settlers who came to New Amsterdam in 1654 had heard about that first group of Negroes who were landed at Jamestown in 1619. The Jews came as pioneers, seeking freedom; the Negroes came as slaves, torn from their homeland.

So, from this beginning it was inevitable that the history of the descendants of these two groups (and of all their kin who came in later years by slave-ship from Africa and steerage-hold from Europe) would develop on different paths. And yet, in all the diverse strands which make up the web of American history for the past three centuries, there are direct threads which link the interests of the Negro and Jewish people from the earliest days.

Peter Stuyvesant, governor for the Dutch West Indies, who wanted to drive out the first Jewish settlers, has long since turned to dust, as has the Dutch slaver which brought the captive Africans; but anti-Semitism still lives and is nurtured on our soil, and the shameful heritage of slavery—Negro oppression and exploitation—still has its grip.

Indeed, right here in New York the name of the man who first proclaimed anti-Semitism in the New World is known to us in connection with anti-Negro discrimination. We recall the long and bitter struggle against Jimcrow in the Stuyvesant Town houses. Here we saw progressive sections of the Jewish people united with the Negro people in a drive to make the racist walls come tumbling down.

We remember Ben Davis, our City Councilman, who led that memorable battle, and here the thread of history leads to Foley Square where a landlord judge sentences the heroic leader to prison. And in the courtroom we see Negro and Jewish workers standing together against the Peter Stuyvesants of our time: yes, here beside Ben Davis is Irving Potash; John Gates with Henry Winston, and all their courageous colleagues.

WHO CAN FORGET THE AWFUL LESSON OF HITLER GERMANY? How many of those who thought that the Reichstag Fire frame-up trial was aimed at only the Left—how many of the duped were to die?

And so we can all agree with the Anniversary Committee when it warns that "the McCarthyite attacks upon the American people bring the danger of fascism." With confidence, the Committee asserts: "In this critical moment . . . the Jewish workers and common people will find the necessary strength and wisdom to stand firm on the side of progress and peace, against McCarthyism, fascism and war."

Surely none of us who were at Peekskill can doubt that the Jewish workers will be second to none in standing firm against our common enemy. As for myself, I have always felt an especially close bond with the Jewish people; and to me, Peekskill, so terrible in its demonstration of reactionary barbarism, shall ever be a glowing symbol of the unity of Negro and Jewish workers against fascism.

Some day soon I shall write at length, in the context of my life story, about the meaningful experiences I have had

Paul Robeson

with the Jewish people. Much of this would deal with my early years as an artist, for here, in this field of music and the arts, all other Americans are deeply indebted to the creativity and cultural gifts of the Jewish people.

But the story would begin even earlier—in my boyhood, when I first heard about the Children of Israel—the epics of Moses and Joshua and Gideon and the fiery Hebrew prophets—the Bible stories that gave imagery to the freedom songs of my people. Recently I was told that our great Negro spiritual, "Go Down Moses," has now been translated into Hebrew and has been sung to audiences in Israel—and one marvels again at the interweaving of people's cultures: down through the centuries, moving from language to language, crossing seas and mountains, turning, doubling back ever renewed and enriched . . . imperishable in the common aspirations of mankind!

HERE IS ANOTHER EXAMPLE OF THIS WONDER-WOVEN FABRIC OF human culture which unites us all: Not long ago I was asked to sing a song by Anton Dvorák to be used in a film about the life of the great composer which is now being made in his homeland, Czechoslovakia. The words of his song are from the well-known biblical psalm, *"By the rivers of Babylon, there we sat down and wept"*—the searing outcry of an enslaved people against their oppressors, against *"those that carried us away captive."*

From ancient Judea these words of the 137th Psalm had crossed the vast reaches of time and distance to stir the hearts of the Negro slaves in our own Southland; and the downfall of slave-holding Babylon was cited by our Frederick Douglass in his famous address, "The Meaning of July Fourth for the Negro" (1852). "I can today take up the plaintive lament of a peeled and woe-smitten people," Douglass declared, and he went on to recite the moving lines of the psalm.

Half a century later the gifted Dvorák came to our country, studied the melodies and lyrics of Negro song, and drew upon its richness for his own creations—and so, in this way, the words of this very song must have traveled back across the ocean with him; and I am told the song was especially popular among the Czech people during their years of suffering under the terror of nazi occupation.

But history moves on: Hitler is gone; Prague lives and builds in a new people's democracy—and now I, an American Negro, sing for her this ancient Hebrew song in the language of the people of Huss and Dvorák, Fuchik and Gottwald:

Pri rekách babylonckych,
Tam jsme sedávali a plakávali . . .

If it has been true that the Jewish people, like so many other national groups for whom I have sung, have warmly understood and loved the songs of my people, it has also been true that Negro audiences have been moved by songs of the Jewish people. The Hassidic Chant, for example, has a profound impact on the Negro listener not only for its content—a powerful protest against an age-old persecution—but also because of its form: the phrasing and rhythm have counterparts in traditional Negro sermon-song. And here, too, is a bond that can be traced back through the centuries to a common heritage.

In the early days of my singing career and in the theater, the Jewish artists I came to know not only introduced me to the world of Sholem Aleichem through the Yiddish language and folksong; but since many of these friends were Russian Jews, I also came to know the language of Pushkin and the songs of Moussorgsky. And so it happened that, before I had any knowledge of the economic or political nature of the Soviet Union, I developed an abiding love for the culture of the Russian people.

"Un-American!" say the Know-Nothing Knowlands of today—and indeed, the whole world which cries out for peaceful co-existence, cultural exchange and trade between nations, seems altogether "un-American" to those here who are driving hell-bent for fascism and war.

Well, there exists that evil tradition which stretches over the years from Peter Stuyvesant to Pat McCarran, from Jefferson Davis to James Byrnes. But there also exists the great tradition of democracy and of struggle to preserve and extend that democracy—in Jewish history from the resistance of the first settlers to anti-Semitism; in Negro history from the first slave revolt; in all of American history from the earliest struggle for man's inalienable rights.

Hating and fearing the war-mad rulers of our country, the people of all lands look eagerly for signs of that "other America" they know exists—the America of the common people who also yearn for relief from the burdens of armaments, "spy"-scares and witchhunts, and for the banishment of that ultimate disaster—atomic war.

So let the Tercentenary celebration of the Jewish people serve as a fitting means to let the voice of that other America be heard: for democracy and progress, for freedom and peace—for our land and for all others!

Supreme Court of the United States

OCTOBER TERM, 1950

No. 336

EUGENE DENNIS, JOHN B. WILLIAMSON, JACOB STACHEL, ROBERT G. THOMPSON, BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, JR., HENRY WINSTON, JOHN GATES, IRVING POTASH, GILBERT GREEN, CARL WINTERS and GUS HALL,

Petitioners,

v.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,

Respondent.

PETITION FOR LEAVE TO FILE AND MEMORANDUM OF *AMICI CURIAE* IN SUPPORT OF PETITION FOR REHEARING

ON WRIT OF CERTIORARI TO THE UNITED STATES COURT OF APPEALS FOR THE SECOND CIRCUIT

Petition

We, the undersigned Negro citizens, each a member of the bar of the State of Illinois and also of this Court, respectfully request leave to submit the following memorandum as *Amici Curiae* in support of the pending application for rehearing in this cause.

Memorandum

The decision of this Court (*Dennis, et al.* v. *United States of America*) rendered on June 4, 1951, with two justices dissenting, sustained the constitutionality of the teaching and advocacy provisions of the Smith Act and upheld the conviction of the petitioners for the offense of agreeing to teach and advocate the violent overthrow of the government in violation of that Act.[1]

This memorandum is not concerned with the factual issue of whether or not petitioners did engage or did agree to engage in such advocacy. We assume that the jury's verdict is conclusive on this point in this Court. The majority of this Court, however, in sustaining the convictions and upholding the constitutionality of the Smith Act, has so narrowed the permissible area of freedom of advocacy as to give cause for justifiable concern to every citizen who cherishes the guarantees of the First Amendment.

Negro citizens, constituting as they do a specially persecuted minority group in our body politic,[2] see in the opinion of the Court's majority the enunciation of at least two legal concepts which are at variance with the prior decisions of this Court and which, if allowed to stand, are bound to have a disastrous impact upon the century-old struggle of the Negro people for complete emancipation.[3]

---

[1] The relevant provisions of the Smith Act are Sections 2 and 3 quoted in the Court's opinion. See Title I of the Alien Registration Act of June 28, 1950, 54 Stat. 170-171 (18 U. S. C. 10 and 11).

[2] The persecuted minority status of Negroes in our country is attested by a long line of decisions of this Court. See, for example, *Gaines* v. *Canada,* 303 U. S. 377; *Pierre* v. *Louisiana,* 306 U. S. 354; *Smith* v. *Texas,* 311 U. S. 128; *Mitchell* v. *United States,* 313 U. S. 80; *Taylor* v. *Georgia,* 315 U. S. 25.

[3] The admitted practice of the trial court in designating by the letter "c" or the word "colored" the names of prospective Negro jurors appears in the record on appeal but is not presently before this Court because of the limited grant of certiorari. While we

I. The Limitation on the Right to Protest

The most important right which the citizens of a democracy enjoy is the right to political expression, the right to advocate changes with respect to the basic issues of their society. It is in this way that government is made responsive to the will of the people.

Negro citizens are vitally concerned over the Court's decision, both because they regard the right of political expression as a basic democratic right and because history has taught them that liberty is indivisible. The constitutional rights of the Negroes under the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments cannot be divorced from the free enjoyment by all our people of the protections of the Bill of Rights. The decision in weakening a basic liberty places in jeopardy the special rights written into the Constitution to assure democratic protections of Negroes.

Moreover, Negro citizens have a special and vital interest in the right of free expression. The most precious right which a minority can enjoy under any form of government is the right to protest; the right to voice its complaints and to request, urge, demand and advocate governmental redress. The democratic principle can only work if every minority group is assured and, indeed, guaranteed access to all of the means of protecting itself against discrimination and unfair treatment.

The Negro people are peculiarly dependent upon the exercise of the fundamental rights involved in political expression in order to achieve its legitimate goals in a democracy. Discrimination against the Negro people is deeply embedded in the fabric of government—particularly the governments in the Southern states. Efforts to remove inequalities inevitably involve basic attacks upon governmental attitudes and conduct.

---

believe this practice in a Federal Court should be reviewed and condemned by this Court on the authority of *Cassel* v. *Texas,* 339 U. S. 282, and the cases cited therein, we do not argue the point in this memorandum.

It is inevitable that the decision will inhibit and impair legitimate efforts to extend democratic protections to the Negro people. This is so for two reasons:

In the first place, advocacy of fundamental changes in government so as to extend democratic protections to the Negro might well be equated, under the broad terms of the Court's decision, with advocacy of the violent overthrow of the government. In the second place, as Justice Black's dissenting opinion points out, the decision imposes a prior restraint upon political expression. If the present decision is permitted to stand, few, whether Negro or non-Negro, will undertake to challenge the "Black Codes" of the South or to condemn the governmental policy of supporting Jim-Crow laws or poll-tax restrictions on the right to vote. Only individuals with great courage will vigorously condemn the failure to apprehend and prosecute those who engage in mob violence against Negroes. In short, the decision casts a chilling shadow of fear even over those areas which it does not literally reach.

The inevitable effect of the decision is to undermine, if not destroy, effective protest with respect to government practices and policies inimical to the welfare of Negroes.

II. Clear and Present Danger

Prior to the decision in this case, right of protest would have been protected by the First Amendment, notwithstanding the "clear and present danger" formula's limitation upon the otherwise absolute prohibition which the literal terms of that Amendment imposes upon governmental action in the realm of speech. For, until this decision, at least two safeguards remained: the first of these was this Court's clear distinction between advocacy and conduct as crystallized in its opinion in *A. C. A.* v. *Douds,* 339 U. S. 392; and the second was the assurance, based upon *Whitney* v. *California,* 274 U. S. 357, and *Pierce* v. *United States,* 252 U. S. 239, that in no event could mere speech, regardless how intemperate, be successfully prosecuted unless and until a jury of one's peers should find that it *clearly and presently* threatened an evil within the competency of the government to prevent. The decision of the majority in this case appears to destroy both of these safeguards.

The majority opinion, while seeming to retain the "clear and present danger" formula as interpreted in *Douds,* appears to us to completely negate that formula by regarding as "conduct" what was charged in the indictment and found by the jury to be "advocacy".[4] Thus, the "clear and present danger" formula originally devised by Justices Brandeis and Holmes as a compromise by means of which actionable words which are tantamount to an "attempt" or an "incitement" could be punished while preserving the constitutional protection against the prohibition of speech as such (*Schenck* v. *United States,* 249 U. S. 47; *Abrams* v. *United States,* 250 U. S. 616; *Schaefer* v. *United States,* 251 U. S. 466, and *Whitney* v. *California, supra*) is set at naught; and those of us whose eventual complete emancipation is dependent upon changing the status quo are again in that twilight zone which characterized this Court's First Amendment decisions prior to the *Schenck* case. See Chafee's "Freedom of Speech" (1920).

What speech or writing is or is not actionable in the future will depend not upon the clarity and immediacy of the danger to the public welfare, but rather upon whether the judiciary believes that what is said or written represents a sane, sober, safe and orthodox view. As Mr. Justice Jackson's concurring opinion shows, henceforth the "clear and present danger" formula is to be reserved for the protection of the speech or writing that does not matter—"the hot-headed speech on a street corner, or circulation of a few incendiary pamphlets * * *".

---

[4] The dissents emphasize (and the majority does not deny) that the charge in this case was not *acts* intended to overthrow the government; nor even the teaching and advocacy of such *acts.* It was conspiracy—an agreement—to teach and advocate such overthrow at some indefinite and unspecified time and without any overt act being alleged in connection with such agreement. This is made clearer by Mr. Justice Frankfurter's concurrence in which he concedes that "it is self-delusion to think that we can punish (these defendants) for their advocacy without adding to the risks run by loyal citizens who honestly believe in some of the reforms these defendants advance. It is a sobering fact that in sustaining the conviction before us we can hardly escape restriction on the interchange of ideas."

The abandonment of the "clear and present danger" principle creates special concern for those familiar with the techniques which have historically been employed to retard and to crush the struggle for the achievement of Negro rights. From the very beginning the movement for the liberation of the Negro people was falsely attacked as a movement committed to force and violence. Every attempt to better the lot of the Negro people was attacked and slandered as an effort to incite insurrection. The abandonment of long-established constitutional tests will inevitably invite the revival of these techniques of repression and subjugation.

Deeply disquieting also is the revival in the decision of the conspiracy concept as a means of justifying the abandonment of the traditional constitutional protections. Long ago Negroes, like trade unionists, recognized that only through group action could effective inroads be made upon prejudice and discrimination. Historically, these collective efforts were attacked and slandered as "conspiracies". Even today efforts of the Negro people through unincorporated associations or groups bound together by consciousness of common interests to achieve democratic liberties are denounced and attacked as sinister "conspiracies".

The majority opinion in the present case also repudiates the whole history of the Sixth Amendment with its guarantee of a jury trial of the basic issues in all criminal sedition cases. The struggle of the English people to wrest from the province of a crown-appointed judiciary the right to determine in such cases whether alleged seditious utterances tended to cause disrespect or contempt for the authority of the crown was not lost from the minds of those who fashioned our Bill of Rights. The successful fight of those English barristers like Lord Erskine, which culminated in Fox's Libel Act of 1792, and the courageous defense by the lawyers in the *Peter Zenger* case in this country were fresh in the thoughts of those who wrote the guarantee of the Sixth Amendment into our Constitution. It was the means devised by them to insure that the direct representation of the people—the jury, as distinct from the appointee of the State, the judge—should assess the criminality of every utterance claimed to be seditious. The Brandeis-Holmes formula of "clear and present danger", as the dissenting opinion of Mr. Justice Douglas makes clear, had the distinction of preserving this modicum of protection by leaving it to the jury in each jury-trial case to determine the evil tendency of the utterance. For this Court to now hold, as it does in the present case, that the jury's function is limited to ascertaining whether or not the utterance was in fact made and that it then becomes the sole function of the judge to determine whether such an utterance presents a clear and present danger is to reverse not merely *Pierce* v. *United States, supra,* and *Whitney* v. *California, supra,* but two centuries of struggle by English-speaking peoples to commit to the ultimate protection of a jury of their peers the issue of the extent to which they might criticize their government with impunity.

Here again the adverse decision of this Court on this issue has peculiar significance for the members of a persecuted minority whose history has been one of continuous struggle for the right to have the guilt or innocence of one of their members in the ordinary criminal case assessed by a democratically selected jury of their peers. For this Court to hold now, as it does in the present decision, that a Negro accused of seditious utterances against a State or the Federal government is not entitled to a jury but is relegated to the opinion of a single judge whose views on social, economic or political issues is bound to be conditioned by his own background, is in effect to relegate the whole movement of the Negro people toward full equality in American life to a status which differs only in theory from that suffered by Negroes prior to the Civil War.

CONCLUSION

For the reasons herein set forth we urge upon this Court a reconsideration and reversal of its present decision in this case.

Dated: September 27, 1951.

Respectfully submitted,

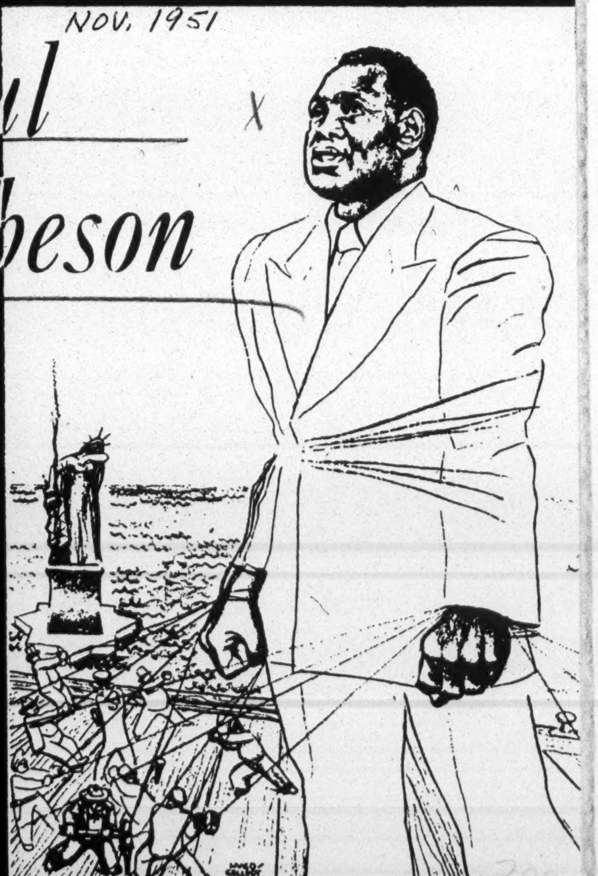
Richard E. Westbrooks,
Earl B. Dickerson,
Members of the Bar of the State of Illinois
and of the United States Supreme Court.

Lift Every Voice for

NOV. 1951

Paul Robeson

X



by

Lloyd L. Brown

3¢

200

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Lloyd L. Brown, a trade union organizer for many years, is presently Associate Editor of the cultural monthly magazine, *Masses & Mainstream.* He is the author of the novel, *Iron City,* published earlier this year. Mr. Brown is a veteran of World War II, having served for three and a half years in the Army Air Force.

The drawing on the cover is by the distinguished artist, Hugo Gellert.

Published by FREEDOM ASSOCIATES, 53 W. 125th St., N. Y. 27
November, 1951 209 PRINTED IN U.S.A.

YOU ARE AN AMERICAN, as good as any other, equal before the law, entitled to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Fine. And one day you decide to take a trip abroad—to see the world, maybe; or perhaps to study, or to visit friends or relatives, or to get a job. . . . So you apply for a passport. Some red-tape, of course, blanks to fill out, a fee to be paid, and then—

No passport for you!

Why? What's wrong?

The Passport Division doesn't tell you why. No passport, that's all.

You get angry. Look here, you tell them, I'm a free man (or woman). I can go anywhere I please as long as I'm not under arrest or held on bail. And, mister, I haven't broken any law, I pay my taxes, I've got my rights!

The passport official says nothing, just shakes his head: No.

Well, fellow American, what would you do then?

Write your Congressman. See a lawyer. Tell your friends. Yes—all of that. You would holler to high heaven and maybe you'd raise some hell too, because you're an American citizen and you've got your rights.

But no passport. And if you still didn't get one, what then? Well, if you had wanted to take a pleasure trip, your plans would be spoiled; but it could mean something much more serious. Let's say, you *had* to travel, as many people must, to make a living or to practice your profession. The denial of your passport then would be a double blow: a denial of your freedom of movement and a denial of your right to earn a living.

In other words you would be undergoing a kind of *arrest* and paying a *fine* too—and all without your breaking any law or being given any sort of trial or hearing!

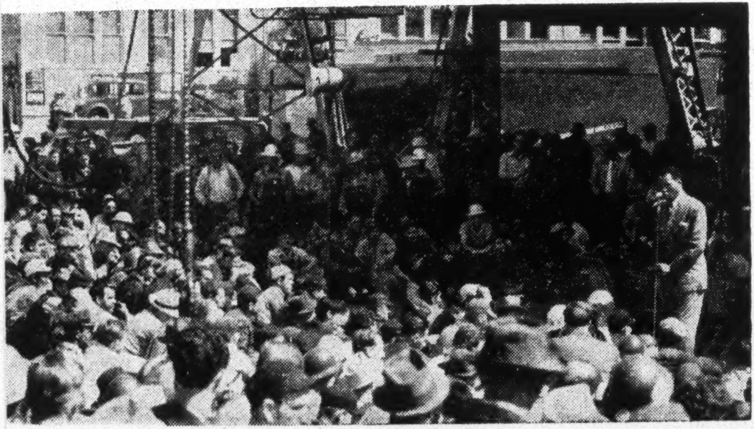
Now, so far as you are concerned this is just a make-believe story. But this is not a make-believe situation for many Americans and here I want to tell you the true story of one of them. I will tell the simple truth and I want you to be the judge and jury, because I believe as you do in the democratic principle that justice must be decided by the people.

THE CASE OF PAUL ROBESON

This is the case of Paul Robeson, who is denied a passport.

Millions of people in our land and around the world know this man. At Rutgers he was an All-American football player—and over the years since then he's been an All-American in many other fields as well. Star of stage and screen, renowned concert singer, spokesman for the Negro people and for the working people of all nationalities, co-chairman of the Progressive Party, chairman of the Council on African Affairs, a leader of the world peace movement . . . Robeson is one of the most famous world figures.

The distinguished author and critic, Alexander Woollcott, once wrote of him: "Of all the countless people I have known in my wanderings about the world, he is one of the few who, I would say, had true greatness." And all round the globe people share this judgment: it can be truly said that no other living American has won the world-wide popularity achieved by Paul Robeson.



Robeson singing to dock workers at Oakland, Cal.

Probably no other American is *personally known* by so many peoples and nations as is Paul Robeson. A world traveller for nearly 30 years, Robeson has sung the songs of the many nations, in the languages of the people, and through his magnificent art has won their hearts. But now he can travel no more.

Here are the facts:

- On July 28, 1950, two agents of the State Department called on Mr. Robeson and demanded that he turn in his passport. At that time the artist had completed arrangements for a trip to Europe to attend several meetings and to fulfill speaking engagements in a number of countries. In addition, he had arranged to give several concerts in Italy and England and to make recordings. There were also plans for dramatic appearances in *Othello,* and for concerts in Scandinavia, France and Israel.

The two government agents gave no reasons for their high-handed demand and Robeson, on the advice of his attorneys, refused to give up his lawful passport.

- On August 1, 1950, Robeson's lawyers wrote to the State Department asking an explanation on the order. No answer came, but three days later the newspapers carried an announcement by the Department that the passport was cancelled.

- Again the officials were asked for an explanation, and finally on August 7, 1950, the chief of the Passport Division wrote to the lawyers: "The action was taken because the Department considers that Paul Robeson's travel abroad at this time would be contrary to the best interests of the United States."

No hearing, no factual explanation—just the vague statement that some unnamed officials "considered" that Robeson shouldn't travel again.

No concerts.

No *Othello* in London.

No speaking engagements.

NO PASSPORT.

- Mr. Robeson appealed to the Courts. On April 20, 1951, the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia ruled against the artist by asserting that it had no power to act in the case. At the same time the Court denied the government's motion that Robeson be compelled to turn in his cancelled passport.
- The ruling was appealed to a higher court—the U.S. Court of Appeals, where action is pending.

PEOPLE'S ARTIST IS GAGGED

Meanwhile, for over a year, Paul Robeson has been undergoing punishment: loss of his personal freedom, loss of his public life abroad, loss of his livelihood.

For Robeson there is another and greater loss. Above all else he is an artist, and for an artist there is no more cruel punishment than to deprive him of the means to practice his art. The truth is that in our country Robeson is barred from the concert halls, from the stage and screen and radio. *Under these conditions the denial of a passport means that one of the greatest of singers is virtually gagged.*

Requests for concert appearances come to Paul Robeson from many lands. The Scotch miners are part of his enormous audience; their union urges that he come again to give recitals throughout the coal valleys. The new land of Israel calls for him, for ten recitals this winter. Music lovers and trade unionists in Jamaica, British West Indies, await his return to Kingston where two years ago he sang to an audience of 75,000. Mexico and Sweden and Czechoslovakia and France and Poland—great audiences clamor to hear him, the foremost impresarios offer handsome contracts.

Robeson cannot sing for them. No passport.

PEACE LEADER IS HAMPERED

As an important leader of the international movement for peace, Paul Robeson is hampered by the passport denial. He could not attend the Second World Peace Congress held this year in Warsaw. He could not attend the anniversary celebration in Peking of the People's Republic of China to which he and Mrs. Robeson had been invited last September. From Bombay and Calcutta, India, from Africa and other homelands of the world's majority—the colored peoples—come urgent invitations for Robeson to speak, to confer with peace councils, labor and youth groups.

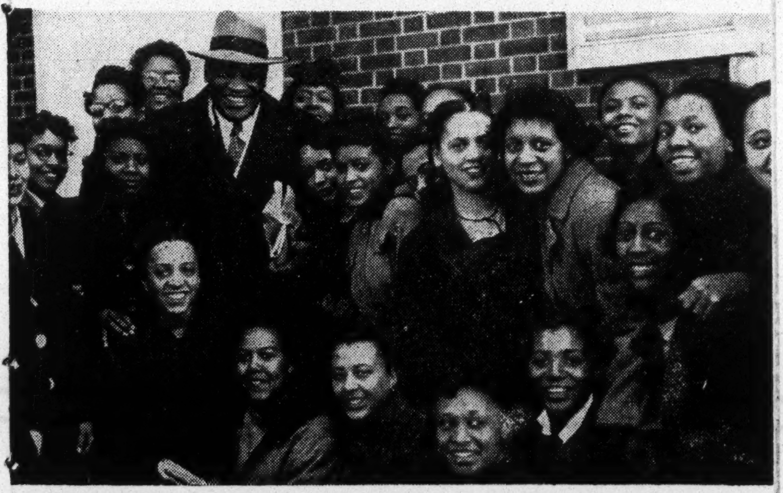
Robeson cannot meet with them. No passport.

NEGRO LEADER IS SHACKLED

By word and deed Paul Robeson has challenged the Jim Crow blight on America, taken up the cause of the 15 million Negroes. *Abroad he has won countless friends and allies for his people's freedom struggles.* The millions of rising Asians, Africans and other colonial peoples are deeply concerned about the fate of the Negro in America; they see in Robeson the true spokesman of his people. They see too in the chairman of the Council on African Affairs a staunch champion of colonial liberation from White Man's Rule—imperialism.

In Washington, the White Men's ruling: no passport for Robeson.

They say that it is against the "best interests" of our country to permit Paul Robeson to travel abroad. The newspapers slander him saying he spoke against our government when he spoke for peace in Paris. Mob violence, as at Peekskill, is organized against



Paul Robeson after addressing students of Bennett College for Women, Greensboro, N. C.

him. Even some prominent Negroes are induced to speak against him, saying he shouldn't "offend" the big white folks by telling to world audiences the truth about Negro oppression.

But remember Frederick Douglass, the greatest Negro leader of the last century. A fugitive slave, an Abolitionist, he went to Europe to speak for his people's freedom. While there he noted that the U.S. newspapers were calling him a "glib-tongued scoundrel," saying that he was "running out against the institutions and people of America."

In a great speech at Moorfields, England, on May 12, 1846, Frederick Douglass defiantly answered these slanders:

"I deny the charge that I am saying a word against the institutions of America, or the people, as such. What I have to say is against slavery and the slaveholders. I want the slaveholder to feel that he has no sympathy in England, Scotland or Ireland; that he has none in Canada, none in Mexico, none among the poor wild Indians; that the voice of the civilized, aye, and savage world is against him. I would have condemnation blaze down upon him in every direction, till, stunned and overwhelmed with shame and confusion, he is compelled to let go the grasp he holds upon the persons of his victims, and restore them to their long-lost rights."

Robeson is the Douglass of today. He is a loyal American, the best kind of American, and only those who support the "100% Americanism" of the KKK lynchers can hold that his activities are not in the best interests of our country.

Paul Robeson's attorneys hit the nail on the head when they wrote in their appeal to the Court:

"In all his public activities, plaintiff's objectives have been those set forth in the preamble to the Constitution of the United States, to wit, to promote the general welfare and to secure the blessings of liberty, and particularly to vindicate and effectuate the rights guaranteed by the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments and the rights set forth in the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights."

206

LIFT EVERY VOICE . . .

We—all of us, Negro and white, trade unionists, professionals, cultural workers, Jewish people and other minority groups—owe a large debt to Paul Robeson. His great art has inspired us; his strength and leadership have been given unstintingly over the years; he has encouraged and helped every progressive cause of the people. He has given all, asking nothing.

He needs us now as we need him. The fight for his passport is our fight.

Let President Truman and the State Department hear from all of us.

Let *our* voices be raised that Robeson's great voice may once again roll and resound throughout the world, singing the Song of Man, leading the chorus of peoples in triumphant hymn for Brotherhood, for Democracy, for Peace.

WHAT YOU CAN DO:

1. Write a letter to President Harry S. Truman and Secretary of State Dean Acheson urging that Paul Robeson's passport be restored.

2. Ask your club, church group, trade union or fraternal organization to pass a resolution on the case and forward it to the President and Secretary of State.

3. Use the form below to order additional copies of this pamphlet and to send contribution to the campaign.

Provisional Committee To Restore
Paul Robeson's Passport
2286 Seventh Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Enclosed is $........for........ copies of LIFT EVERY VOICE.

Enclosed find $.......as my contribution to the work of the committee.

Freedom

"Where one is enslaved, all are in chains!"

PAUL ROBESON'S PAPER

Brir you an up-to-date, lively view and interpretat of the changing world. A regular column by Pa Robeson . . . news of Africa and the colonial w d . . . major trends in Negro life . . . developn its in the battle for equality and the world strugg for peace . . . "Conversations from Life" by Ali Childress . . . humor in "Sam Sage Says" . . . a vivid cartooning by Ollie Harrington. REAI IT EVERY MONTH – *Subscribe Today!*

FREEDOM ASSOCIATES
55 West 125th St., New York 27, N. Y. (ENright 9-3980)

Please find enclosed one dollar ($1.00) for one annual subscription to

FREEDOM

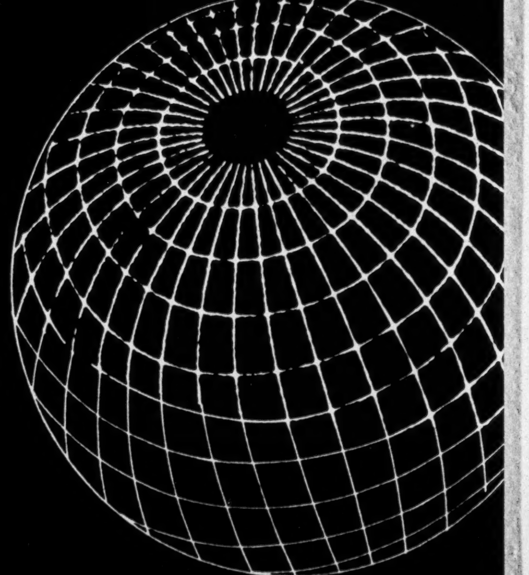
Also enclosed find $................. in support of the program of Freedom Associates.

Name (print) ....

Address ....

City .... ***Zone*** .... ***State*** ....

ARTISTS' RIGHT TO TRAVEL



A TRIBUTE TO

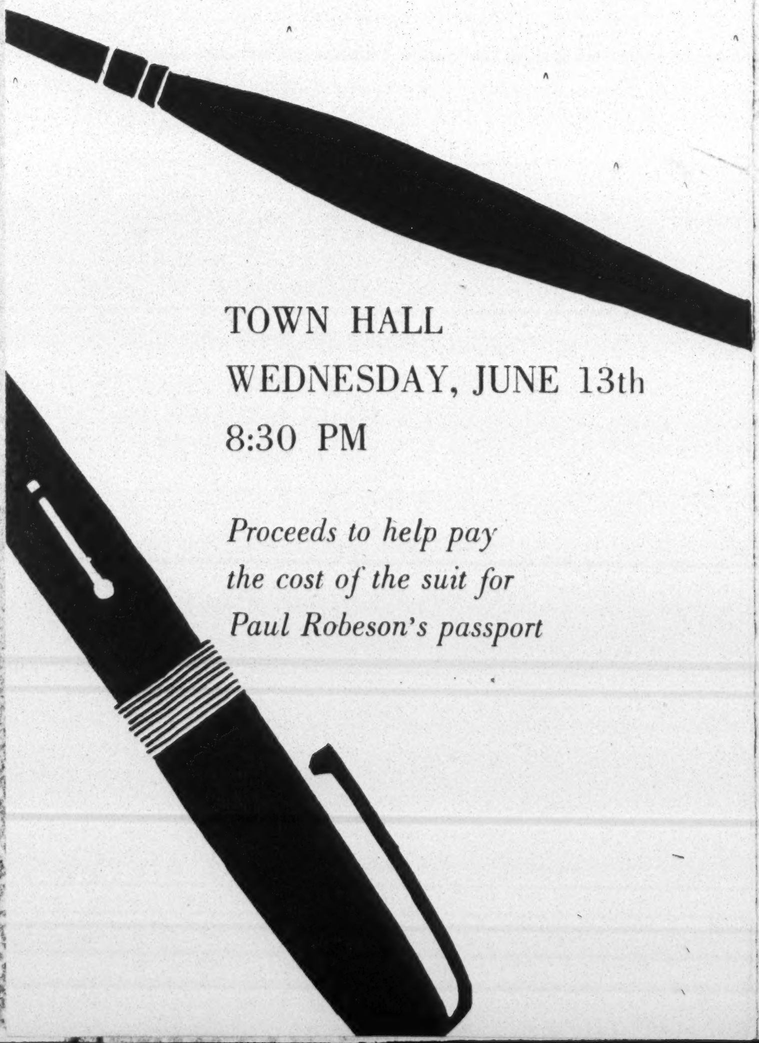
PAUL ROBESON

CALYPSO CONCERT

DUKE OF IRON
Famous Troubadour

TRINIDAD STEEL BAND

AND OTHERS



TOWN HALL
WEDNESDAY, JUNE 13th
8:30 PM

Proceeds to help pay
the cost of the suit for
Paul Robeson's passport

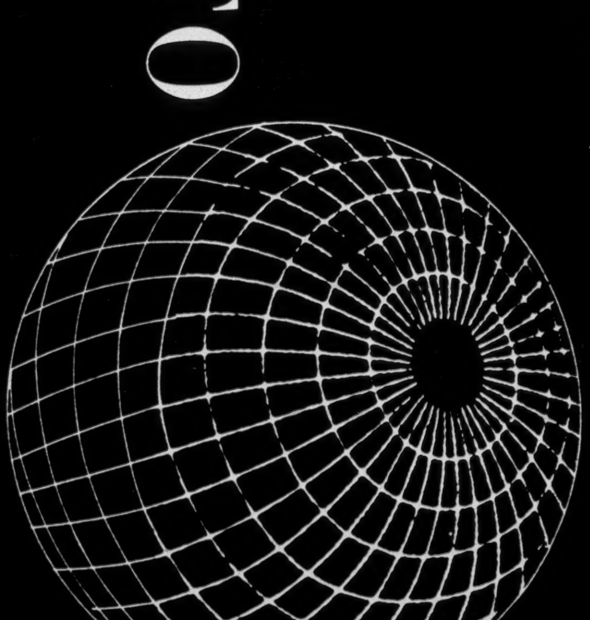
Prices for the concert at Town Hall, Wednesday, June 13, at 8:30 P.M.:	Orchestra	$5.00 to $2.50
	Balcony	$2.50 to $1.65
	Boxes	$10.01 (6 for $50.) *(tax included)*

Emergency Civil Liberties Committee
421 Seventh Ave., New York 1, N. Y.

Please send me........tickets for the Town Hall concert on Wed.,
June 13th at 8:30 P.M. I am unable to attend
I enclose $........ but am enclosing $________
in support of this very important suit.
Name..
Address..
City.................. Zone...... State..........

Following the concert
there will be a reception
at the Hotel Diplomat –
just opposite Town Hall
on W. 43 St.
Everyone invited; refreshments –
Admission $1.25.

ARTISTS' RIGHT TO TRAVEL



A TRIBUTE TO
PAUL ROBESON

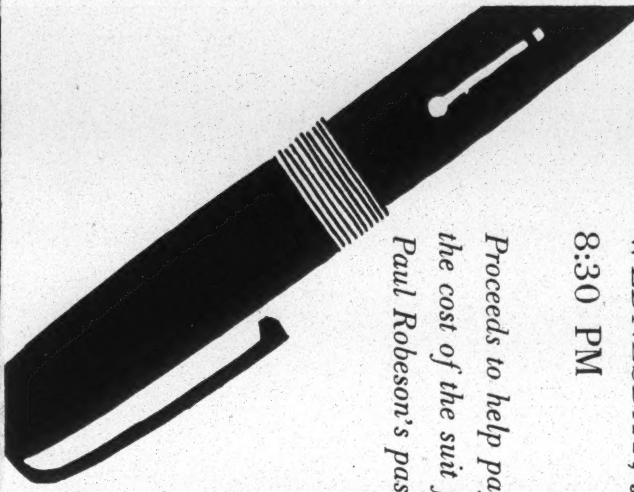
CALYPSO CONCERT

DUKE OF IRON
Famous Troubadour
TRINIDAD STEEL BAND

AND OTHERS

TOWN HALL
WEDNESDAY, JUNE 13th
8:30 PM

Proceeds to help pay
the cost of the suit for
Paul Robeson's passport



Following the concert there will be a reception at the Hotel Diplomat — just opposite Town Hall on W. 43 St.

Everyone invited; refreshments — Admission $1.25.

Prices for the concert at Town Hall, Wednesday, June 13, at 8:30 P.M.:

Orchestra	**$5.00 to $2.50**
Balcony	**$2.50 to $1.65**
Boxes	**$10.01 (6 for $50.)**

(tax included)

Emergency Civil Liberties Committee
421 Seventh Ave., New York 1, N. Y.

Please send me.........tickets for the Town Hall concert on Wed., June 13th at 8:30 P.M.

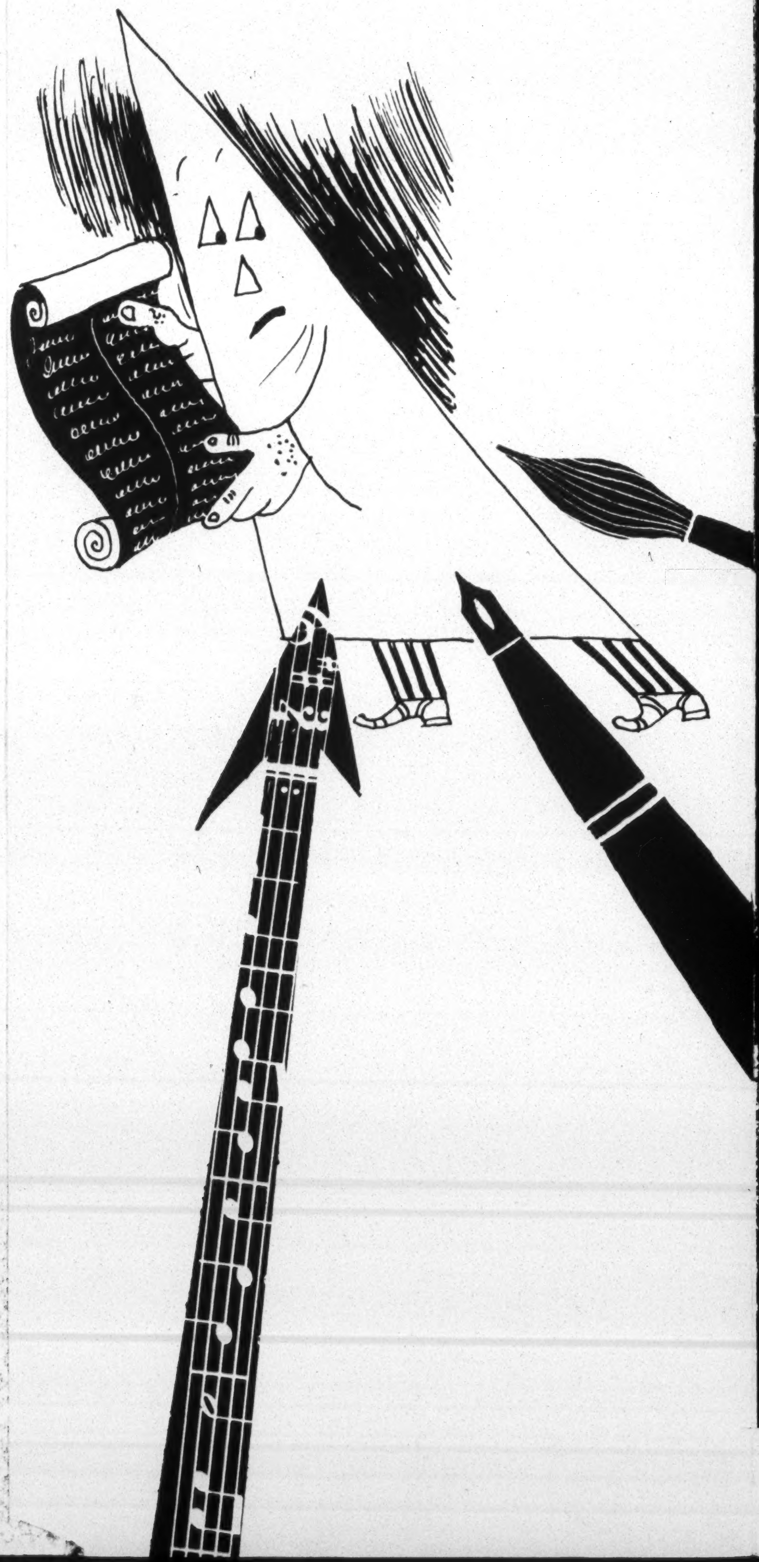
I enclose $.........

I am unable to attend but am enclosing $________ in support of this very important suit.

Name...

Address..

City...............................Zone.....State..........



Paul Robeson
is one of the
17,000,000 Americans
who comprise
the State Department's
recently announced
"card file"

All blacklists
lead to blackmail
and imperil art, culture
and the America we have known.

A blacklist
is particularly hard
on artists whose careers
depend on foreign appearances.
Do your part
to restore our freedom!

CHARLIE CHAPLIN says:

The natural right of every free man to travel is being violated more and more by the unscrupulous with-holding of passports. The situation is most alarming. For every American today, whether he knows it or not, is a prisoner on probation, with a chain around his leg to be drawn in by a jailer at any time he may disagree with the political policy makers who are in temporary power. And who knows that what we agree about today, we may disagree about tomorrow.

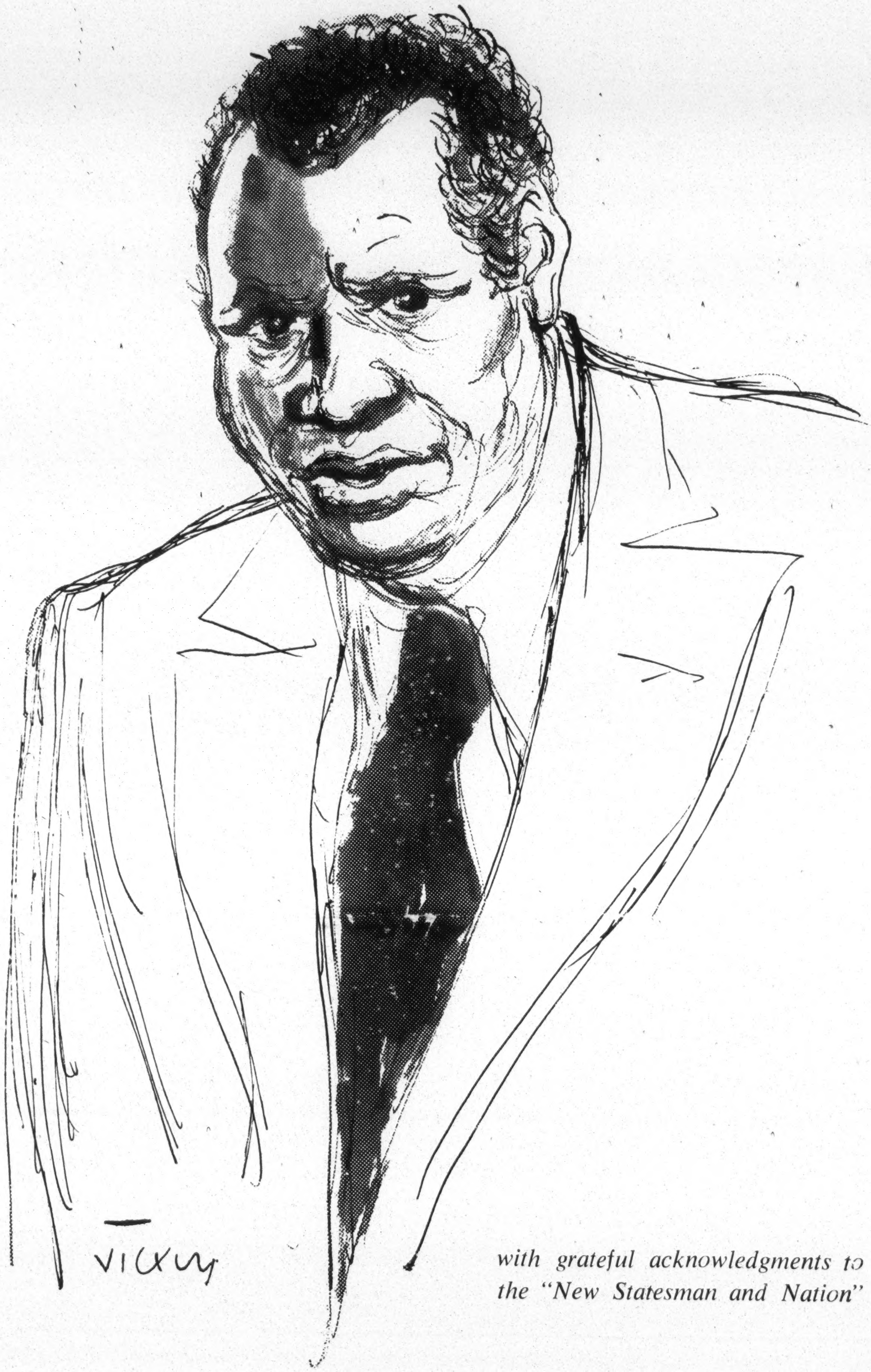
Such international artists as Paul Robeson and Rockwell Kent, whose art is a credit to America and whose art has enriched understanding between America and Europe, are chained by this vicious and dangerous policy. To deny the right to travel to Americans held in such general respect abroad, is stupid and inhuman. It destroys American prestige and creates doubt and suspicion in the countries whose friendship America most needs.

This is not a plea alone for American artists in chains, but for every American over whose fundamental freedom this menacing shadow is creeping.

The violation of the right to travel affects every aspect of American democracy and freedom. That is why nothing can be of greater importance than this effort by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.

Charles Chaplin

PLEASE USE COUPON ON BACK PAGE ➡



with grateful acknowledgments to the "New Statesman and Nation"

"LET PAUL ROBESON SING"

PUBLIC MEETING

SUNDAY, MARCH 11th, 1956

AT THE

LESSER FREE TRADE HALL

at 7-30 p.m.

HEAR PAUL ROBESON SING MEETING

Organised by the "Let Paul Robeson Sing Committee"

Secretary: Mr. F. Loesser, 8, Cliff Crescent, Salford, 7.

SPONSORS

The following persons are associating themselves with the Committee in their personal capacity.

Association of Jewish Ex-Servicemen & Women (Manchester District)

Mr. Cedric Belfrage (Author of 'Promised Land', 'Let My People Go', etc.)

Mr. M. Bobker

Sir Adrian Boult (Principal Conductor of London Philharmonic Orchestra)

Mr. R. A. Cassasola (President, Foundry Workers' Union, Member National Executive of Labour Party)

Mr. Tom Driberg (Former Labour M.P., now with *Reynolds News*)

Mrs. Mary Gluckman (Council African Affairs, Secretary)

Professor Gluckman (Manchester University)

Mr. Les Goldman

Mr. W. Griffiths, M.P.

Mr. J. Hatton (District Secretary, Manchester E.T.U.)

Mr. Philip Hecht (Vice-President, Workers' Music Association)

Mr. H. Hobson (Secretary, Manchester Branch of Musicians' Union)

Mr. E. Hughes, M.P.

Mr. Len Johnson (Ex-Middleweight Champion, British Empire)

Councillor B. Lawson

Mr. Logan-Petch (Chairman, Labour Lawyers' Association)

Major N. S. Malimson, M.B., Ch.B., D.P.H., LL.B.

Mrs. Marie Nahum

Openshaw Constituency Labour Party

Mr. C. Royle, M.P.

Mr. S. Russell (Hon. Secretary, Ajex)

Mr. H. Scanlon (Manchester District Secretary, A.E.U.)

Mr. S. Silverman, M.P.

Rev. I. W. Slotki, M.A., Litt.D., F.R.S.L.

Alderman C. Stott, J.P. (President, Blackley Co-op Society)

Vicky, of the *Daily Mirror*

Mr. F. Whittaker (President, Manchester Branch of Musicians' Union)

Mr. K. Zilliacus, M.P.

Mr. H. NEWBOLD, (Secretary of the Manchester and Salford Trades Council.)

PROGRAMME

Address by Chairman: Mr. LOGAN-PETCH.

SPEAKERS

Mr. CEDRIC BELFRAGE, noted Author and Editor, *National Guardian*, U.S.A.

Mr. R. CASSASOLA, President, Amalgamated Union of Foundry Workers.

Mr. W. GRIFFITHS, M.P.

Mr. K. ZILLIACUS, M.P.

Mr. H. NEWBOLD, Secretary of the Manchester and Salford Trades Council.

Special Recording for the Meeting by

PAUL ROBESON

consisting of an Address to the People of Manchester followed by a Recital of the "Ode to Joy" from Beethoven's 9th Symphony. New Lyrics have been set to the music. This under the title given to it by Paul Robeson, "The Song of Peace", will be performed for the first time.

PAUL ROBESON'S CASE

The name of Paul Robeson is loved and revered by millions of people throughout the world.

To many of us, his name represents the outstanding artist. To others, it symbolises the fight of the Negro people against racialism and inequality. Yet there are those who admire in him his personal courage, his concern for the oppressed and downtrodden, his striving for international peace, and still others who find in him the great scholar and thinker, the warm and lovable person, the friend of the common people.

Paul Robeson combines all these qualities, towering above his fellow-men, as a giant of our time.

For almost six years now, the world has been robbed of Paul Robeson. In 1950, the American State Department revoked his passport and since then, prevented him from freely practising his art in the U.S.A. and barred from leaving that country, Paul Robeson has been virtually a prisoner, his art suppressed, his voice stifled.

We feel, that whatever the colour of a person's skin, or the nature of his political views, no individual should be debarred from travelling freely for such reasons.

But above all, Paul Robeson belongs not to any one people or nation, but to the world as a whole. For indeed, such is the meaning of his life, his art, his struggle—the progress of all humanity.

Throughout the world, protests have been mounting, ever since the revocation of his passport in 1950.

In this country, there is the great Scottish Petition Campaign, which is supported by 18 members of Parliament, well-known artists, trade unionists and personalities from every walk of life in Scotland, and which has collected many thousands of signatures.

In Wales, the National Union of Mineworkers have invited Paul Robeson to be the guest of honour at their Eisteddfod.

In England, 258 delegates to the last T.U.C. Conference sent a cable of protest to President Eisenhower. The Political Committee of the London Co-operative Society sent a similar protest and invited Paul Robeson to give a series of concerts. A delegation of London trade unionists delivered 3,000 signatures to the U.S. Embassy, for the restoration of Paul Robeson's passport. The executive of the Blacksmith's Society has sent a letter of protest to the U.S. Ambassador, asking him that Paul Robeson be permitted to travel freely, and a group of distinguished British composers and musicians, including such personalities as Sir Adrian Boult, Alan Bush, Alan Rawsthorne, etc., have written to President Eisenhower in a similar vein.

The British Workers' Sports Federation, the British Actors' Equity, all have raised their voices in protest.

These are just a few indications of the vast mass movement which is developing to restore the passport to Paul Robeson.

We, in the North of England, do not mean to be left behind in this great movement. In view of this, we have organised our meeting, to invite Paul Robeson to our city and ask the American government to let him come. When Paul Robeson heard of the meeting, he sent the committee the following letter:

COPY OF LETTER FROM PAUL ROBESON

January 3rd, 1956.

Dear Mr. Loesser,

"I was very pleased, and deeply grateful, to receive your recent letter and to hear of the plans for a mass meeting in Manchester in support of my right to travel and to practice my artistic profession.

Although I am persisting in my legal efforts to regain my passport (the case is now before the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in Washington) it is clear that the most decisive factor for a favourable outcome is the pressure of democratic opinion—in Britain, and elsewhere in the world. And so nothing could be more important, or more effective, than meetings like the one you are arranging.

I have closely followed the campaign which is being developed throughout your country, and the splendid work that is being done has added to the deep feelings of affection I have for the British people through all these years, and has made me look forward with even greater eagerness to the time when I will be free to visit your country again."

Now it is up to us!

Already the State Department has partially relented, by allowing Paul Robeson to address a meeting in Toronto, Canada on February 11th. Now we are appealing to every individual, whatever his race, religion, or political belief, to support our meeting and campaign, so that the passport will be restored to Paul Robeson and we are able to hear once more this great artist, this great man, here in Manchester.

Let our voices be joined with those of Scotland, Wales and those from abroad, until the whole world rings out in a mighty roar:

LET PAUL ROBESON SING AGAIN

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.—To Vicky for his special contribution to the campaign of Paul Robeson's portrait on front cover. Mrs. L. Malimson, Mrs. P. Pussell, Mrs. D. Loesser, and The Manchester University Socialist Society, for their assistance, The Manchester Ajex for the loan of technical equipment.

Published by F. LOESSER, 8, Cliff Crescent, Salford, 7.
Printed by BETHELL & CO. LTD., 142, Cheetham Hill Road, Manchester, 8.

(AS SOON AS THE AUDIENCE IS SEATED, ALL HOUSE LIGHTS GO DOWN? INCLUDING STAGE LIGHTS. SOME SECONDS OF SILENCE, THEN A SINGLE SPOT PICKS UP RADIO ANNOUNCER ON STAGE WITH HAND MIKE: In broadcasting style, but a little excited and anticipant)

ANNOUNCER

Ladies and gentlemen of the world, this is James McCormick of the International Broadcasting System, speaking to you from Johannesburg, South Africa.

This is the day, today June 26, 1952 that the African and Indian National Congresses are to initiate the mass anti-apartheid passive resistance movement.

I am situated here on a small balcony which overlooks the square where the demonstration is to take place. It is a fine June South African morning, and from my vantage point, I can see the several streets which lead into the square.

Ladies and gentlemen, if this demonstration takes place it will be the first time South Africa will have seen a resistance on this scale since the great Zulu Wars of the 1830's

The eyes of the world are focused here this morning because this organized movement is to directly challenge the policies of Prime Minister Danial Malan and his dominant Nationalist Party.

(Paul's recorded voice comes up gradually, unnoticed by the announcer, the Chanting of slogans also begins faintly in back of auditorium, announcer contines uninterrupted:)

- oh I think I see the first of the marchers...they are coming down the main street which leads into the square, yes we can hear the slogans being chanted...and there is a loudspeaker here in the square opening up with what I assume are campaign songs....

They are coming into the square now..lines and lines of marching people - this is going to be quite a demonstration ladies and gentlemen!...

We are going to try and pick up one of our IBS men down there in the square - can you come in Ralph Haloran...

(Second announcer is across stage: also delivers in broadcasting tone and style, rapidly, excitedly with attitude of watching many things)

ANNOUNCER - 2

Yes. Thank you James McCormick. Ladies and gentlemen this is Ralph Haloran of IBS down here in this square at Johannesburg, South Africa... the Square is filling up with the demonstrators and I am sure you can hear the music and the slogans behind me...

(Throughout this narrative a procession has come up from the back of the auditorium; men and women bearing placards and banners which read: "DOWN WITH MALAN" "DOWN WITH UNJUST LAWS!" "NO MORE APARTHEID!" etc., The marchers shout out unorganizedly, similar slogans; many cry out simply, "AFRICA!" All at one time or another give the raised thumb salute of the passive resistance movement to each other and to the audience whom they involve in the spirit of the demonstration as they pass down the aisle. The procession is at once defiant and serious.)

- I can make out Dr. Moroka - that is Dr. J.S. Moroka, the president of the African National Congress - he is climbing up on the speaker's platform...there is a great cheer going up as he mounts the rostrum. Dr. Dadoo of the Indian Congress is close behind him also climbing up to the platform ...both men are dressed in white summer suits...both wearing some kind of lapel decoration which I cannot quite make out from here....

Most of the demonstrators are Africans, however I would estimate that from anywhere between 15 or 20 percent are Indians...they bear signs of all shapes and sizes, reading 'Down with Malan!' and 'Down with Apartheid!' - some of the signs have only one word on them: 'Freedom!'

(Paul's voice comes up louder here, and fades:)

I am going into the crowd ladies and gentlemen and see if I can get an interview with any of the leaders...May I get through please...excuse me....

Ah... I believe I see Mr. Sisula, one of the leaders of the passive resistance movement...uh...Mr. Sisulu...may we have a word from you sir for our listeners- you are one of the officers of the African National Congress, are you not?

SISULU

(As though interrupted:)

Yes - I am the Secretary General of the African National Congress.

ANNOUNCER

Would you tell us something avout the meaning of this demonstration?

SISULU

The meaning-? Yes, of course - actually it can be very simply stated. We the African people of South Africa are not free and we wish to be free. The domonstration here today reflects our belief that probably the best way to begin to acheive that freedom is to defy the unjust laws of the governmen.

ANNOUNCER

How many people do you expect will turn our here today?

SISULU

Perhaps several thousand - perhaps hundreds of thousands- perhaps all South Africa.

ANNOUNCER

May I ask if you expect repercussions from the governmant?

SISULU

(Laughing a little) - Of course - there have already been repercussions from - "The Government" - for three hundred years.

ANNOUNCER

Do you anticipate being jailed sir?

SISULU

We anticipate - only being free. We intend no violence and we intend no martyrdom - but we do intend success. Therefore whether we do or do not go to jail is an incidental question.

Will you excuse me now please, I must get back to the proceedings.

ANNOUNCER

Yes...thank you very much Mr. Sisulu. Ladies and gentlemen you have just heard Mr. W.M. Sisulu, the secretary-general of the African National Congress. In a moment I am going to try and interveiw some of the ordinary people who are here taking part in this demonstration but right now behind me there is a song going on among the demonstrators which seems to be causing consideralbe excitement - lets listen in:

(On stage, singer and group come up without introduction.)

ANNOUNCER

(Cutting in at first decline of applause.)

This is James McCormick again on the far side of the square. There is a young man near me here - quite young in fact, I would guess about 16 or 17 years old...I wonder if I could trouble you a moment young fellow...would you care to tell our listeners why you are here today taking part in this demonstration?

YOUTH

Where else should a Zulu be today?

ANNOUNCER

I see. And how do you, a Zulu, feel about standing in unity with Indians and people from other tribal groups, who have been your enemy in the past?

YOUTH

I am not very interested in the past. I think that we Xosa, Shangaan, Indian and yes - Zulu have been unwise about somethings in the past.

ANNOUNCER

What do you mean...

YOUTH

I do not know altogether. I cannot say it well, but unwise in the matter of enemies.

ANNOUNCER

Thank you very much...we are moving on ladies and gentlemen.. here is a man..May I ask you a few questions

MAN

...(surprised) Why...yes..I think so.

ANNOUNCER

Your name and occupation?

MAN

Osalo Nkabo I am a weaver

Announcer

Are you a Zulu, Mr. Nkabo?

MAN

No. I am a Basuto.

ANNOUNCER

I notice Mr. Nkabo - a rather curious thing has taken place here today during this demonstration - and that is that aside from these remarkable campaign songs the loudspeakers have been constantly playing songs by Paul Robeson - I wonder if you as one of the rank and file demonstrators would care to comment on that?

MAN

Comment?

ANNOUNCER

Well...yes...in his own country, as you must know, Mr. Robeson, is regarded as... well a ...controversial figure.

MAN

Ah? It is so...?

ANNOUNCER

Then you have no feeling about his music being used here as part of this demonstration?

MAN

Oh I did not say that. I have very deep feelings about it. Paul Robeson is a great son of the African people. He has never betrayed his heritage. This demonstration for freedom- and today in South Africa when we think of freedom, we think of him. Some day soon we are quite sure that he will come and be with us here...

ANNOUNCER

(interrupting) -uh- thank you very much. We are moving on now. I am going to move in toward the speakers stand where we can hear some of the speeches...people are still coming into the square...

ANNOUNCER

(Cutting in suddenly, a fresh voice.)

Good afternoon - this is James McCormick again, speaking to you from Peace Arch Park at the United States-Canadian border

near Blaine, Washington. It is now three p.M., and since early this morning thousands and thousands of people have been pouring, literally pouring, into this park...
The event is a concert by Paul Robeson.
There were reports that there was to be some kind of anti-Robeson demonstration by an un-identified veterans organization from Bellingham, Washington...however the concert is just about to begin and any such veterans have yet to show.
On the other hand the occasion has attracted some twenty-five or thirty thousands of people from Canada alone - and easily another fifteen thousand or so from the U.S. side...
I have just been handed a report here that the Canadian highways leading to the park are altogether tied up...for the inside of that story we switch you now to
over on the Canadian side...come in ...

ANNOUNCER-2

This is out here on the highway three miles from Peace Arch Park...ladies and gentlemen in my years of newscasting...I don't think I have seen anything quite like this...at this point the traffic is tied up solid all the way to the park...people who are arriging only now have to leave their cards at this point and go on by foot to the Arch...and it is doubtful if many thousands of these people who have turned out to the concert will ever get within hearing distance - and yet they keep on coming...
I return you now to Bob Norris inside the park, come in Bob Norris...

ANNOUNCER - 1

(Announcer now assumes quiet rapid descriptive style)
Hello...this is again inside the park where this spectacular Paul Robeson concert is now beginning.
Mr. Robeson is coming into the park...I must say - somewhat impressively escorted by a group of men whom I understand are from the Marine Cooks and Stewards Union...
(Accordingly Paul comes to the stage with escorts who exit)
The deafening roar of applause and cheers which broke out

from this mammoth audience when Mr. Robeson entered the park is now subsiding...He is being embraced by Harvey Murphy... the regional director, I am informed of the Mine Mill and Smelter Workers Union....

(Enacted)

Now Mr. Robeson is taking his place before the microphone and his accompanist is being seated at the piano....I believe it is..yes of course...it is his thirty year associate... Mr. Lawrence Brown...now Mr. Brown is getting quite a hand from this enthusiastic audience... Now Mr. Robeson is greeting throng...lets listen..

ROBESON

(Proceeds with remarks and songs)

ANNOUNCER

(Cutting in on decline of applause at end)

This is again...inside the park now...this has been quite an affair...a real family affair too. People with their children and picnic lunches and blankets and a holiday atmosphere if I ever saw one....

Throughout the concert the people were as still as the grass they sat on and the Canadian-American skies above were blue and serene - a perfect May day ladies and gentlemen - and over it all floated the voice of the man who after this concert we of the IBS staff have agreed is still (deep pause for this reluctant admission - reluctantly offered)...the greatest living bass-baritone...

ANNOUNCER

(Cutting off last broadcaster abruptly, intentionally)

This is Robert Norris...I am going to try to interview some of the people around me so you our listening audience can get some idea of the spirit of this event...excuse me madam.. may I trouble you for a moment?

WOMAN

Why yes..oh my goodness...am I on the radio?

ANNOUNCER

Yes...yes you are. Are you a Canadian?

WOMAN

Yes. I'm Canadian.

ANNOUNCER

And this is your family standing here?

WOMAN

Yes - they are mine...

ANNOUNCER

May I ask if you enjoyed the concert this afternoon, and if there is any comment you would like to make about its being held here?

WOMAN

(Very chatty and friendly)

Did I enjoy the concert...my gracious...I should say I did... and I am just so grateful that we were able to get into the park this afternoon, such a crowd and all. It was just like I told Horace, thats my husband, Horace, - this morning I said, 'Now Horace we better leave good and early, and we won't stop for lunch - I'll just paci us a nice lunch basket and we'll drive straight through... We wanted the children to hear him so much, don't you know. My boy is thirteen and my girl is ten and they never heard him before.. except on records and that sort of thing...and thats what I think the young people in the world need more of and thats real culture, the opportunity to see real artists perform.

ANNOUNCER

Then this was a big event for you and your family?

WOMAN

Gracious yes! I just hope so bad that Mr. Robeson will come to Canada soon to make a concert tour all proper and everything. There are so many people who want to hear him... of course I am not a musician or anything like that...but I just think he has the finest voice I ever heard...but my goodness, I guess the whole world knows that-

ANNOUNCER

(Completely fresh voice; maintaining at first broadcasting tone then changing into warm conversational tone according to text:)

(Music comes up faintly: 'Ol Man River' - very faint)

Ladies and Gentlemen of the World

We interrupt this broadcast to bring you a very special station identification.

(transition in tone)...A special "station identification" because: there is no radio station-

And there is no "International Broadcasting System" -

and there is no radio apparatus which connects this hall with Johannesburg or Blaine, Washington -

That part - is all make believe.

And I? I am not an announcer.

And these voices that you have heard and will hear are not those of Africans or Canadians or Russians or Scotsmen they are the voices of these American actors who stand here behind me.

That part too - is make believe.

It is make-believe, because we who are putting this program before you are artists and ours is the world of imagination and creation and we think it is the best way to say what we have to say.

We are here first of all as artists, to pay tribute to Paul Robeson who most of all today has answered the inquisitors again and again with the credo of Cyrano:

VOICE

What would you have me do...
Eat a toad
For breakfast every morning?
Make my knees
Callous, and cultivate a supple spine
Wear out my belly groveling in the dust?
No thank you! Scratch the back of any swine
That roots up gold for me? Tickle the horns
Of Mammon with my left hanc, while my right
Too proud to know his partners business,
Takes in the fee? - No thank you!

ANNOUNCER

(Same as before Cyrano)

Thus we say to you Paul Robeson:

You are the embodiment of the most glorious traditions of the truly great artist, so singularly distinguished and accomplished at your crafts, that all men must praise your art. More, you have accepted the great responsibility of the artist- to be at once member and champion of the people's struggles.

And you have emerged from these struggles with profound dignity and overpowering strength.

For us, you are the great inspiration of our times.

(INTRODUCTION OF THE ARTISTS ONE BY ONE)

ANNOUNCER

(A new voice)

To the United States State Department, we say:

Paul Robeson is an American citizen. His forebears fought tyranny on three continents, so that he might draw breath as a free being. In tampering with his liberty you have infringed on the labor of the generations of freedon seekers.

We charge you with this responsibility.

Further, we are altogether certain that this man is one of the world's greatest living artists, and that by restricting his right to travel and perform among the peoples of the world, -- you commit an outrage against history and culture.

An outrage which neither our generation or posterity will accept.

We demand then that Paul Robeson be permitted once again to travel to the capitols and villages of the world, where his presence and his art and his humanity will again refresh the peoples of other lands that there remains still in this America of ours a people of dignity and courance and decency.

(Ol Man River theme comes up strong here for a few phrases and ends before:)

(Lights which have come up for artists, go down and next speaker picks up broadcasting tone again:)

ANNOUNCER

It is only in a sense that this program is make believe

In another sense - it is brought to you by an international broadcasting system - a network, you might say, of all nations, of all peoples...

For the words you hear tonight are very real

They have come by telephone and telegram, newspaper and letter

They are the words of English musicians and Russian school-children

Welsh miners and Polish engineers

Romainian bricklayers and Kikuyu shepards

Some will speak with the austere dignity of scholars
Others with the wisdom and beauty which comes from smal
children
And still others with the magnificent simplicity of
- busy housewives
As you listen, you will surely feel it -
the words from India, Israel, England, Scotland, China, Poland
the pulse, the mighty pulse of the peoples, measuring out
their tribute and endearment to Paul Robeson...
demanding that he come and visit their lands again!

(Climatic music up strong, and then cut abruptly.)
Then Announcer:

Come in Calcutta! :

VOICE

This is Calcutta. On behalf of the All-India Peace Council, I should like to take thie opportunity to invite Mr. Paul Robeson of the United States to visit our country as guest of the All-India Peace Council and to participate in our great national cultural festival this coming November as the honored world artist.

We request you to make every effort to encourage us by your presence.

Come in Tel-A-Viv:

(Necessary lights for singer and accompanist come up: Israeli songs, then announcer comes in on applause)

VOICE

...extend to Paul Robeson an invitation to come to Israel and make a series of ten concerts at what is regarded internationally as an unprecedented fee.

We in Israel are sure that Mr. Robeson's appearance on Israeli concert stages will take on the dimensions of a national festival.

Come in Edinburgh...

VOICE

...the executive board of the Scottish Area of National Union of Mine Workers cordially extends an invitation to Mr. Paul Robeson to come to Scotland...

Come in Stockholm...

ANNOUNCER

...We have read some notices to the effect of passport difficulty in the United States, but as yet we hope you can come to Sweden in the beginning of September. We have sent a telegram to Mr. Dean Acheson about the indignation that would arise here if people were to learn that you are not a free citizen.

Please wire us yes - and the days that you can tour Sweden. Come in London...

ANNOUNCER

Ladies and gentlemen this is Ralph Halaran of the International Broadcasting System in London...We have just received here at the studio a copy of letter sent by a British music organization to Paul Robeson inviting him to tour England as soon as possible. The twelve distinguished signatures under the statement include the country's most outstanding musicians. As well as the name of Mr. Benjamin Britten, Englands celebrated young composer of the internationally performed operas, Peter Grimes; The Rape of Lucretia; Billy Budd and the well known children's pieces, A Young Person's Guide to the Orchestra and Let's Make an Opera as well as the well known Spring Symphony.

Mr. Britten it will be recalled was the national composer commissioned by the Crown last year to compose music for the Coronation festivities. The text of the statement reads as follows:

Dear Mr. Robeson,

We the undersigned understand that the Workers Music Association is extending to you an official invitation to visit this country for the purpose of a concert tour under its auspices We cordially support this invitation and as representatives of British professional musicians assure you that such a visit would undoubtedly be greatly appreciated by thousands of music lovers here. Trusting the project may soon be realized, Yours sincerely: Geoffrey Corbett; Phil Cardew; Inglis Gundry; Arnold Goldsbourgh; Bernard Stevens; Rutland Boughton; Edward J. Dent; Elizabeth McConchy; Benjamin Britten; Joseph Lewis; Alan Rawsthorne; Arthur Benjamin.

ANNOUNCER-2

This is Eric Bright of IBS speaking to you from Trevaillian Memorial Concert Hall here in London, where we are about to bring you a concert of the work of the dean of English music, Ralph Vaughn Williams. We have received a notice earlier that Mr. Williams has joined a number of outstanding English musicians in inviting the American singer Paul Robeson, to come to England for a concert tour. Immediately following this concert we will try to reach the composer who is here for a statement. ...the hall is quite full...the concert is a sell out... I believe you can hear the musicians tuning up their instruments in the background. I shall take this opportunity then to give you the concert notes on the composer.

Mr. William's rise to national and international prominence as a composer over forty years ago is universally attributed to his utilization of the spirit of English folk music in classi-forms.

Recipient of the Order of Merit, the highest honor the Crown can bestow on a composer, Mr. Williams is regarded as the nation's greatest 20th Century composer, and it is remembered that at the height of the Nazi air attack on Great Britain that Englishmen celebrated his 70th birthday as a national event.

The concert is beginning:

(Music: a selection for strings by Williams.)

ANNOUNCER

(Coming in at decline of applause)

Mr. Williams may we have a few words with you sir?

I understand that you have sent a personal invitation to Mr. Robeson to come to England?

WILLIAMS

Yes...? And to economise on the matter, I have a copy of the statement right here - this is what I said:

Dear Mr. Robeson,

I should like to add my name to those who I understand are writing to you hoping that you will pay us another visit... I ought to explain that I am a great admirer of your art, but so far as I know your political views, I am strongly opposed to them. I feel sure that as a man of honor if you come to England on the invitation of your artistic admirers, you will not use the occasion for the dissemination of political propaganda. Yours sincerely, Vaughn Williams.

ANNOUNCER

Thank you very much Mr. Williams...

Come in Moscow...

(Music: quite suddenly, something festive and distinctly Russian)

(Music goes several phrases before announcer comes in cheerfully and conversational:)

ANNOUNCER

This is Petrov in Moscow...

The Soviet people extend to the great People's Artist of the United States Paul Robeson, a lasting invitation to visit our country.

For this great Stalin prize winner and champion of world peace, the Soviet people hold great love and unlimited respect.

Here in our IBS studios in Moscow, is the Honored Artist of the Republic the great Soviet Actor and Stalin Prize winner: M. Nazvanov. Nazanov has the singular honor of playing the part of Paul Robeson in the play "John - Soldier of Peace" by the young Soviet playwright, Yuri Kritov. Would you care to comment on the experience -

NAZVANOV

Yes...of course. When I studied this role, I told myself I must succeed in this part, that I must give a convincing, stirring and truthful interpretation of it, because the Soviet people, my spectators, know and love Paul Robeson, and they would not forgive the slightest departure from the truth, or the slightest affectation.

It was not only a question of conveying the outward features of the character, but the inner perception of the real living man who is equally dear and near to me as to my spectators. I had the fervent desire to express through this characterization the attitude of the Soviet Artist, of the Soviet citizen to this man and to the progressive men and women of the United States of America. For myself, I should like to say to

Mr. Robeson, that I shall be extremely happy if I should ever have the occasion to meet you personally and to press your courageous hand.

ANNOUNCER

We take you now to the suburbs of Moscow to the city of Kaluga, where the girl students of the 57th Railroad Worker's School have a message for Paul Robeson - come in Kaluga:

(Music: children's chorus from Song of the Forests) under throughout

CHILD

Dear Paul Robeson:

Now, when we have lost our unforgettable leader, teacher and friend, we are sure that you, like all the defenders of peace will intensify the struggle for peace...and we are contributing our small efforts to the cause of world peace .

We love our city very much, and participate in its well being.

A large new theatre is being built here, and we would very much like to see you appearing on its stage.

When you come to Moscow, don't forget that a train goes to Kaluga from the Kiev station,

and that many friends eagerly await you here!

(Music concludes.)

ANNOUNCER

...And on and on they come...these requests for Paul Robeson to visit lands and lands and sign the mighty songs of his people and all people..from China, France, Poland, Norway, Denmark and all over Africa they come - the people calling for him to return and be with them again..speak with them again...to sign for and with them again.

(Music: grim and ominous)

But on an August afternoon in 1950 the U.S. State Department collected Mr. Robeson's passport and announced:

VOICE

(Cold and official)

The action was taken because the State Department considers the Paul Robeson's travel abroad at this time would be contrary to the best interests of the United States.

(Crash of music: abrupt and harsh)

ANNOUNCER

And that time the State Department spokesman declined to say why Mr. Robeson was not in the "best interests"
Or - whose "best interests" they had in mind.

(Music: a saucy, humorous dot)

Some not so un-official "best interests" spokesmen tried to suggest to the world that it vaguely had something to do with Mr. Robeson's remarks at a certain conference in Paris in 1949.

They were upset because this conference was about peace - so Mr. Robeson had spoken about peace:

(Robeson's live voice comes up reading pertinent excerpts from Paris statement,)

And because Mr. Robeson's statement and position was so clear those who count understood in whose interests Mr. Robeson spoke. Like the Negro housewife in Louisville, Kentucky who wrote:

WOMAN

Dear Paul Robeson,

Much has been said pro and con concerning your...speech - mostly con. But I am one who whole heartedly and most enthusiastically congratulate you on both your stand and your speech. Here in Louisville, Kentucky, my home town, I am denied a drink of water or the use of a rest room in our large downtown store, yet my money is not put into separate cash registers. Nor may I purchase a sandwich and sit at the counter or even stand to eat it. My dog is free to stroll through any white park he desires without so much as the lifting of an eyebrow, yet I am allowed in them only in the lowest capacity - a servant.

And so may I say Mr. Robeson that we are proud of you...and your stand, please do not retract one word from your statement!

You are a great singer and a greater champion of the rights of the underdog and the little people like myself.

Fight on,

Pray on! Our prayers and our best wishes are with you and

the cause of not one hundred strong
but more than thousands!
With very best wishes for the success and happiness of your family
I am respectfully yours...

ANNOUNCER

However - the State Department and the interest they so carefully represent and protect
let out the truth.
The truth in black and white, carefully inserted in the government brief:

VOICE

(Cold and official as before)
"In view of (the) applicant's frank admission that he has been extremely active politically in behalf of the independence of the colonial peoples of Africa...the diplomatic embarrassment that could arise from the presence abroad of such a political meddler, traveling under the protection of an American passport, is easily imaginable."

ANNOUNCER

Naturally this embarrassment did not include the political meddling of the Marshall Plan
Nor the tour of Porgy and Bess, even though it constituted an internaionally displayed cultural insult to one out of every ten Americans...
- to say nothing of every American.

Some observers have suggested that perhaps Mr. Robeson's traveling about the world doing Shakespeare, Moussorzky arias, Bach Chorales and the songs of the Negro people does not quite come up to U.S. standards of culture deemed safe for export:
(Singer: with spot - very loud and raucous: "HOW MUCH IS THAT DOGGIE IN THE WINDOW? ARF! ARF!")

ANNOUNCER

(Fresh voice, again serious and straight broadcasting style)
This is (actor's name) of the International Broadcasting System speaking to you from the First African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church of Brooklyn, New York, U.S.A.

The occasion is the 34th Quadrennial Conference of the AMEZ Church where the First AMEZ Church of Brooklyn is acting as host church to the more than 3,000 delegates who have come from Africa and the West Indies and all over the United States, representing some 600,000 members of the AME Zion Church.

The AME Zion is the third largest of organized Negro church denominations and the second to be formed in this country, having been founded some fifty years prior to Emancipation.

This afternoon the Conference has heard Mrs. Edith Sampson, recently returned U.S. State Department representative, who in her address to the conference called for the support of U.S. foreign policy and advised the delegates, and I quote, that "....If America goes down the drain - we go with it."

As Mrs. Sampson left the speaker's stand Mr. Paul Robeson and a group of young artists rose to present the cultural program for the evening, which concerned the anti-slavery history of the church, with Mr. Robeson reciting a famous speech by Bishop John Loguen, one of the revered 19th century founders of the church. The program is still in session:

(Songs and concluding remarks by Robeson and group as per occasion)

ANNOUNCER

That concludes the program here at this 34th Quadrennial...no just a moment..Bishop Walls...that is Bishop William J. Walls, the Senior Bishop of the AME Zion Church is going up to the microphone...I am not quite sure what is going on..he is speaking:

BISHOP WALLS

(Lights have come up full for this enactment, entire company is on stage seated facing audience; actor portraying Bishop faces them)

(Bishop's voice comes up loud over the applause, then emphatically:)

...We are not judges here, but we can demand fair play for all! EVERYONE HERE WHO IS IN FAVOR OF HAVING MR. ROBESON'S PASSPORT RETURNED TO HIM — STAND UP ON YOUR FEET!

(Everyone on stage arise...some cry out "yes", "amen", etc...)

LET THE RECORD SHOW THAT THE CHURCH OF ZION IS IN FAVOR OF HIS HAVING HIS PASSPORT RETURNED...THE PRESS IS HERE - LET THEM PUT THAT IN THE PAPER!

(Actor - portraying Walls now turns to audience:)

This is no longer Bishop Walls, ladies and gentlemen, this is (name) and tonight we have heard tributes and demands from all over the world - and from the Negro people here in the United States saying that the State Department must return this man's passport ...so I say to you here, as Bishop Walls and those 600,000 AMEZ people said:

"WE CAN DEMAND FAIR PLAY...EVERY ONE...EVERY ONE IN THIS AUDITORIUM WHO WANTS MR. ROBESON'S PASSPORT RETURNED TO HIM... STAND UP!...STAND UP ON YOUR FEET!

(Thus program is concluded with standing vote of audience.)

######

- Lorraine Hansberry
1954

THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD WANT TO SEE AND HEAR PAUL ROBESON

A sample of the messages pouring into the United States supporting Robeson's fight to regain his passport.

SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN CONGRESS

" . . . We salute Paul Robeson as one of the most outstanding artists of our time, a great champion of the oppressed people and a brave fighter for peace . . . by virtue of his genius, (he) is a beloved citizen of the world and the United States authorities have no right to deprive us of the privilege of listening to his gifted and magnificent voice."

* * *

WEST AFRICAN STUDENT'S UNION

" . . . We add our support to your campaign. As a first step we have sent a letter to the United States Government and a personal one to President Eisenhower pleading that Paul Robeson's passport be restored."

* * *

M. M. MOERANE (Noted African composer of Johannesburg)

"In the name of all that is right and honourable, in the interests of world culture and the humanization of the peoples of the earth, we in Africa solemnly call upon the State Department of the United States . . . to restore to Paul Robeson his freedom of movement beyond the confines of the United States."

* * *

PABLO NERUDA (Chilean Poet)

"Chilean people want the greatest singer here."

* * *

ALL-INDIA PEACE COUNCIL

"We feel that it is a criminal attack on the artists by preventing Paul Robeson - the beloved musician of millions of people all over the world - from going out to other countries to give his musical recitals. It is the moral duty of every artist and lover of art in all countries to raise his voice in protest against this brutal attack on the fundamental rights of the artist."

* * *

THE YOUTH GROUP (TEL AVIV, ISRAEL)

"Be strong our friend Paul Robeson. We are sure you will win if you stand in your opinion, Peace in the World! "

* * *

MRS. JANEL JAGAN (Georgetown, British Guiana)

"In British Guiana, we can perhaps appreciate Mr. Robeson's plight more than others, for we too, are today encountering the terrible hysteria which causes governments to act with such repression. Many of us are similarly restricted from going abroad. In fact, many of us cannot move out of the boundaries of our villages or districts . . . We are hoping that when his passport restrictions are finally lifted he will find it possible to visit us."

* * *

PEOPLE'S EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATION (Kingston, Jamaica)

"We recall with pride Mr. Robeson's visit to Jamaica, and the lasting impression he made on our people by consenting to place at the disposal of the public, free of cost his great talent in the form of a recital . . . It is widely known how much the programme was hailed by every section of Jamaica, and how much all Jamaicans desire the return of this great artist to our country . . ."

* * *

MAURICE DOBB (Fellow and Lecturer, Trinity College, Cambridge)

"Warmest wishes and support in campaign to regain his rights as an American citizen and as an artist of world wide renown."

* * *

JOHN TAKMAN, MD. (Editor, Clarté, Swedist cultural magazine)

"Paul Robeson's records are frequently played over the radio and at popular meetings. But we want above all to have Paul Robeson tour Sweden again. Nobody here can understand the iron curtain preventing him leave the United States. Please restore his passport."

THE COMMITTEE TO RESTORE PAUL ROBESON'S PASSPORT

Suite 6, 139 W. 125th St.
New York, N. Y.